Chapter 12
Asian-Origin Families in Canada and the United States: Challenges and Resilience

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Abstract One out of five Canadians and one out of eight Americans are foreign-born (World Bank, 2020). The United States is home to the largest proportion of the global immigrant population from Asia, and Canada is home to approximately 3.3% of this global immigration flow (United Nations, 2017). This chapter examines key challenges and issues that impact Asian-origin families in these two predominant countries. It provides an overview of demographic characteristics, acculturation, intergenerational relationship, and aging of individuals and families originating from Asia, along with challenges such as racism, discrimination, stereotypes, domestic and interpersonal violence. Our review highlights the needs for future research on Asian subgroups and on Asian Pacific Islanders' families, emphasizing the strengths and resilience of Asian-origin families in Canada and the United States.

Keywords Asian family · Immigration · Canada · United States · Acculturation · Intergenerational relationship · Aging · Racism · Discrimination · Stereotype · Domestic violence

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Globalization and human migration have drastically reshaped the world's social and cultural landscape. Canada and the United States have been the receiving destinations for many immigrants and their families. Specifically, one out of five Canadians, and one out of eight Americans are foreign-born (World Bank, 2020). When we trace the place of origin, the United States is home to the largest (13%) proportion of the global immigrants from Asia; and Canada is home to approximately 3% of this global immigration flow (United Nations, 2017). Changes and sometimes challenges occur at this nexus where cultural traditions meet host society influences.

Our chapter examines some of the key issues that impact families of Asian origin in Canada and the United States, which differ considerably in terms of their sociopolitical history and immigration policies. We recognize the diversity within and between Asian-origin families relating to their nationalities, ethnic backgrounds, cultural traditions, socioeconomic status, and immigration history. We use the terms *Asian descent*, *Asian ancestry*, and *Asian origin* interchangeably to describe all individuals who originated from Asia, regardless of citizenship and resident status in their respective North American context. This chapter covers four key topics, including: (1) acculturation and intergenerational relationship, (2) aging, (3) racism, discrimination, and stereotype, and (4) domestic violence. We then conclude with some remarks about future directions.

Acculturation and Intergenerational Relationship

Individual immigrants and their families must adapt to a different social, cultural, and economic environment upon arrival. This adaptation is called acculturation, which is the process whereby the values, attitudes, behaviors, and relationships of individuals from one culture are modified as a result of contact with a different culture (Berry, 2005). Acculturation is a common phenomenon in immigrant families and is influenced by many factors, such as age, length of residence, educational levels, existence of relatives or ethnocultural contacts in the host country, and differences between the native and host culture (Costigan & Dokis, 2006; Londhe, 2015; Ying & Han, 2007).

A variety of acculturation strategies or statuses exist (Berry, 2005). Not all members within the same family or families within the same ethnic group adopt the same strategy. Asian children generally embrace host cultural values and behaviors much quicker than do parents and other elders in the family (Gautam, Mawn, & Beehler, 2018). Family members' views of parental authority and familial expectations may also differ. Asian parents do not oppose their children's adaptation of the host society; however, they also want their children to retain their cultural traditions and native language (Kwak & Berry, 2001).

Regardless of ethnic group membership, acculturative differences between family members seemed to affect the intergenerational relationship (Dinh & Nguyen, 2006) and may contribute to more intrafamily conflicts (Farver, Narang, & Bhadha, 2002). In qualitative interviews with first-generation Chinese adolescents in the

United States, Qin, Way, and Mukherjee (2008) identified themes relating to alienation and estrangement in the family due to cultural and generational clashes, language barriers, and lack of time and communication between parents and their children. These themes were echoed in another study with South Asian women in Canada, where participants also identified intergenerational conflict, specifically the alienation and distancing that occurred within the family (Samuel, 2009).

Intergenerational and intercultural conflicts seemed to vary by groups. Kwak and Berry (2001) found that generational differences were greatest among East-Indian parents and their children compared to those of Korean and Vietnamese ethnic backgrounds. Moreover, Chung (2001) found that Japanese American youths in her study reported the lowest level of intergenerational conflict, and female participants reported higher levels of intergenerational conflicts in the area of dating and marriage (e.g., when to begin dating, whom to date/marry). Acculturated Vietnamese American female youths also reported more arguments with and criticism from their parents (Vu & Rook, 2013).

