IN WHAT WAYS DOES INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE (IPV) AGAINST IRANIAN

WOMEN CHANGE AFTER THEY HAVE EXPERIENCED FORCED IMMIGRATION?

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ABSTRACT

Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) against Iranian Women Who Experienced Forced
Immigration: In What Ways the Forms of IPV Changed After Immigration
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In this research, I explored different forms of IPV before and after immigration. Feminism and theories developed by Foucault guided the study to further understand IPV by addressing issues related to power inequities, structural constraints, and oppressions within society.

Applying a narrative approach, I recruited three Iranian refugee women who were survivors of IPV and have experienced IPV before and after immigration. Snowball sampling techniques were used for recruitment and semi-structured interviews were utilized to collect relevant data. Through thematic analysis, seven main themes were defined, which shape different forms of IPV pre- and post-immigration. These themes are defined as different types of physical, sexual and psychological violence as well as economic abuse, internalizing men's power by women, immigration statues, financial dependency, cultural and patriarchal sets of beliefs, social supports, and living in Iranian communities before and after immigration.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter 1. Introduction

Immigrant women are vulnerable to violence at all stages of their journey due to gender inequalities. There is limited literature on intimate partner violence among migrant women; however, an overview of available literature has been synthesized to explain the factors that may contribute to the positioning of women who experience IPV post-immigration. Menjivar and Salcido (2002) noted, "Research on issues concerning domestic violence in immigrant communities still remains limited" (p. 898).

Violence and abuse profoundly affect women's health and well-being after immigration. According to Shafi and Jahangir (2013), "Domestic violence against women affects all spheres of women's lives; their autonomy, their productivity, their capacity to care for themselves and their children, and their quality of life" (p. 63). Roots of violence are founded in the gender inequalities and power imbalance between men and women which continue to exist and grow in family and society. As an illustration, immigrant women, who have experienced refugee and war related conflicts, can be seen as individuals who improve their personal and social situation through leaving their countries of origin and establishing a new life in the host country. However, vulnerability is likely to increase due to discrimination and exploitation post-immigration. After immigration, women are forced to live with restrictions that impede on their livelihood. These restrictions are imposed on them by their fathers or spouses. These restrictions include obeying traditional norms of their families such as forced veiling, dropping out of school, and not being allowed to work outside of the home.

In this research, I explored different forms of IPV after forced immigration, which in turn paves the way for these women's marginalization. I utilized post-structural feminism and theories developed by Foucault to understand IPV by conceptually employing the role of power

and violence. I focus on how gendered dominance addresses issues related to power inequities, structural constraints, and oppressions within society, seeking to illuminate how gender, race, class, and historical factors may impact an individual's situation.

This study utilized an anti-oppressive approach to recognize women's unique experiences of IPV and the differences within patriarchal cultures and communities. Furthermore, an anti-oppressive perspective contributes to explain how multiple forces work together and interact to reinforce conditions of inequality and social exclusion, which contribute to the roots of violence.

I begin with Chapter 2, where I review the literature relevant to the experience of immigrant women who experience IPV. In Chapter 3, I have applied post-structural feminist theory undertaking issues of violence and oppression against women as well as Foucault's theory on the relationship between power and sexual oppression. Using a narrative approach as discussed in Chapter 4, three Iranian refugee women who were survivors of IPV and have experienced IPV before and after immigration were been recruited. Through thematic analysis, seven main themes were defined in the research findings (Chapter 5), which shape different forms of IPV pre- and post-immigration. In the discussion (Chapter 6), these themes are defined as different types of physical, sexual and psychological violence as well as economic abuse, internalizing men's power by women, immigration statues, financial dependency, cultural and patriarchal sets of beliefs, social supports, and living in Iranian communities before and after immigration. Chapter 7 concludes this paper.

Chapter 2. Literature Review

In the words of Menjivar and Salcido (2002), "A considerable amount of research has been done on domestic violence in recent years. In contrast, "research on issues concerning domestic violence in immigrant communities remains limited" (p. 898). Latta and Goodman (2005) state, "Despite startling statistics and growing concern for women by domestic violence service providers and advocates, little research has explored the nature, consequences, or meaning of domestic violence among immigrant populations" (p. 1441). Guruge, Roche, and Catallo (2012) believed, "Although, researchers are increasingly focusing on violence against women at local, national, and international levels; few have investigated IPV in various immigrant communities" (p. 1) , and thus "Gradually, violence against women has come to be recognized as a legitimate human rights issue and a significant threat to immigrant women's health and wellbeing" (Alhabib, Nur, & Jones, 2010, p. 369).

Studies indicate that women experience different forms of abusive behaviours and violence against women has many manifestations, which cannot be only introduced as sexual abuse but also other forms that threaten women's mental and emotional health as well as economic dependency. Alhabib, Nur, and Jones (2010) state, "Violence against women includes all verbal, physical, and sexual assaults which violate a woman's physical body, sense of self and sense of trust, regardless of age, race, ethnicity or country" (p. 369).

It is helpful to have a clear understanding of what is meant by the term IPV and to understand the nature and types of violence against migrant women. IPV takes many forms and is defined in a variety of ways in the literature. Ontario Council of Agencies Serving Immigrants (2006) state that, "intimate partner violence is any act of violence and other behaviors likely to cause harm that can occur at any time during a spousal relationship" (p. 8). Studies define IPV as

specific behaviours including "hitting, threatening, keeping at home, hurting with words or actions, and making them feel guilty or believe bad things" (Adams & Campbell, 2005, p. 1354), and also sexual abuse including "forced sexual intercourse and being forced to partake in sexually degrading acts" (Guruge, Roche, & Catallo, 2012, p. 1). According to Shafi and Jahangir (2013), "Gender-based violence is defined as physical, psychological and economic abuse of a woman by her partner or by another person within home or family" (p. 54).

Brownridge and Halli (2002) divide the conceptualization of IPV into three categories. Firstly, they note physical assault, including any act of pushing, grabbing, or shoving, and being beaten up. Secondly, they discuss how psychological violence can include calling the name of person to make her feel annoyed. Thirdly, sexual coercion is noted, including being forced into any sexual activity by being threatened, perpetrated by a woman's current marital or common-law partner at some time during their relationship. Lopez, Mintle, Smith, Garcia, Torres, Keough, and Salgado (2015) indicated, "Intimate partner violence may occur between two people in an intimate relationship, resulting in physical violence, sexual violence, or psychological harm" (p. 1819). Grovent (2008) defined IPV as "physical, psychological and economic abuse of a woman by current and former dates, spouses and cohabiting partners" (p. 1).

Based on the theoretical foundation mentioned in this study, the factor which provides the grounding for violence against women is power and it is found in the network of social relations. In this study, socio-cultural norms are introduced as one of the webs in the social net. One study states, "IPV roots [are] in the socio-cultural set up of the society" (Shafi & Jahangir, 2013, p. 56).

Another issue that should be considered important and can be extracted from the foundations and social relations is internalization of men's power by women, whereby the violence of men against women is regarded as a natural right and women must behave based on it so as to keep the family stable and strong. Raj and Silverman (2002), stated, "Marital rape sometimes is viewed as a male right, although it was recognized as harmful to women" (p. 376). In a patriarchal context, women's behaviour is acceptable while they are indisputably accepting social norms which patriarchy imposes on them. This patriarchal context includes ways that enable men to dominate over women, to guide them, and to continue impose control on them, ways which are internalized and externalized by women consciously or unintentionally. Accordingly, Akua-Sakyiwah (2016) discusses the dilemma migrant women faced in trying to attain cultural capital in their host country and concludes, "Patriarchal norms in their country of origin often relegate women to a subordinated socio-economic and cultural position, and this invariably denies them access to various forms of social resources" (p. 1129).

According to the definitions provided in this chapter, this paper recognizes that violence against women includes sexual, physical and psychological abuse as well as financial dependency of women on men. Furthermore, the forms of violence against women change as circumstances of life change for women. As a result, immigrant women may be confronted with forms of violence that may be different from what is experienced by non-immigrant women. Although immigrant, refugee, and non-status women experience the same forms of violence in their intimate relationships as other women who were born in Canada, they also face particular barriers.

To sum up, pre- post immigration conflict and forced immigration can result in various physical, mental, economic, and social consequences for women. Discussion of this topic is

important for several reasons. First, migrant women may be at a higher risk of intimate partner violence because of social and cultural barriers. Second, these women may be more vulnerable than other groups because of the socio-cultural contexts, which placed them in multiple dimensions of oppression. Third, there is limited literature discussing causes of intimate partner violence in relation to migrant women, which in turn might prevent decision makers from providing these women with culturally sensitive services as well as social supports.

Power: A Cultural Context Responsible for Intimate Partner Violence

Power is a concept that has been used extensively to understand violence against women and related studies. A factor of intimate violence against women lies in the cultural forces aimed at preserving male dominance and female-subjugation supported by vulnerable norms and traditions which in turn result in intimate partner violence against women.

Based on feminist theorists and what is learned from Foucault's idea on power and social structure, this research paper attempts to investigate power and social relations based on empirical research. In an empirical study, this form of power is defined as "A system of social stratification and differentiation on the basis of sex, whereby the father is the head of the family and men have authority over women and children" (Ntoimo & Abanihe, 2014, p. 1982). Walbi (1998) called this power as patriarchy, which can be seen as "A system of social structures, and practices in which men dominant, oppress, and exploit women" (p. 214).

Other important issues, which are linked to the power and violence against women, are patriarchal discourses. In patriarchal societies, all types of social structures such as families, laws and social organizations are founded on men's rights and the behaviours of women are considered the norm only if they are in accordance with those of men who are dominant. Otherwise, the woman ends up with punishment and this is the absolute dominance of men over

women. Patriarchal discourses around power drive men to move towards violence through their spousal relationships and simultaneously encourage women to be tolerant and patient. In a study on migrant domestic workers in Taiwan, Pan and Yang (2012) indicate that in patriarchal societies, abuse is a means of exercising power by males over migrant workers in different ways. Female migrants endured various forms of violence perpetrated by men who enjoyed power over them and their bodies to control their attitudes and behaviors. From the viewpoint of Herzog (2007), "Patriarchal relationships are widely supported by stereotypical or traditional gender-role attitudes or expectations about the appropriate social roles for men and more especially for women" (p. 224).

Seemingly, in this patriarchal system, not only are the types of women's behaviours determined in relation to power, but also men's behaviours are determined in relation to other men and social relations. According to Hunnicutt (2009), "To understand male behavior, it is necessary to reveal how men are situated in their own scheme of domination, especially relative to other males. There are labyrinths of power dynamics in patriarchal systems" (p. 555). Hence, patriarchal principles determine how men and women must behave in social interactions. In a patriarchal society, power structures teach men how to enforce their power on women yet teaching women to obey men considering power as the men's right in the families and society; thus, structures of a patriarchal society are defined in a manner which cause violence against women.

Socio-Economic Power: The Root of Intimate Partner Violence

One of the serious causes of intimate partner violence against migrant women can be defined as socio-economic power, which is composed of a wide range of patriarchal discourses varied by age, class, and ethnicity. Socio-economic power and cultural norms associated with

religious beliefs equip men to expand their patriarchal dominance over women. The more women depend on men, the more they are likely to be viewed as the male individuals' properties and belongings. Kashmir, Shafi and Jahangir (2013) illustrate that domestic violence is beyond the parameters of religion, cultural status, and level of education. As a result, the financial dependence on men or on in-laws was found to be a major factor which puts women at a higher risk of IPV. Choi, Cheungm, and Cheung (2012) found, "Women's greater vulnerability to spousal psychological aggression and sexual coercion was that, in part, they were dependent on their husband financially" (p.444).

One of the social structures that creates power in interpersonal relationships is the cultural milieu that men and women have developed. As an illustration, in a study on immigrant Latinas, Adam and Campbell (2005) define causes of intimate partner violence as men's control over women, machismo, immigration changes, social pressure to be or stay married, and distress experienced by immigrant Latinas in their community because of the bad conditions of their relationships. Latta and Goodman (2005) believe, "A set of community or cultural values provides structure, and meaning for women immigrants as well as obstacles to help-seeking" (p. 1442). The main risk factors of intimate partner violence against immigrant women were "poverty, unemployment, overcrowding and living in small spaces with many family members" (Latta & Goodman, 2005, p. 1443).

Socio-economic power includes a wide range of factors from educational career, financial dependency, occupational situation, religion and social learning. All of these factors play an incredible part in experiencing intimate partner violence. In one study, Brownridge and Halli (2002) show that the links between socioeconomic status and violence results in understanding women's higher rate of violence.

In a study conducted on immigrant Arab women, who have experienced IPV, Kulwicki, Aswad, Carmona, and Ballout (2010) described how Arab women are deprived of personal resources including language skills, awareness of existing services in the community, and independent income. Additionally, Kulwicki, Aswad, Carmona, and Ballout (2010) indicated that immigration status further supports their dependency on their husband and adds to their inability to endure financial independence outside the marital relationship, which leads to IPV.

Another aspect of power structures within a patriarchal society, which leads to violence against women, is cultural beliefs. Research has shown that women who live in patriarchal communities, especially those who would like to live within their own community, prefer to remain married and not to get a divorce because the cultural discourses that are patriarchal in nature will stigmatize them in case they get a divorce. Ntoimo and Abanihe (2014) argue, "Many women experience diverse forms of violence and abuse in marriage but, for many, it is not a reason for divorce; staying in a bad marriage is still preferred to divorce because divorce and separation are still widely stigmatized" (p. 1991).

Akua-Sakyiwah (2016) argued, "The effects of patriarchal norms within the home, along with institutional structures in the host community, work to impede a woman's ability to participate in social activities that may facilitate their integration" (p. 1129). Intimate partner violence can be influenced by traditions shaped around marriage, relationships between men and women in the family context, family members, a husband's level of education, and resources that provide women with social support. Choi, Cheung, and Cheung (2012) found, "Some husbands fear that after their wives gain independence, they may file for divorce post-immigration and thus prohibit their wives from going to school, learning the local language, or leaving the house" (p. 446). Choi and Byoun (2014) stated, "Immigrant women are positioned in complex socio-

cultural contexts that reinforce multiple oppressions against them based on their race, ethnicity, age, citizenship status, and gender" (p. 647). One study illustrated that immigrant women are particularly at risk in an intimate relationship because of "cultural beliefs and environmental factors, which include challenges with the migratory lifestyle, limited finances, and poor working and living conditions" (Wilson, Rappleyea, Hodgson, Hall, & White, 2014, p. 373).

Additionally, social and cultural norms, which root in patriarchal beliefs, may cause obstacles to women's course to end violence. The social and cultural norms encourage women not to end a violent relationship so that the family foundation is preserved; as the result, women avoid divorce and ending the violent relationship. Kulwicki et al. (2010) indicated, "Amongst these obstacles, lack of access to and utilization of social support services carry major weights in women's decision to stay in abusive relationships" (p. 728). The barriers that exist in the way of finding social support worsen after immigration; women are confronted with more violence due to their financial dependency and isolation due to their lack of familiarity with women and women's supports of that country.

In addition, during the process of help seeking, immigrant women might deal with the lack of culturally sensitive services, which may lead them to avoid seeking help. Latta and Goodman (2005) state that immigration status plays a significant role in women's responses to domestic violence. Women who are refugees face a host of fears regarding deportation, including fear that she and her children will be deported; which may make them hesitant to seek support from social services.

Additionally, it should be mentioned that the status of women after immigration determines the relations and structures for men to impose power on women. Immigration status can work as a stressor affecting immigrant women's quality of relationships at home which subsequently,

might place women under the threat of suffering from intimate partner violence. Zakar et al. (2012) stated, "The process of immigration exacerbated tensions between spouses because of various immigration stressors such as threats to cultural identity, children's socialization, and social isolation" (p. 5).

An important subcategory of social support series are informal supports including friends, family, and the community. In the relationship between men and women, and after marriage, family members can contribute to a woman staying in a violent relationship. Although, family members provide immigrant women with social support, they can also play an active role as cultural agents, pressuring the victim to stay in abusive circumstances to keep the family together. In addition to the patriarchal context, family setting and social support can be considered as significant causes of intimate violence against women, in particular after immigration. Lopez et al. (2015) suggest that, "Many women experiencing intimate violence do not seek help due to shamed base values around divorce and separation which their own family members impose on these women" (p. 1825).

Studies show that the causes of intimate violence against women in a family context might derive from being raised in a patriarchal family structure that encourages traditional gender-based roles, illiteracy or comparatively minimal educational standard and poverty, and also marriage at a younger age. Additional obstacles include social isolation, language and cultural barriers, financial insecurity, fear or lack of understanding about their legal status, financial dependency on their partner, the lack of specialized services, as well as perceived and real discrimination and inaccessibility of services. Ntoimo and Abanihe (2014) indicate, "Gender socialization in many Nigerian societies prepares women to accept housework and child care as feminine duties, even when she is engaged in full-time employment in the formal sector" (p.

1990). In the words of Brownridge and Halli (2002), "The institution of marriage combined with the traditionalism of these women allows domineering patriarchal men greater latitude to translate their domination into violence" (p. 358).

The immigration process often puts one partner in a position of power over the other. This power imbalance, in a family context, might reinforce intimate partner violence against women. Immigrant women might face particular obstacles to accessing justice and social services, which includes a lack of knowledge in order to access information on their legal rights and resources, due to isolation or language barriers. Latta and Goodman (2005) indicate, "Developing community-based education and outreach to help women overcome cultural and contextual barriers can only go so far in increasing access to services" (p. 1458).

In summary, contributing causes of intimate partner violence are rooted at patriarchal norms and discourses that have been dominate for centuries, norms which are internalized by male and female individuals and externalized from our generation to the generations to come. As mentioned, patriarchal discourses provide men with the opportunity of imposing their dominance over women through a variety of reasons, which vary from the lack of social support, lower level of education, and financial dependency to social isolation and fears regarding to immigration status.

Conclusion

The question of the study needs to be mentioned once more here: Does intimate partner violence towards a woman remain after immigration? Where it continues, how does it differ in form and type of violence? This chapter has surveyed empirical studies and other sources related to the topic; cultural concepts, power constructing social norms, and patriarchal discourses were

identified in the literature as the main reasons for the continuation of IPV towards women after immigration.

Chapter 3. Theoretical Framework

For the purpose of this study, I have applied post-structural feminist theory undertaking issues of violence and oppression against women as well as Foucault's theory on the relationship between power and sexual oppression. Drawing on post-structural theories of power and violence, feminist scholars emphasize "men's power that is commonly transformed into violence against women" (Jefford & Sundin, 2013, p. 14). Jefford and Sundin (2013) stated, "In recent years, feminist post-structural scholars have drawn attention to encompass post-structural insights and the consideration of power imbalances inherent in interactions between people" (p.14). Accordingly, Gallant (2008) argued, post-structural feminist theory suggests that "power is relative and varying and is always experienced in relation to others and changes depending on the circumstances (p.246).

An analysis of power relations is central to the post- structural feminist project of understanding the nature and causes of intimate partner violence against women. Adopting an anti-oppression approach, a feminist post-structural defines power as a phenomenon that "developed through dominant discourses and therefore can be changed through identifying, analyzing and redefining the discourses" (Gallant, 2008, p.246). Post-structural feminist theory in IPV focuses on power inequality and resistance in opposite-sex relationships. It emphasizes socio-cultural roots of male's use of violence and oppression, and the cultural beliefs and patriarchal discourses that dictate how men and women should behave in their intimate relationships. Accordingly, Cannon, Lauve-Moon, and Buttell (2015) stated, "Applying post-structural approach to intimate partner violence allows us an opportunity to view how power may be exercised and deployed differently from a traditional feminist perspective of patriarchal top-down forms of power" (p. 670).

In this study, I moved towards achieving an anti-oppression perspective that seeks first to recognize oppression in communities, societies, and cultures. Working from an anti-oppression framework requires an understanding of the systematic oppression marginalized individual's experience. Within this study, a key component of working from an anti-oppression framework is to explore the function of power and its related structures in creating IPV against Iranian immigrant women. In other words, the research efforts are made to explore serious causes of intimate partner violence against migrant women. Moreover, I try to clarify how different forms of violence alter after immigration and how these changed forms operate as causes of the marginalization of migrant women.

One of the feminist theorists with valuable ideas on power and violence against women is Susan Hekman. Hekman (1997) believed that the special experiences of women are at the centre of feminist theories that express women's experiences at "a particular time and place, located within a particular set of social relations" (p.334). Post structuralist Feminist Theory argues that root causes of IPV can be defined as living in a society that supports and reinforces aggressive behaviours perpetrated by men, while encouraging women to be non-violent. Hekman (2015) articulated, "Many types of feminist theories have assumed that the oppression of women can be explained by patriarchal social structures which secure the power of men over women" (p.138).