Not all acculturative differences or acculturation gaps were problematic (Lim, Yeh, Liang, Lau, & McCabe, 2009). For instance, Kim, Chen, Wang, Shen, and Orozco-Lapray (2013) found that the gap in American cultural orientation between parents and youths had more negative effects than the gap in their cultural heritage. The authors explained that immigrant parents who were not as acculturated to American culture may not know how to support their children's development in the new context, which then contributed to negative youth outcomes. It may also be the case that acculturative differences magnified pre-existing conflicts in the family prior to or after arrival in the host society. This was supported by research conducted by Hwang and colleagues, who proposed a framework called Acculturative Family Distancing (AFD) to understand the effects of acculturative differences in families (Hwang, 2006; Hwang & Wood, 2009). The framework included differences in cultural values and beliefs in the family and took into account the breakdown in communication that occurs between family members as a result of those differences. Hwang and Wood (2009) found that AFD predicted elevated levels of family conflict.

Acculturation, typified by change, is dependent on time; however, existing acculturation studies were mostly cross-sectional in nature (Chung, 2001; Hwang & Wood, 2009; Vu & Rook, 2013), making it challenging to determine whether conflicts occurred prior to or as a result of acculturative differences. To date, only a few studies have investigated the effects of acculturation longitudinally (Juang, Syed, Cookston, Wang, & Kim, 2012; Murray et al., 2014; Nguyen, Kim, Weiss, Ngo, & Lau, 2018). For example, Juang et al. (2012) found that acculturation conflicts between Chinese American adolescents and their parents were stable during middle- to late- adolescence. Although acculturation and everyday conflicts were distinct from each other, they were also strongly correlated, supporting the idea that acculturative differences between Asian immigrant parents and their children worsened everyday issues (e.g., arguments over dating and social activities).

Two additional studies explored the temporal order between acculturation discrepancies and intergenerational conflicts. First, Ying and Han (2007) found that

acculturative differences between Southeast Asian American youth and their parents during early adolescence predicted more intergenerational conflicts three years later, which adversely affected the youths' mental health by exacerbating depressive symptoms. Nguyen et al. (2018) reported that acculturation conflicts between Vietnamese American adolescents and their parents at baseline increased family strain three months later, which further increased acculturation conflicts six months later. These studies provided preliminary evidence that acculturation and family conflicts had an iterative effect on each other.

However, the factors that assisted in alleviating the negative effect of intergenerational and intercultural conflicts remain unclear. Some studies indicated that acculturation conflicts between Asian immigrant parents and their children change for the better through maturation. For instance, about one-third of the Korean American college students in Kang, Okazaki, Abelmann, Kim-Prieto, and Lan's (2010) study reported that they had conflicts with their parents growing up, but they gained an understanding and appreciation of their parents' struggles upon reaching emerging adulthood.

Other factors that sparked the change for the emerging adults in the study were religious beliefs and spirituality (Kang et al., 2010), which had also been found among Chinese immigrant parents and their adult children (Chen Feng, Knudson-Martin, & Nelson, 2015). Ponder (2018) proposed that religion, specifically the Christian church, played an important role in strengthening family relationships. It helped to bridge the generational and cultural divides between first-generation immigrant parents and their second-generation children through a process called mentalization, where each generation attempts to understand each other by understanding their inner intentions, feelings, and beliefs. However, research in this area is relatively new and remains unexplored.

Other than maturation, Li (2014) also found that attitudinal familism, characterized by the feeling and perception of putting family interests over self-interest, buffered the negative impact of intergenerational conflicts on Asian American youths' mental health outcome. On the part of the family, parental warmth (Costigan & Dokis, 2006; Lim et al., 2009) and nurturance (Zhai, 2017) also mitigated the detrimental effects of acculturative differences.

It is unclear whether these factors can be incorporated into an intervention with Asian immigrant families facing severe acculturation and intergenerational challenges. The literature in this area is unsubstantial. One intervention that specifically addressed these acculturation challenges was developed by Ying (1999, 2009) called the Strengthening Intergenerational/ Intercultural Ties in Immigrant Families (SITIF). It was geared towards Chinese immigrant parents and consisted of eight 2-hour sessions, with topics ranging from learning about cultural differences, child and adolescence development, effective parenting practices, and coping with stress. Ying (1999, 2009) found that SITIF increased parental efficacy and improved intergenerational relationships among Chinese immigrant parents and their children. Efforts to develop additional programs and services to assist Asian-origin families in dealing with stressful acculturation conflicts are much needed.

Aging in Asian-Origin Families

Currently, the number of Asian older adults is increasing both in the United States and Canada (Kuo, Chong, & Joseph, 2008). This population faced unique challenges in the context of migration. Qualitative research with older Asian Indian immigrants in the United States, for example, highlighted experiences of loneliness and separation from their social and cultural networks from their country of origin (Tummala-Narra, Sundaram, & Sathasivam-Rueckert, 2013). Older immigrants also had difficulty navigating and adapting to the host society, such as learning a new language, learning how to drive, and/or using different services (Gautam et al., 2018). Many feared of being alone and losing their independence as they progressed into old age and did not want to be a burden to their adult children.