Post-structural feminist theory utilizes "a Foucauldian conceptualization of power" (Cannon, Lauve-Moon, & Buttell, 2015, p.670). Although feminists have described theoretical paradigms to articulate intimate partner violence against women, little has been written on how these perspectives apply to immigrant women. Therefore, this study was guided by Foucault's theory on power and violence, which simultaneously has been applied to the analysis with feminist theories which maintain that gender inequality and power imbalance are the root causes

of violence against immigrant women. Consequently, a crucial contribution of this study is to introduce and analyze Foucault's conceptions of power and violence and "women's recognition of the violence, sex, race, ethnicity, class, sexuality in their life" (Meyer- Emerick, 2002, p. 630) before and after immigration.

Foucault and the Concept of Power

One of the main concepts Foucault discusses is the issue of power. The most important theory that Foucault puts forth is the following, "Power must be analyzed as something which only functions in the form of a chain. It is never localized here or there, never appropriated as a commodity or piece of wealth. Power is employed through a net-like organization" (Foucault, 1980, p. 98). It needs to be mentioned that Foucault always uses the word "resistance" side by side with "power"; however, this study intentionally takes advantage of the concept of power to study violence towards women before and after immigration. This is intentional based on the question of the study, which asks how different forms of violence towards women differ before and after immigration, because the concept of power could be used as a criterion to determine conditions of flaring violence towards women. Therefore, instead of focusing on women's resistance against building structures of men's power and violence, the study tries to focus on underlying factors of men's violence towards women and, as the result, power structure is only surveyed. It is necessary to point that another study is necessary to survey women's resistance against power and violence structures.

Power is not entirely one-sided. Men do not solely have power and enact on it to engage in violent exchanges towards women. According to Foucault (1980), it is not only men who impose power upon women in a family context but "There are circumstances that are interconnected and provide situations for men to control and impose power on women. This chain of relationships

can be interpreted as patriarchal culture, which is explained through feminist theories" (p. 100). For example, Yadonis (2004) introduced this chain of relationships leading to the superiority of men over women as patriarchal culture and stated, "Imbalances in power and resources in marital relationships, are approval of violence are variables found to be associated with men's use of violence against women" (p. 655). Foucault (1972-1973) stated, "There is a social class that occupies a privileged position and may thereby impose its strategy, but this effect is not of the order of total possession" (p. 228).

Foucault stood against this idea that power is something one possesses, and others do not. Rather, Foucault (1972-1973) believed, "Power is not possessed because it exercised in all the depth, over the whole surface of the social field, of things as tenuous as the family, sexual relationships, housing, and so on" (p.228). Hardy (2003) confirms Foucault's theory that power does not belong to any particular person, group or society and that it is created through social relationships. Foucault confirms that, "Power embodied in a network of relations that captures everyone in its web" (Hardy, 2003, p. 464). It is valuable to note that this chain of social relationships is not limited to dominance over societies yet it may be found in the power relations at home and in the relationships between men and women. Foucault also discusses the tendency to individualize power. Specifically, instead of paying attention to the network of social relations, which provides the grounding for power, attention is paid only to individuals, institutions or groups who impose power. Foucault believed that power roots in the relationship of the individuals. Foucault illustrated, "Power somehow inheres in institutions themselves rather than in the individuals that make those institutions function" (Foucault, 1982, p. 202). However, Foucault (1988a) suggested, "By deploying the techniques of self-formation, individuals may

creatively transform themselves and in the process supplant the normalization operating in pernicious modern technologies of the self" (p. 291).

According to Foucault, "The concept of power is different from violence. In contrast to power relations based upon sovereignty, which control behaviors through the violent and ostentatious punishment of transgressions" (McLean & Rollwagen, 2008, p.233), power relations "control behavior through creating subjects with the capability and will to govern themselves" (Foucault 1977, p.193). As Foucault (1982) explained, "Power exists only when it is put into action" (p. 219), and in itself, power "is not a transference of rights, the power of each and all delegated to a few" (p. 220). Indeed, "power is not the same as violence because the opposite pole of violence can only be passivity"" (Foucault, 1982, p. 220).

Power and Violence

Although, Foucault's work focused extensively on power, Foucault's theories did not explicitly pay attention to analyzing violence against immigrant women. Nevertheless, he articulated that power and violence are connected. In this part, efforts are made to obtain an understanding of the relation between power and violence through a Foucauldian lens. Feminists have used Foucault's work on power to analyze the relations between gender and power which avoids the assumption that the oppression of women is caused in any simple way by men's possession of power.

Foucault (1997) stated, "The interaction of women with their partners maintains a set of power relations and influence the head of the household within the family, and at the same time, defines the statues of other household members" (p. 98). Post-structural feminists believe that the concept of power in Foucault's theories is defined as a mechanism of control,with not only the individual's behaviours but also within society. Accordingly, Bell (2011) believed, "The concept

of power can be used not only to regulate and control society, but also to shape individual subjectivity and behavior" (p.105). Based on this, individuals create special definitions to behave in the network of social behaviours so that the society considers them sane, developed and successful, according to definitions that are based on social networks. In this regard, the individual defines their character. Foucault (1988b) illustrated, "Permit individuals to effect by their own means or with the help of others a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, and way of being" (p. 18).

Foucault brought the concept of body into discussions of power, which helps to explore the term of power as a fundamental cause of violence against women. Foucault (1977) introduced the body as "the central element of power in the modern era" (p. 148). Hekman (2009) discussed one aspect of that relationship, noting that "Subjects are both the point of power's inscription and the vehicle of its articulation; power is manifested in subjects and subjects manifest power" (p. 448). According to the Foucauldian concept of body, "Men define themselves in opposition to women, but men are also the neutral standard that defines humanness while women are viewed as a negative standard" (Hekman, 2015, p. 140). Hekman (2015) believed that "Women do not posit themselves essentially as subjects. They do not protest male sovereignty; rather, they are complicit in their definition of other and they have done nothing to bring about a change" (p. 145). Westlund (1999) clearly stated, "The manner in which the social networks impose power on women and put pressure upon them so that they can be in the control of men" (Westlund, 1999, p. 1046).

Another important point Foucault mentions in his theories is the internalization of power. This is when the woman accepts the power and approves what the social conventions impose upon her, resulting in internalization of power. Foucault believes that any person could be

surveilled at any time, and such a structure would ensure that the people would soon internalize the power. "He makes them play spontaneously upon himself; he inscribes in himself the power relation in which he simultaneously plays both roles; he becomes the principle of his own subjection" (Foucault, 1977, p. 202-203). As Foucault discusses, it is a type of distribution of individuals in relation to one another, which can be implemented in hospitals, workshops, schools, and families. "Whenever one is dealing with a multiplicity of individuals on whom a task or a particular form of behaviour must be imposed, the power schema may be used". (Foucault, 1977, p. 205). Foucault's theorizing of power challenges the commonly held assumption that power is an essential negative. According to Foucault, "Power was centralized and coordinated by a sovereign authority who exercised absolute control over the population through the threat or open display of violence" (Foucault, 1978, p. 82). Foucault's (1980) work illustrated that knowledge is subject to change under the effects of power relations within social institutions and disciplines. Foucault's theory regarding power places much emphasis on the relationship between knowledge, truth, and power. According to O'Mahony and Donnelly (2010), "Foucault urges us to look at the dominant discourses in a marital relationship and recognize it for what it is a dominant discourse embedded where power is both produced and maintained" (p.443).

According to feminist theories used in this thesis, especially with an emphasis on the theories of Hekman on power and violence, and Foucault's theories on power and social networks, it can be mentioned that power is the basis for violence against women. Foucault believes that this power is the reflection of the social network, which is determined by structures and hierarchy in the society, leading to the dominance of men over women. Foucault, like feminists, believes that power is not in the hand of a particular individual or group, rather it is set

by social norms which determine the particular scope for men and women. When individuals internalize these social norms, they will stay silent and accept them and this may partially explain why some women tolerate men's violent behaviors. This study attempts to investigate the concept of power as a network for social norms and how women are treated violently in this chain of relationships.

Chapter 4. Methodology

Narrative methodology was used in this research. It relies on the written or spoken words or visual representation of individuals. Narrative inquiry uses interviews, focus groups, and photos, "as the units of analysis to research and understand the way people create meaning in their lives as narratives" (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 99). Accordingly, Mitchell and Egudo (2003) argued, "Stories told within the participants' cultural contexts to promote certain values and beliefs can contribute to the construction of individual identity or concept of community" (p. 1).

Due to focusing on narratives as experiences lived, narrative methodology is valuable when conducting gender-based research. It is "one of the ways that we fill our world with meaning and enlist one another's assistance in building lives and communities" (Simmonds, Roux, & Avest, 2015, p. 36). Feminist theorists have discussed the value of narrative methodology as a method to capture women's lived experiences of intimate partner violence. Feminists have increasingly recognized "the utility of interviewing as a tool for uncovering aspects of women's experiences" (Marfell, 2012, p.464). In order to engage participant and researcher in a relational engagement, I used narrative methodology in this study, as it "unlocks personal accounts in its search to understand the lives of individuals in a particular social setting, through their experiences" (Marfell, 2015, p. 465).

Since violence towards women is a topic with extreme cultural and social sensitivity, it could be difficult for most women to talk about their husbands' violence towards themselves in public and presence of others. Hence, the narrative method could help these women to express their experiences of domestic violence in an absolutely private environment, during a private interview. The reason why the method of interview was used in this study is that the researcher is able to realize a woman's experience of violence only through a private interview while assuring

her the results of the study remains totally confidential without revealing the identity of the participant going public. Such an interview paves the way for obtaining results, which are close to immigrant women's experience of domestic violence.

Participants

I recruited women who were (a) Iranian immigrant women; (b) survivors of intimate partner violence; (c) have experienced IPV before and after immigration; and (d) have experienced forced immigration. For the purpose of this study and based on scholarly articles and resources, the term of "forced immigrants" is defined as "refugees" (Akume, 2015; Heredia, 2008; Khalid, 2007; Song, 2014). Furthermore, the reason why I decided to interview Iranian immigrant women rather than immigrant women from other countries was to gain more in-depth knowledge about different forms of IPV which Iranian women who raised in a patriarchal culture experience before and after immigration. I was interested to know whether or not patriarchal cultures and beliefs and thus, different forms of men's power over Iranian women remain after immigration as it was before immigration. My fluency in Persian was paving the way for in-depth interviews with the participants in order to obtain invaluable data regarding their experiences of IPV before and after immigration. Being survivors of IPV who have experienced divorce and separation is another inclusion criterion. The rationale for recruiting participants who are survivors of IPV is that doing research on culturally sensitive phenomena, IPV for instance, might place the participants, who are still in a relationship with their partner, under the threat of further experiencing severe violence. Married women who still remain in the relationship with their partners, those who have not experienced intimate partner violence before and/or after immigration, women who are not originally identified as Iranian, and also women who have not

experienced forced immigration, in particular those who have immigrated to Canada through financial schemes, skill workers, study permits as well as expert entry, are not included.

Sampling Strategy

Snowball sampling technique was used as the sampling method of data collection. This is when one subject gives the researcher the name of another subject, who in turn provides the name of a third, and so on. Biernacki and Waldore (1999) believe that this method is well suited when "The focus of study is on a sensitive issue, possibly concerning a relatively private matter, and thus requires the knowledge of insiders to locate people for study" (p. 141). Using the snowball sampling technique, initial consent to share contact information took place by the potential future participant being the first to contact me. Once the potential participant contacted me, I provided them with a written, detailed consent form by email, which they signed and provided to me prior to our interview.

Recruitment

In order to recruit potential participants, I posted flyers at bus stops, grocery stores and community centres located in the North York area, where there is a larger Iranian population. The selected area was situated around Sheppard East Avenue between Bayview and Don Mills, in Toronto, Ontario, Canada. In addition, I posted flyers at a public library as well as a YMCA within the recruitment area, where many Iranian women utilize programming, services, and for leisure purposes. As part of the snowball sampling technique, I provided individuals with the information sheet (a postcard). In flyers and postcards, I requested that interested and eligible participants send their questions and/or interest to participate by contacting me via email. In flyers and postcards, I wanted the participants to be certain that their email is secure and safe. As long as potential participants demonstrated their keen interest in participating in the study

through an email, I sent the study information via email. The informed consent process took place prior to the commencement of the interviews. The consent form was provided in both English and Farsi languages. Pseudonyms were used to maintain participants' confidentiality.

Data Collection

My data collection tools included a semi-structured interview guide, tape recorder, and field notes. Relevant data was collected from 3 in-depth, semi structured face-to-face interviews. Each interview was between 1 to 2 hours in length. An interview method is "particularly useful for gathering undiluted, in-depth stories of people with limited power and influence" (Ahmad, Rai, Petrovic, Erickson, & Stewart, 2013, p. 1058). A semi-structured interview guide was used to facilitate data gathering, which took place from February 2017 to March 2017. This allowed me to clarify the research areas "without restraining the expressions of participants" (Gagnon, & Stewart, 2014, p. 305). Various questions were asked in the interview, such as what kind of physical, sexual, psychological and economic violence was experienced by the women interviewed before and after immigration. Besides, they were asked to explain how cultural norms derived from patriarchal beliefs lead to superiority and power of husbands towards them and how does such a power led to violence.

Analysis

In order to analyze the data which was collected through in-depth interviews, I was interested in implementing a thematic analysis "as a method for identifying, analyzing, and interpreting patterns of meaning within qualitative data" (Clarke & Braun, 2017, p. 297), "to determine trends and patterns of words used their frequency, their relationships, and the structures and discourses of communication" (Vaismoradi & Turunen, 2013, p. 402). Based on the interviews and research findings, seven main themes were defined as (a) different types of

physical, sexual and psychological violence as well as economic abuse of Iranian immigrant women; (b) the way to internalize power structure and dominance of men over Iranian immigrant women; (c) Iranian immigrant women's status after immigration; (d) financial dependence of Iranian women on men; (e) cultural and patriarchal sets of beliefs; (f) social support; and (g) living in Iranian communities before and after immigration.

Chapter 5. Research Findings

In this section, three Iranian women who immigrated to Canada through asylum were selected according to the snowball sampling technique. The data contained here is the result of face to face interviews for about an hour and a half with each participant. In order to preserve confidentiality, pseudonyms were assigned to each interviewee. In order to obtain detailed data in this study, specific questioning, suitable on the subject matter were posed based on the theoretical foundation and informed by the literature review. The main themes of the study are different types of physical, sexual and psychological violence as well as economic abuse of Iranian immigrant women, the way to internalize power structure and dominance of men over Iranian immigrant women, their status after immigration, financial dependence of Iranian women to men, cultural and patriarchal sets of beliefs, social support, and finally living in Iranian communities. In this chapter, I illuminate the direct stories of the interviewees' experiences of violence pre- and post-immigration. In the next chapter, the provided data are analyzed in comparison with the obtained data of other empirical studies in addition to the theories used in this study.

Study Participants

Sara: Age early 30s, a student in one of the Canadian universities. A couple of years ago she married her husband in an arranged marriage; she gave birth to two children in Iran. Currently, she is pregnant. Her husband has been charged by Canadian police with the crime of domestic violence. She has been separated for a few months.

Eli, Age mid 20s, with a diploma from Iran and has taken asylum in Canada. She gave birth to her child as a teenager and decided to immigrate to Canada due to some economic-political

problems when her child was two years old. Currently, she is leaving her husband (without divorce) and is a single mother for two children.

Niki, Age mid 30s, she has no children and currently lives with her Canadian partner. She was married in Iran, however, decided to get a divorce due to her husband's violent treatment. All family members and friends have cut ties with her since they consider her immigration and divorce as being in contrast with cultural beliefs and principles.

Experience of Physical Violence in Iran

The first question asked to the participants were what forms of violence the interviewees experienced before immigration and if the violence continues in the same way in Canada. In the following, the interviewees' responses are organized under sub-themes, beginning with participant's first thoughts of their experience:

Sara: My husband would beat me, shake violently or slap me in the face with different excuses in Iran. He would even make jokes to me through slapping softly in the face to prove his intimate relationship. He would insist although I didn't like it.

Eli: My conditions in Iran were appalling; the only reason for our differences had been my mother-in-law's and sister-in-law's interferences. I remember my husband beating me twice; once he beat me strongly in my stomach and once he pressed my arm so forcefully it bruised.

Niki: My husband was a villager with no education believing a wife's duty to be cleaning, cooking and giving birth to children. I loved to study and work so that I will be able to have my own income but every time I would ask him about it, he would beat me up. He would throw me on the ground hitting me on the head and body with any object available.

As seen in this section, all three participants mentioned experience of physical violence by their husbands in Iran; such experiences are mostly in the form of beating, slapping, pinching, punching one's hands and bruising the women's body's organs.

Experience of Physical Violence after Immigration to Canada

In this section, the participants were asked to mention their experiences of physical violence after immigration. The aim of the question was making a comparison between the perceived physical violence before and after immigration. During the interview, Sara mentioned that her experiences of physical violence by her husband continues as before even after immigration. In her viewpoint, the only reason for termination of her husband's violence is interference by the police and social services. Therefore, a rise in post-immigration social support leads to a reduction in physical violence towards her.

> Sara: After immigration, my husband insisted on his violent physical treatments and beatings. The last time he beat me up was because I hadn't made food as I had slept. He got mad at me and tried to strangle me. Seeing this, one of the neighbors called to police. So, he got arrested.

On the other hand, Eli, the second participant, considers a reduction in in-laws' interferences in her private life with her husband, as a couple as the reason there was a reduction in physical violence by her husband after immigration.

> Eli: After immigration to Canada and cutting ties with my in-laws, I lead a peaceful life. During these 5 years before leaving him, my husband and I have had arguments over various problems but he has never beat me again.

Additionally, Niki considers taking distance from her family, who were encouraging her to remain in a violent relationship in order to preserve the family, as well as a divorce as the main reason for cessation of physical violence after immigration.

> Niki: I sought asylum in Canada secretly after my husband threatened to kill me. After two years of living here, I met a man and it is almost three years we are living together. I have never experienced physical violence on his side so far.

As seen before, all participants reported a considerable reduction of violence by their husbands after immigration; the reason why is a rise in social support, being distant from the

woman's family as well as in-laws and as the result a reduction of interferences in their married lives and a divorce from the abusive husband.

Experience of Sexual Abuse in Iran

In the following, the participants were asked to explain their husbands' sexually violent behaviors before immigration in order to survey their experience of sexual behavior. Although one participant indicated she had not experienced sexual violence before and after immigration, the other two participants experienced sexual violence many times.

Sara: The most significant type of sexual violence I had experienced was the threat for an intercourse. Without paying attention to my appeal, my husband solicited intercourse. His main problem was watching immoral movies asking me to copulated with him like the characters in such movies

As is obvious, in Sara's viewpoint, the most highlighted form of sexual violence is forcing her into intercourse. Furthermore, she mentions her husband's tendency to watch pornography as well as treating her like porn stars as another type of sexual violence. Simultaneously, the second participant tolerates verbal humiliation during and after intercourse; sexual violence is accompanied by physical violence for this participant.

Niki: My ex-husband in Iran has been a psychopath. Normally, he was unwilling to solicit an intercourse and we never experienced an intercourse for months. After every intercourse, he would humiliate me saying I don't have an attractive body which wouldn't arouse him.

According to participants' stories in this study, examples of sexual violence before immigration include being forced into an intercourse by ex-husband, the request for intercourse in painful positions, threatening betrayal in case of failure to consent to intercourse, leaving the intercourse for a long time and humiliation during and after intercourse.

Experience of Sexual Violence after Immigration to Canada

In order to differentiate between the form of sexual violence before and after immigration, the participants were asked to describe their partners' sexually violent behaviours after

immigration. According to Sara, their frequency of intercourse is reduced after immigration owing to her husband's long working hours. Sara describes intercourse as violent and is happy that it is happening less often.

> Sara: After immigration, he still insists on his violent sexual behavior. Thank Goodness, he goes to work, spend hours out and return home exhausted, the number of our intercourses have reduced compared to before. It's a painful and agonizing relationship!

On the other hand, another participant names divorce as the best course of action to be free of her ex-husband's sexual violence yet naming cultural differences one of the main reasons for experiencing sexual violence by her non-Iranian partner.

> Niki: After immigration to Canada, I met a non-Iranian man. He is really kind but sometimes I'm bothered making love to him as he pulls my hair or shakes me violently. Shame is part of a woman in my folklore while he asks me not to be ashamed, which is troublesome to me.

Therefore, two participants' experiences of sexual violence reduced significantly after immigration the reason for which is long working hours of the partner, his exhaustion and, consequently, his unwillingness to consent to an intercourse as well as the divorce from the abusive husband.

Experience of Psychological Violence in Iran

In order to explore different forms of psychologic violence before immigration, the participants were asked to express their experiences of such violence by their husbands. According to Sara, calling her names, comparing with other women and disrespecting her family are among the most highlighted forms of psychological violence experienced by Sara.

> Sara: My husband would call me bad words whenever we were falling out. Before my very own eyes, he would gaze at other women and admired their beauty. In cases of my family stopping by, he wouldn't treat them well and continuously disparaged my father and brother as soon as they left.

Similar to Sara, Eli considers disrespect to her family as a form of psychological violence.

Eli: My husband has cut ties with my family. Whenever he figured out I paid them a visit, he would disparage them and insult my father.

Meanwhile, Niki considers experience of verbal disrespect the worst form of psychological violence by her husband.

Niki: My Iranian ex-husband was skeptic. He would beat a man in the street in case he looked at me and would treat me the same at home. He would always defame me before his family calling me names such as "a prostitute." He would always make fun of the tribe and was extremely racist.

As is seen, experiences of psychological violence before immigration could be summarized as follows: use of bad words, comparison with other women, breaking ties with the wife's family, disrespecting the wife's family, humiliating the woman before the man's family, racism and insulting the woman's ethnicity.

Experience of Psychological Violence after Immigration to Canada

In the following, the husband's type of psychological violence experienced was asked. According to Sara, psychological violence continues the same both before and after immigration and it is now getting worse as her husband sees half-naked women more now in Canada.

Sara: After we came to Canada, the situation could be said to have worsened. Whenever we were on the subway or public places, he would stare at other half-naked women and admired their beauty.

According to Eli, even though the number of interferences were reduced because of her husband's breaking ties with his family, verbal humiliation still continues.

Eli: After immigration and due to reduction in relations with relatives the number of arguments with my husband reduced significantly. Nonetheless, my husband would still call me names or humiliate me once in a while since I'm physically deformed after giving birth to two children.

In the following quote from Niki, psychological violence reduced after immigration in some cases, however, verbal disrespect, comparison with other women and insulting the woman's family remains as before.

Niki: After getting out of Iran, I have never experienced violence on my current partner's side. But what still bothers me are maledictions and harassing phone calls for me and my partner on my family members' sides. They always threaten me saying I'm not considered a family member anymore due to my illegal immigration and I'm deprived of inheritance.

According to the participants' narratives, even though psychological violence reduced in some cases after immigration, verbal disrespect, comparison with other women and insulting women's families remain as before.

Experience of Economic Abuse in Iran

The participants' experiences in the study showed that financial dependence on husbands and not being allowed to work outside is one form of violence experienced by the spouse. Sara and Eli, both, believe that not being allowed by their husbands' to work outside makes them financially dependent, which in turn causes violence.

Sara: I wasn't allowed to work outside in Iran. It was part of my ethnic culture I was living in. women has to stay at home and do chores and take care of children while men are allowed to work outside. I was dependent on my husband financially even for a pair of socks

Eli: I didn't use to work but I would spend the money provided by my dad at the end of the month to purchase goods around the house as well as my favorite stuff.

According to Niki, being forced to work in her family farm and not receiving salary made her financially dependent on her husband and her husband's family; hence, lack of any financial support made her tolerate any violence by her husband.

Niki: As long as I was living with my ex-husband in Iran, I had to work on his father's farm for more than 10 hours a day; I would work in his shop in winters. Neither did my husband nor his family pay me anything for the work I was doing. I was absolutely dependent on my husband's family and I even had to wear my sister-in-laws' old clothes.

As is seen, financial dependence is one the highlighted points that leaves women trapped in their husbands' violence. Before immigration, such a financial dependence is introduced as not

being allowed to work outside, being forced to stay at home and doing chores and non-paid work in husband's family farm.

Experience of Economic Abuse after Immigration to Canada

In the next step, the participants were asked regarding their experiences of economic abuse after immigration. Even though Eli described her situation the same as before immigration, Sara and Niki named immigration as a way to be independent and work as the result of which their dependence on their husbands reduced leading to a reduction in the husband's violence.

> Sara: Owing to our poor economic situation in Canada after immigration, I had to start working in a clinic. Now, I'm not economically dependent on him anymore.

> Eli: Since we immigrated to Canada, the monthly pension provided by my father is not available anymore. Furthermore, my level of education is not good enough to find a job here; my other problem is not knowing English. Living conditions and the force to stay at home, in addition to taking care of children, have imprisoned me at home making me to be unaware of the world around me.

> Niki: I had no education and savings when I came to Canada. But the government supported me and I was able to find work.

As is seen, even though the studied women were able to make money and enjoy financial independence owing to being away from compulsory patriarchal systems and interferences of in-laws, the point must be taken into account that inability of some immigrant women to speak English as well as not having an acceptable degree to be recruited in the Canadian labor market led to their isolation at home and getting away from the society which is followed by economic dependence after immigration and their husband's violence towards them.

Internalizing Power Structure

One of the fundamental issues which all the participants paid attention to was the fact that women would internalize men's power against themselves. Internalization happens when one accepts norms and concepts of the society without question. In a variety of cases pointed out by

the participants, women considered violence a man's natural right and preferred to keep quiet to safeguard the family.

> Sara: Truly, I look into the past, the event and arguments, I come to realize that I had been the one who initiated the arguments all the time. My father had always said that a man is the boss at home; whenever he says something the woman must keep quiet before him and says nothing but yes. In this case only a couple may experience pacification. He is a man and is more logical in a variety of cases. It is a good thing for a man to have the last word at home.

> Eli: I'm a stranger in this country with no haven except my children. Work and living conditions are extremely difficult for my husband here. He has to work as a simple worker more than 12 hours a day with minimum wage and perks yet rent and expenses are staggering. All Iranian men are like this; they love to have the authority at home and are pacified with the knowledge of being the authority.

> Niki: After immigration and living with my Canadian partner, I have no problem with violence in particular. But a number of times I feel he is indifferent to me. He doesn't listen to me when I talk to him or reads papers in the middle of my words. My friends believe it to be natural as most men keep quiet at home. Nevertheless, he is playful among friends and talks a lot!

According to the participants' opinions, violence is a rational part of a man's essence, which not only made the women's husbands behave so but also their fathers and brothers. The main reasons for internalization of men's violence by women include living in a society with patriarchal norms, a woman's financial dependence on a man to supply her critical needs and a woman's family's and friends' pressures to obey her husband's orders and wishes without question.

Immigration Conditions and Women's Status

Another point which is effective in understanding a man's provocation of violence towards women is a woman's status and form of immigration. The women studied in this article took asylum in Canada and their husbands did not provide them with comprehensive information regarding the immigration process. Two of the women studied, Sara and Eli, considered themselves totally dependent on their husbands' immigration status. Their dependence on the

husbands' status as well as the fear to be deported in case of not obey their husbands provided the grounds for violence after immigration.

> Sara: At the beginning of immigration to Canada, I was on the belief that I'm totally dependent on my husband in terms of status. However, exactly after my husband's arrest, police told me that my status in Canada is not dependent of my husband at all and even in case of deporting my husband, my children and I are allowed to remain in Canada and are supported. Since then, what has haunted me is the question of me not being aware of my legal rights about immigration in case my husband hadn't been arrested by the police. I think, there are women who are still beaten and harassed by their husband yet they refrain from complaint since generally they are unaware of their legal rights.

> Eli: All in all, leaving a life in a strange country is difficult for women who has followed their husbands here. How can I leave my husband's violent relationship forever when I know if I get a divorce I don't know the language, I have no skills to make money

In order to prove the aforementioned claim, Niki mentioned that she is happy with her conditions since she underwent immigration process herself.

> Niki: My status is good now but I would remain in Canada even if I face the most difficult life conditions. I prefer to stand such a situation but not to return to my family in Iran.

Therefore, women's status after immigration and their dependence on their husbands' immigration case as well as the fear to be deported as reasons for violence towards women.

Financial Dependence

In spite of the fact that economic abuse was named as a form of violence in the initial section, I preferred to introduce this factor as one of the main themes to provoke violence towards women. Participants in the study strongly insisted on financial dependence as one of the main roots for violence to provoke and continue towards the spouse before and after immigration. Accordingly, Sara and Eli name patriarchal norms regarding a woman's not leaving home and taking care of children, pressures by her husband regarding her working outside and pressures by her family regarding obeying her husband as the main reason for financial dependence on their husbands.

36

Sara: Owing to his old prejudices, my husband didn't like me to work out in Iran. He didn't like me to interact with other men at workplace. That men prevent women's legal right of going to work, I believe, is the biggest form of violence in Iran. After a short while in Canada, I went to work. The reason was mainly financial.

Eli: My situation hasn't changed a bit before or after the immigration and in both cases I have been dependent on my husband; nonetheless, I believe I've become even more dependent on him here.

Niki: My situation in Canada is much better than Iran. I attended college in Canada. I was able to find work here which led to my independence. I never borrow for anything from anyone and I'm happy with my conditions here.

Sara and Niki mentioned the chance to work, financial dependence and reduction of financial abuse after immigration owing to being separated from social constraints and patriarchal culture However, Eli mentioned her status as financially more dependent on her husband after immigration owing to her inability to speak English as well as not having an acceptable degree to work in the Canadian labor market, which in turn lead to more violence by her husband.

Cultural Beliefs

According to the study participants' opinions, another theme with a high level of importance with respect to intimate partner violence (IPV) after immigration is cultural beliefs. According to Sara, cultural beliefs make a man the family's superior power, which defines all the related issues to a woman, from dressing code to the right to work outside, taking her right to object.

Sara: We don't argue with each other over financial problems or getting money from my husband yet my type of problem has changed here: my husband comes from a culture where his wife has to stiff keep the upper lip whenever he says something. I had to dress in accordance with his wishes. We always argued with each other over what I should wear; what seems suitable and formal for my workplace was sexy in my husband's opinion.

The interesting point to which Eli referred in this study was women's capability to match themselves with the modern world after immigration whereas men are unable to do so owing to

their mental dependence on patriarchal thoughts, which empowers them; therefore, they place

women under pressure and employ violence.

> Eli: I have immigrated to a new country with an absolutely different culture. Everything here is absolutely modern: people's beliefs, lifestyles, treatment with children, etc. But my husband still lives with his old cultural and religious beliefs here. He asks me to observe Hijab here, wear burka and scarf. But, I like to be free like other women and not to cover my hair. Living in a modern society with half-baked ideas is extremely abusive.

Similar to Sara, Niki considers cultural beliefs which root in patriarchal thoughts as the main

reason for exertion of violence towards women. In Niki's opinion, internalization of such beliefs

by women and obeying a man's commands unquestionably paves the way for men's more

exertion of violence towards women.

> Niki: I spent my most difficult days in Iran where a woman is defined as a worthless creature who doesn't have the right to ask for anything except the ones his husband decides upon. I had the same conditions before marriage for my father had always made decisions for his daughters from the color of their clothes to the right to study. This was true for all women in our town and village not only for my family. women in our village double up the oppression of men with silence and tolerance before it as well as giving them the right for their oppressions.

According to the participants' opinions in this study, cultural beliefs, accepted norms in a

patriarchal society, men's mismatch with a modern culture after immigration and their insistence

to continue the lifestyle before immigration as well as women's internalization of patriarchal

cultural beliefs are intimate partner violence provocative factors before immigration and reasons

to used to explain the continued violence towards their spouses after immigration

Social and Family Support

Additionally, the participants introduced social support and family as another theme which

provokes violence before immigration and its continuation after it.

> Sara: All members of my family have always supported me against my husband's violence; I remember once my brother got into a conflict with my husband because my arm was bruised yet the same family kept me under pressure to keep living with this man. In my family, no

woman gets a divorce and this is the worst thing that can happen to a woman. Everybody tolerates violence. I feel lonelier since I immigrated to Canada.

According to Eli, immigration led to the separation of her from in-laws; consequently, it leads to the reduction of their interferences in her married life.

Eli: my biggest problem in Iran were my in-laws. Although they supported my husband financially, they interfered with our lives a lot. My family would support me as well from time to time which was turning into a great problem in families.

Even though Niki did not receive any support on her family's side against her husband's violence, Sara and Eli both see their families as great supporters. Immigration and separation from the family brought about more violence for both participants by their husbands after immigration.

Niki: My family's sidetakings were worse than my husband's oppressions. They consider a man's oppression against his wife a man's true right. In case I complained, I would face my father's and brothers' oppressions.

Thus, it could be concluded that immigration and separation from families bear mutual results regarding experiencing violence for participants in this study. On the one hand, immigration could lead to a woman's separation from her own family; consequently, she loses family members' support and mostly is exposed to the experience of violence. On the other hand, it could reduce family members' interferences in women's married lives and reduce social pressure to remain in a violent relationship; consequently, it leads to reduction of experiencing violence after immigration.

Living in Iranian Community Before and After Immigration

The last theme which is surveyed in this study is living in an Iranian community before and after immigration. According to Sara, living in an Iranian community where patriarchal norms are dominant and everyone supports a man's power and dominance, could lead to violence exertion towards women.

Sara: Not only did his family but also my own one advocated him in this violence. The law and court is usually in favor of men. In order to get a divorce, a woman must at least pursue court deeds because men have the right to divorce only. When we came to Canada, no one would understand my husband. His family hadn't been here to support him as well. Here, both of us came to realize the fact that the least amount of violence on my husband's side would result in his imprisonment.

However, Eli evaluates living in an Iranian community after immigration as a positive factor and believes keeping ties with Iranian compatriots could lead her toward learning English and social acts; consequently, it reduces the rate of isolation and her dependence on the husband.

Eli: Living in an Iranian community makes me have the feeling I live in my own country. The good point about it is that my neighboring women had introduced me to a center where different course are held for women and sometimes I take part in such course.

Similar to Sara, Niki believes living in an Iranian community, where the women are left with obeying patriarchal norms, places women under more violence by their husbands.

Niki: I used to live in a closed community in Iran. So, the whole village would have been familiar with the smallest event in the village; everyone would backbite you if you made a smallest mistake. Of course, the positive point was that we were secured of threats from men in other villages in the haven provided by the men in our own village yet the same men would make trouble for us. I have no relations with Iranian community here in Canada. I love to get to know other people and cultures.

Conclusion

In short, according to the participants' experiences voiced in this chapter, women's experience of physical, sexual, psychological violence and economic abuse before and after immigration were studied so that the changes in a husband's different forms of violence after immigration are detected. Furthermore, the women interviewed introduce six main themes as the main reasons for transformation of violence before and after immigration. These themes include internalizing men's power by women, immigration terms and women's status after immigration, financial dependence of a woman to a man, cultural beliefs which roots in a patriarchal society, social and family supports and living in an Iranian community before and after immigration. In

the next chapter, the participants' experiences are analyzed through the theories in the study as well as a theoretical framework and literature review of similar issues studied by other researchers.

Chapter 6. Research Discussion

The main question in this research is, in what ways do the forms of IPV change after immigration, and what forms of violence have the participants experienced while living in Iran, as well as, the forms of violence they endured post-immigration. By analyzing the data into themes, the narratives of the participants brought forth the subject matter of intimate partner violence pre- and post- immigration. Utilizing the theoretical foundation proposed in this study, which includes feminism and theories on power and violence by Foucault, I try to redefine the manner in which social structures, cultural conditions, socioeconomic conditions and social support services form a power imbalance between men and women after immigration. Furthermore, I try to define the manner in which the aforementioned conditions create difference in the forms of violence before and after immigration.

From an anti-oppressive framework, and based on the structures of power which create IPV, and also based on the experiences of the participants, the themes are divided into two overall major parts. The first part is about the experience of violence experienced by Iranian immigrant women before and after immigration, which are classified into subgroups of physical, sexual, psychological and financial. The second part is constituted by power and social structures. Accordingly, Alhabib, Nur, and Jones (2010) emphasized, "Issues of power and gender may be more important in creating and maintaining male dominance and the imbalance of power between husbands and wives" (p. 374). In other words, according to the opinions defined by the interviewees in this study, power structure, as a main part, is made up of a number of themes which lead to differences in the forms of their husband's violence against them before and after immigration. The themes, which are classified under subgroups of power structure include internalizing power structure, immigration and women's status, financial dependence, cultural

beliefs, social and family support and living in an Iranian community before and after immigration. In the following, the results of the study are analyzed based on Foucault's and post-structural feminists' views about power structure, based on the aforementioned defined themes.

Experience of IPV Before and After Immigration

Below I discuss each of the themes in this area, offering a discussion of the participant's experience in relation to current literature about IPV.

Experience of Physical Violence Before and After Immigration. According to interviewees' comments in this study, it was found that they all had frequent experiences of physical violence in Iran. Aligned with this study, a study on immigrant Latina women indicated that, "The most common types of pre immigration abuse were physical and verbal violence" (Adam and Campbell, 2005, p. 1353). Experiencing physical violence before immigration has been reported in various forms such as slapping in the face, threatening to strangle, throwing on the ground, shaking violently and pinching. The physical abuse described by the participants as IPV is similar to those that have been identified by Adam and Campbell (2005) as "hitting; threatening; keeping at home, and pushing or pulling" (p.1354).

According to the participants, the most important motives of violence on their husbands' sides in Iran could be categorized in three groups: prosecution, in-laws' interference to persuade him into oppressing her, and immigration. One of the main motives of physical violence before immigration is considered the absence of prosecution for violence against the wife in Iran. One of the interviewees has claimed that her husband's violence against her has been totally stopped since their immigration to Canada, for the reason that only three months after entering Canada her husband had been arrested by police for committing domestic violence and charged with heavy punishment: he had not committed violence any longer. Furthermore, interviewees

43

considered reducing or even ending relationships with in-laws as one of the main reasons of reducing physical violence after immigration. One of the interviewees claims that her in-laws in Iran persuaded her husband under various pretexts into bringing physical violence against her. In this research, another case proposed by interviewees can be found in the function of immigration, which leads to alteration of physical violence after immigration. Immigration can in turn detach the individual from patriarchy of social and cultural frameworks underlying power imbalance between men and women. As an illustration, Hunnicutt (2009) stated, "Wife beating happens more frequently in households where traditional gender roles are strongest, suggesting that more extreme patriarchal ideology is connected to domestic violence" (p. 557). Subsequently, I will discuss social and cultural frameworks underlying power structure which causes dominance of men over women.

Experience of Sexual Violence Before and After Immigration. According to two interviewees, experience of sexual violence has always been with contempt and psychological violence. Contempt has occasionally been reported simultaneous with intercourse or afterward. While one woman defines sexual violence with respect to the men's status and position during sex and her continuous comparison with the adult sex industry, the other considers lack of intercourse for a long time whose husband refrains from intercourse with her as well as physical violence after intercourse as the most negatively impactful forms of sexual violence before immigration. Accordingly, the most pervasive forms of sexual violence before immigration based on interviewees' comments have been contempt, being taken for granted after an intercourse, and physical violence during and after intercourse.

According to interviewees, although sexual violence on the husband's side has decreased significantly after immigration, this issue has not ended at all. In one study, Wilson et al. (2014)

included "Physical violence and sexual violence/coercion as a common form of IPV before and after migration" (p. 373). Based on the comments of one interviewee, difficult economic conditions after immigration oblige men to spend long working hours outside the home which leads to reduction in the number of sexual relations and sexual violence. Fear of prosecution and female complaints are considered other reasons for reduction of sexual violence against women after immigration. Nevertheless, women may encounter new circumstances after immigration for intercourse with new partners. As a result, cultural variations in the issue of sex, frequency and quality of the relationship in Iran as a traditional society compared to Canada may result in new forms of perception about sexual violence in women. For instance, one of the interviewees who began a new life after immigration with someone who had an upbringing different from that of Iranians describes a shameless relationship as a kind of sexual violence as it differs from her cultural and ethnical teachings.

Experience of Psychological Violence Before and After Immigration. Psychological violence has been reported as the most prevalent form of violence experienced based on interviewees' comments. Ramiro, Hassan, and Peedicayil (2004) supports the claim that "Psychological maltreatment is as destructive as physical violence and sexual abuse" (p. 132). This form of violence has a wide range of experiences before and after immigration. Psychological violence perceived by women includes name-calling, staring at other women and admiring their beauty, misbehaviour with wife's in-laws and their defamation, skepticism as well as scorning the woman's ethnicity. According to the interviewees, psychological violence after immigration has continued and often exacerbated in some circumstances. Based on interviewees' experiences, the Hijab is considered a legal obligation for women, while men obtain more freedom after immigration to watch uncovered women in public places. In these circumstances,

making comparisons between the wife and other women increases after immigration, and in turn results in an increase in contempt and psychological violence against the wife. one study exploring the effects of psychological maltreatment have connected this form of abuse to "an extensive range of behavioral and health outcomes, such as poor physical health, substance use, chronic disease, chronic mental illness, posttraumatic stress disorder, suicide ideation and attempts, depression, and low self-esteem" (Adams, Sullivan, Bybee, & Greeson, 2008, p. 564). The most frequent experiences of psychological violence after immigration include name-calling, treating wife with contempt for lack of beauty like other women and being criticized as having an unfavorable body shape. This form of psychological violence has increased after immigration.

Experience of Economic Abuse Before and After Immigration. The experience of economic abuse in Iran is practically associated with cultural beliefs. In the interviewees' culture and ethnicity, women were not allowed to work outside and only men were considered the breadwinner and head of the family. In such cultures, women shall put all her efforts into taking care of children and maintaining the house. Based on the results of this study, the most important form of economic abuse before immigration is not allowing the woman to work outside which in turn results in her total dependence on her husbands' earnings. Accordingly, Lambert and Firestone (2000) articulated, "Economic power refers to command over material assets, including money, as well as the ability to earn or acquire money" (p. 50). Not allowing women to work outside has other abusive consequences for them after immigration: the necessity of receiving money from the husband for securing basic needs, psychological violence and contempt for receiving money, their dependence on their own families or other individuals to meet needs. Accordingly, Adams, Sullivan, Bybee, and Greeson (2008) indicated, "Abusive men

often forbid, discourage, and actively prevent their partners from working outside the home" (p. 565). Therefore, it can be concluded that economic abuse is a major cause of other violence such as psychological or physical violence.

Economic abuse has fairly decreased after immigration since tight economic conditions after immigration obliges both men and women to work outside of the home. This situation leads to women's earning and in turn her financial independence from men and may decrease the violence against her. Furthermore, federal grants devoted to female refugees and immigrants have been a supportive factor for reducing the wife's financial dependence on the husband and thus violence against women. Nevertheless, it can be seen that economic abuse may increase after immigration.. Postmus, Plummer, and Stylianou (2016) argued, "Women who are forced to become economically dependent on their partner are at greater risk of being further abused and are less likely to leave the relationship" (p. 693). Immigrant women in Canada might force to stay at home and experience social isolation due to the lack of English language proficiency as well as an academic degree accepted in the Canadian labor market. This situation leads to women's financial dependence on husbands, low income and a rise in violence after immigration.

Power and Violence against Women

In this section, I specify the main reasons of violence against women before and after immigration with respect to feminist theories on power structure and violence against women as well as Foucault's view on power, networks and power structures in society. Shafi and Jahangir (2013) argue, "Problem of violence against women is a result of a long standing power imbalance between men and women in which men have control over access to property and resources" (p. 55).

In this section, the power will be defined based on interviewees' comments and experiences through a network of social networks and structures, the same power which makes men dominant over women and at last leads to violence against women before and after immigration. Here, we try to define the structures and investigate their functions before and after immigration. These power-dominant structures include power structure internalization, immigration conditions and women's status, financial dependence, cultural beliefs, lack of family support and living in an Iranian community before and after immigration.

Internalizing Power Structure. Based on interviewees' comments, women's internalization of men's violence is considered as one of the main social structures inciting violence against women before and after immigration. All the interviewees were brought up in patriarchal culture in Iran in which men have the power overall on decision making regarding family and home issues. Women shall follow the orders or else she may encounter punishments such as a forced divorce, disqualification from parenting, contempt by society and even excommunication from family. In such cultural circumstances, girls are taught from childhood that men have the right and in cases of experiencing men's violence, they should remain silent and tolerate the violence. Shafi and Jahangir (2013) stated, "Violence against women is embedded within social and cultural norms that perpetuate inequality between women and men, condone or even encourage violence against women" (p. 61). It is this manifestation of the historically unequal power relations between men and women that has led to domination over and discrimination against women by men and to the prevention of the full advancement of women. In a similar study, Herzog (2007) found, "IPV is considered largely a function of widespread societal and cultural norms and attitudes that condone, legitimate, and in some circumstances even support violent acts" (p. 224). According to the interviewees, they have

frequently remained silent facing their husbands' violence to protect the family and keep the peace in their relationship. This silence has always been justified by men' status as the breadwinner and as someone from whom women should tolerate violenec. This form of internalization of violence is established equally before and after immigration as it seems to be one of the important factors inciting violence against the Iranian women who participated in this study. After immigration, violence against the study participants was significantly reduced due to the availability of social supports, prosecution of violence, government protection of abused women and increase in women's financial capability. However, normalizing the internalization of men's abuse against women as a man's right in the family is considered one of the main reasons of long-lasting violence against studied women after immigration.

Immigration and Women's Status. Based on interviewees' experiences, women were unaware about asylum procedures in the destination country after immigration, which consequently paves the way for more exposure to domestic violence after migration. In studied cases, neither husbands nor the legal officers in Canada, such as immigration officers, have informed women about their conditions and immigration files. Therefore, women consider themselves dependent on their husband's application and assume that they may be deported in case they leave their abusive relationship and return to the hard life they lived before immigration. As a result, women's immigration status and their unawareness of legal rights are considered an effective factor on continuing violence against women after immigration and a main structure inciting men's power over women. Leaving an abusive relationship can result in deportation, and this threat is a powerful tool in the hands of the man to impose their control on a woman. Accordingly, Anita (2008) found, "Where the immigration status of women is

dependent on their husband, the power imbalances within a marriage are further weighed against women by state laws" (p. 199).

Among other effective factors introduced regarding women's status and husband's violence against women after immigration are (a) the sense of loneliness and homesick feelings they experience after immigration and having no friends or family except their husband in the new country, (b) inability to socialize and seek help from social supports due to the lack of English proficiency, and (c) fear of deportation and return to their mother country where study participants have been abused by family, their husband and community. In accordance, a study on female domestic workers in Taiwan, Pan and Yung (2012) state, "Although, many immigrant women sexually and physically abused by men, but rarely lodge official complaints because of the language barrier and their isolated living and working conditions" (p. 90). Similarly, another study shows that "Immigrant women experience IPV due to language barriers, a lack of knowledge of the local welfare and transportation systems, cultural constraints on the participation of women in public life, and intentional control by husbands" (Choi, Cheung, & Cheung, 2012, p. 457). Ahmad, Rai, Petrovic, Erickson, and Stewart (2013) articulated, "On arriving in a new country, immigrant women often encounter limited social support due to their newcomer and ethnic minority status which in turn might lead to intimate partner against women" (p. 1057). All the above-mentioned factors are associated with women's immigration status and are considered the main reasons to resume violence by husband and their toleration after immigration.

Financial Dependence and Women's Working Outside. Another effective factor on provoking violence before and after immigration is the financial dependence and women's working outside. The findings of this research study shows that participants were not allowed to

work outside of the home. The reason could be found in patriarchal beliefs and traditions that recognize women responsible solely for housework and parenting. For participants, men are responsible for family economy and women are totally dependent on men financially. Based on the results of the research and interviewees' comments, women's financial dependence on men is one of the key factors showing how the power structure works against them and thus the experience of violence. Accordingly, Latta and Goodman (2003) believe "Losing the financial support from her husband, and food, shelter, and economic survival for her children, created a direr situation to enduring the violence" (p. 1451). On the other hand, although study participants were forced to work outside of the home after immigration in the same manner as men do, which resulted in ending their financial dependence, women working outside paved the way for another form of violence. With respect to the findings of the research, working long hours and having to work shifts on weekends has brought about men's dissatisfaction and violence. For instance, in explaining IPV among Latinas in different countries, Menjivar and Salsido (2016) found that "Stressors stemming from environmental sources, such as women's work, and finances contributed to the occurrence of abuse among Latinas" (p. 902).

Moreover, a man's unwillingness to support his wife's working outside of the home, which is a part of his internalized patriarchal culture, results in his constant pretexts about her clothing, working hours, and her communication with other men which in turn leads to a form of violence against Iranian immigrant women who had not experienced this particular form of violence in Iran before immigration. To support this finding, Bucci (2012) stated, "IPV is maintained in societies because of culture, social context, and laws that often uphold male control of female partners; and for immigrant women, these issues may increase their vulnerability to an even

greater extent as these women live within two often conflicting cultures in which they are isolated and viewed as other" (p. 88).

Cultural Beliefs. The results of the research show that cultural beliefs are another power structure resulting in violence against these women before and after immigration. As mentioned earlier, this cultural belief is rooted in the patriarchy in Iranian society in which women are supposed to be a man's subordinate and cannot enjoy an independent identity. In accordance, Tartakovsky and Mezhibovsky (2012) argued, "patriarchal cultural groups are more accepting of violence against women as a means of conflict resolution and as a culturally appropriate means of punishing women for their transgression of culturally sanctioned norms of behavior" (p. 562). According to the interviewees, the patriarchal culture defines dress code and behaviour. In a study, Adam and Campbell (2005) identified, "Men's control over women and machismo as reasons why relationships between immigrant Latinas in their community and their partners are not good" (p. 1351). According to the participants' opinions in this study, cultural beliefs, accepted norms in a patriarchal society as well as internalizing cultural beliefs of a patriarchal culture by women are all factors for violence exertion by men towards their spouses before immigration as well as the continuation of violence after immigration.

Based on the results, cultural beliefs impose a distinct form of violence against women after immigration, which they rarely experienced before immigration. Before immigration, study participants lived in their patriarchal community, which facilitated tolerating men's abusive behaviour. A study on domestic violence against migrant women in South Korea indicated that Korean immigrant women experience a similar situation as Iranian immigrant women before immigration. In this study, Choi and Byoun (2012) articulated, a "Korean husband is likely to have more decision-making power, and the immigrant woman is expected to obey her husband.

Under the patriarchal culture, a good wife is expected to be obedient to her husband" (p. 649). However, women find themselves in a new country and far from their home community's patriarchal tradition, where other women have more liberty, and are not obliged to obey men. In such circumstances, tolerating men's traditional cultural beliefs such as compulsory Hijab and imposing their religious beliefs on women, not allowing women to work outside as well as constant supervision of clothing and communications in public places are considered some forms of cultural violence which have increased significantly after immigration based on interviewees' comments. As a result, because men are more likely to lose their power over women, they might be more violent against their wife after immigration. Accordingly, Hunnicutt (2009) argued, "The more disenfranchised men are from legitimate positions of dominance, the more they may use violence to reinforce quite possibly the only position of domination available to him" (p. 560).

Lack of Family Support. The results of the research showed that although family members can be a main source of social support, in the case of the interviewees family members supported their husbands' abusive behaviour directly or indirectly due to the fact that power structure of men over women and patriarchy are internalized in the traditional Iranian society. Accordingly, before immigration, women were encouraged to tolerate and remain silent by their own families and avoid the husband's violence in order to protect the family and keep peace in their relationships. To support the result of this study, Roger, Brownridge, and Ursel (2015) found that the focus on dependence and loyalty to the community and cultural identity prevented women from naming abuse and speaking out about it because, "There is a lack of emphasis in their culture on an individual's well-being; Rather, there is an emphasis on accommodating others and avoiding   family conflict" (p. 641). Similarly, Latta & Goodma (2003) found, "Family members

can be supportive but can also act as cultural agents, pressuring the victim to stay with her abuser to protect his interests or simply to keep the family together" (p. 1449).

Study participants have encountered family misbehaviour, pressure for remaining in abusive relationship or even excommunication if they filed for a divorce or decided to leave the abusive relationship. Accordingly, one study shows that for women from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, "Notions of honour and shame may be deployed to prevent women from leaving and to stigmatize women who do manage to leave" (Anita, 2008, p. 190). Such family failure to support women resulted in violence against them before immigration. The results of the study show that violence increases significantly after immigration owing to ending everyday communication with family members as well as their interferences. Furthermore, immigration reduces men's relationship with his own family; as a result, they lose the power to interfere with his affairs anymore and thus cannot persuade him into abusing his wife. In order to support this finding, Choi, Cheung, and Cheung (2012) stated, "The husband's family and friend network participation was significantly related to husband-to-wife violence and highlights the potential negative influence of some networks on violence" (p. 457). Abusive behaviour against women has decreased as a result of reducing close family relationship after immigration which is considered a power structure for men over women in Iran.

Living in Iranian Community Before and After Immigration. Based on the results of the study, living in Iran or continuing to live in an Iranian community after immigration is considered another factor effective on the structures inducing men's power and violence against women. For interviewees, living in Iranian community equals accepting cultural beliefs about patriarchy and giving consent to men's dominance over women. According to one study, "A woman who has experienced abuse may be reluctant to report it because she may fear being

looked on negatively by others in her own cultural community" (Roger, Brownridge, & Ursel, 2015, p. 642). The results show that changing location and living in a new society with cultural beliefs far different from those of Iranian women reduces social pressure, hence decreases men's power over women and violence. However, the absence of the Iranian community after immigration for women without English proficiency leads to more isolation at home, financial dependence on husband and hence more exposure to his violence. As an illustration, one study stated that "Social isolation disconnects abused women from their networks, rendering third-party efforts to prevent violence inaccessible" (Choi, Cheung, & Cheung, 2012, p. 446).

Conclusion

In short, experiences of IPV are mostly in the form of beating, slapping, pinching, punching one's hands and bruising body organs. According to the participants' opinions, after immigration physical violence reduced due to a rise in social support and a reduction in families' interferences in the couple's married life. Furthermore, the most important form of sexual violence is forcing a woman into an intercourse. Also, verbal humiliation and insults during and after intercourse were introduced as a form of sexual violence before and after immigration. Sexual violence, experienced by the participants reduced to a great extent after immigration; the reason for which is a husband's long hours of work outside and his exhaustion and, as a result, his unwillingness to consent to intercourse as well as a divorce from the abusive husband. The most highlighted forms of psychological violence before and after immigration are verbal insult and humiliation, comparison with other women, man's breaking ties with the woman's family, disrespecting the woman's family, humiliating the woman before the man's family, racism and insulting the woman's ethnicity. According to the participants, even though psychological violence reduced

55

after immigration in some cases, verbal humiliation, comparison with other women and insulting the woman's family remain as before.

The participants' stories also show that financial dependence on the husband as well as not being allowed to work outside is one form of violence experienced by the spouse before and after immigration. Before immigration, such a dependence is introduced as not being allowed to work outside, being forced to stay at home so as to take care of children and doing chores as well non-paid work on the husband's family farm. Even though the interviewed women were able to work, earning money and financial independence, it must be pointed that the inability of some immigrant women to communicate in English as well as not having a degree accepted in the Canadian labor market lead to their financial dependence after immigration and their husbands' more violence. Among other factors leading to a violence towards women is internalization of men's violence by women. The main reasons for such an internalization include living in a society with patriarchal norms, a woman's financial dependence on a man in order to provide vital needs as well as the woman's friends' and families' pressures to obey her husband's commands unquestionably. Furthermore, immigration terms and women's status after immigration led to their financial dependence on their husbands; consequently, they bother men's violence with the fear of being deported. Additionally, financial dependence on the husband before immigration included patriarchal norms regarding a woman to stay at home and take care of children, her husband's pressures for not working outside and her family's as well as in-laws' pressures to obey her husband. Even though they experienced a reduction in financial violence after immigration due to being separated from social constraints and patriarchal culture, their inability to communicate in English as well as not having a suitable degree for the Canadian labor market leads to a woman's isolation and exposes her to more violence.

According to the participants' voices, another highlighted theme in deformation of intimated partner violence (IPV) after immigration include cultural beliefs. Internalization of such beliefs by women, which root in a patriarchal culture, paves the way for more violence towards women. Additionally, the participants introduce social support and family as another theme which leads to more violence before immigration as well as continuation of violence after immigration. The last theme surveyed in the study included living in an Iranian community before and after immigration; living in such a community, where patriarchal norms are dominant and everyone supports a man's power and dominance, may cause more violence towards women. However, living in an Iranian community could lead immigrant women into learning English as well as engagement in social acts; consequently, it might reduce their isolation and dependence on their husbands after immigration.

Chapter 7. Conclusion

As an Iranian immigrant woman, I have attempted to depict other women's experiences of IPV in this research from an anti-oppressive perspective. Here, the main aim of the study was to describe the types of violence women confront before immigration and explain how power structure and cultural beliefs provoke violence against women. I attempted to illustrate whether the violence remains in the same force as before immigration or if there are changes. If there are any changes, in what ways do the changes take place? In this study, I sought to discover whether women experience the same form of violence before and after forced migration. Does it differ after immigration according to the conditions and how is it that in those cases such a change happens? With respect to feminists' theories and Foucault's theories, I found that power is not in the hands of a special group in society; rather the structures and network of social relations create the power. Accordingly, I attempted to understand how power structures allow men to dominate over women and abuse them before and after immigration. Analysis of the results indicates that women experience various forms of violence before and after immigration. The results of the study showed that the immigrant women experience more physical violence, such as beating and bruising, as well as sexual violence, such as being forced into intercourse, before immigration. Nevertheless, physical and sexual violence in transformed into psychological violence after immigration, with insults, humiliation, comparison with other women as well as financial violence such as extreme financial dependence to their husbands after immigration.

Power structures can be found in factors such as internalization of existing power structures, immigration conditions and women's status, financial dependence, cultural beliefs, lack of family support and living in an Iranian community before and after immigration. Accordingly, women learn from their traditional culture that men enjoy the absolute power over family and can make

decisions for the family. Therefore, women respond with tolerance and patience to any form of violence subjected by men. This phenomenon is considered one of the main factors of imposing violence against women before immigration and its continuation after it.

Women's unawareness of immigration regulations, their legal status and regulations related to dealing with husband violence are among influential factors in resuming violence or its exacerbation. The interviewees consider themselves completely dependent on their husbands and tolerate any form of violence subjected by their husbands due to their unawareness of immigration regulations. In addition, the ability to find a job and decreasing financial dependence has helped in reducing violence against women after immigration. However, the woman's ability to work outside made them work for long hours or work shifts on weekends which leads to husband's dissatisfaction and aggression and hence imposing violence against women after immigration.

Cultural beliefs shaped on the basis of patriarchal beliefs are another influential factor in inducing violence against women before immigration. These cultural beliefs at times lead to acute forms of violence against women when they are forced to follow husbands wishes indisputably regarding observing the Hijab, dress codes, social behaviour in a modern society where other women enjoy liberty and the right to make decisions for their own affairs freely. According to the interviewees, cultural power-inducing structures studied here are the most important factors provoking violence against them after immigration. Family failure to support women in the case of experiencing violence subjected by the husband, and persuading the woman to remain in an abusive relationship to protect the family is another influential factor in abusing immigrant women. Moreover, living in an Iranian community after immigration can help reduce violence in some cases. Since individuals are detached from the traditional society with

patriarchal norms and begin depending on their own identity as a woman in all affairs. However, it is essential to note that detaching from an Iranian community leads to more isolation at home and hence can lead to dependence on the husband for women who are not able to speak English and thus find a job. This situation may lead to an increase in a husband being violent after immigration.

Evaluation of Research Process

Having completed my MRP, I now look back over the experience and note the strengths and weaknesses in my project.

Strengths. Despite the fact that two of the interviewees had an acceptable level of English fluency, giving an interview in English could be the most important barrier to conduct an in-depth interview since the language barrier can be considered as one of the main barriers to establish close relationship. My Persian language proficiency helped me to perform in-depth interviews and understand the issues profoundly. Furthermore, theoretical knowledge and sufficient awareness of IPV paved the way for me to associate with Iranian immigrant women's experiences about the violence on their husbands' sides with feminist theories and Foucault's theory of violence and power.

Weaknesses. One of the weaknesses that could be named in this research is the cultural sensitivity of the study issue, rendering it challenging in regards to recruitment efforts. The length of recruitment lasted three months. Moreover, the interview provoked intense emotional reactions due to the sensitivity of the research issue, which caused minor stress. During the interview, there was a risk that the participants may experience psychological discomfort while they disclose experiences about their personal experience of intimate partner violence. Maintaining the calmness and protecting interviewee against psychological consequences of

reminding violence experiences were the most important challenges faced by the researcher. Limitation of time and number of participants are among other weaknesses of this research. It is required to recruit more participants in order to more fully investigate the forms of violence before and after immigration.

Implications

In the anti-oppressive perspective, before finding a solution for the problems of the oppressed and marginalized groups, the problem must be explored in details so that the reasons and roots of the problem are detected. As a graduate student of Social Work, in addition to being an immigrant woman, I tried to clarify what sort of domestic violence the Iranian women face before and after immigration. The important point for me was finding whether Iranian women experience the same form of pre-immigration violence after immigration or if the forms of violence exertion change after immigration. I tried to clarify what factors make underlying components and contextualization of violence change towards women after immigration. Knowing the roots and causative factors of violence towards women after migration could pave the way for future studies, so that plans are devised in a manner to find solutions for reduction of domestic violence against immigrant women. In this study, I tried to take advantage of post-structural feminists' theories as well as Foucault's theories regarding power and violence towards women. Nonetheless, it needs to be pointed Foucault always uses the word "resistance" side by side with "power." In this study, constructing structures of men's power against women were used so that the reasons for such violence are detected. However, this study intentionally does not survey the concept of resistance since surveying women's resistance against men requires another study, whose scope is larger than this study. Therefore, as a suggestion for future studies, it seems that studying immigrant women's resistance against constructive structures of men's

power in a society as well as their resistance against IPV before and after immigration are highly effective.

The results of this study, and studying different forms of IPV before and after immigration generally, is important for social work. Exploring whether the violence remains in the same forms as before immigration or if there are changes contributes to obtain more knowledge on how power structures allow men to dominate over women and abuse them before and after immigration. Analysis of the results of this study might equip social workers with the knowledge indicating that power structures can be found in factors such as internalization of existing power structures, immigration conditions and women's status, financial dependence, cultural beliefs, lack of family support and living in an Iranian community before and after immigration. The more knowledge the social workers obtain about IPV, the more they will be able to combat violence against women.

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