Older adults tried to reciprocate and contribute to the family by helping to care for their grandchildren. One study found that about a third of Chinese American grandparents provided care for their grandchildren (Tang, Xu, Chi, & Dong, 2016). Most grandparent caregivers were grandmothers (Kataoka-Yahiro, 2010). Caregivers spent an average of 12 hours to 49 hours each week engaging in caregiving activities (Kataoka-Yahiro, 2010; Tang et al., 2016). Many grandparents were satisfied with their caregiving role, but some experienced caregiving-related stress (Tummala-Narra et al., 2013). Specifically,12% of the Chinese grandparent caregivers in Tang et al.'s (2016) study reported some caregiving burden, and 10% perceived negative effects of caregiving.

Quantitative studies have linked negative aging experiences to elevated levels of psychological distress among Asian older adults (Sorkin, Nguyen, & Ngo-Metzger, 2011), particularly geriatric depression. According to a recent literature review of research in North America, rates of depression ranged from 15% in Filipino older adults to 64% in Vietnamese older adults (Kuo et al., 2008; Mui & Kang, 2006). Recency of arrival, lack of language competency, lower acculturation to the host culture, and lower health status strongly and consistently predicted depression among Asian elders (Kou et al., 2015). While demographic factors accounted for only 6% of the variance in depression, life and acculturative stress explained 36% percent of the variance in depression among Asian older adults (Mui & Kang, 2006).

Related to acculturative challenges, migratory grief may also heighten geriatric depression among Asian older adults. Migratory grief is the sense of loss and emotional distress associated with migration, including feeling that things were better in one's homeland, missing one's homeland, and feeling like a stranger in the host country (Casado & Leung, 2001). In a study with Chinese older adults, Casado and Leung (2001) found that, although years in the United States and English proficiency significantly predicted depression among the participants (12% of the variance), migratory grief accounted for over 41% of the variance in depression. Together, life and acculturative stressors may increase depression through decreasing the older adults' sense of control (Jang, Kim, & Chiriboga, 2006) and reducing their social connectedness (Kim et al., 2015). These are important factors to consider in professional practices with Asian older adult populations.

Various factors have been found to protect older adults from the deleterious effects of aging and acculturative stress. For example, older Asian Indian immigrants in the United States, who had a strong sense of mastery and control over their own lives and who frequently participated in religious activities, had fewer negative effects (Diwan, Jonnalagadda, & Balaswamy, 2004). Korean American older adults who felt more socially connected and more acculturated also reported more positive views of aging (Kim, Jang, & Chiriboga, 2012). When it comes to the social connections of older adults, the quality of the interactions, particularly with children, protected older adults from depression rather than the quantity or frequency (Kuo et al., 2008). And although marital status and language proficiency mitigated geriatric depression among Southeast Asian older adults, disaggregated analyses showed some ethnic differences (Kim et al., 2015). Specifically, social connectedness was a protective factor for Vietnamese older adults and English proficiency was a protective factor for Laotian elders. Therefore, future research needs to pay attention to these group differences.

For those caring for the elderly, the burden and stress of caregiving had also been documented. Caregiving work within Asian-origin families tended to be highly gendered, with the majority of caregivers being female, who were wives, daughters, or daughters-in-law (Lai, 2007). Although information was lacking, one study indicated about 20% of family caregivers of older Chinese adults in Canada reported experiencing at least some caregiving burden (Lai, 2010). Korean caregivers also described struggles to make a living in the United States and the lack of time to provide adequate care for their aging parents (Han, Choi, Kim, Lee, & Kim, 2008). Filipino and Chinese women in California (USA) caring for an elderly parent discussed the need to fulfil their filial obligations, cultural conflicts with their elderly parents, and role strain (e.g., spouse, grandparenting, work; Jones, Zhang, Jaceldo-Siegl, & Meleis, 2002).

Caregiving responsibilities took a physical and psychological toll on the caregivers, such as increasing the risk of depression (Lai, 2009). Some primary caregivers also described the lack of appreciation from other family members, who may even harshly criticize the way they provide care, yet did little to contribute (Han et al., 2008). Additionally, spouse caregivers seemed to be more likely to experience stress resulting from elder caregiving, possibly due to limited language skills, lower income, and personal health challenges (Casado & Sacco, 2012). Unfortunately, Asian caregivers were less likely to use formal services compared to caregivers from other racial groups due to various barriers (Pinquart & Sörensen, 2005).

At the personal level, there was a sense of pride as well as hesitation when it comes to inviting outside service providers into their private lives (Li, 2004). Caregivers also expressed a lack of information about the care recipients' condition and how to provide adequate care, along with a lack of culturally appropriate and adequate alternative to home care (Han et al., 2008). Extended care was often expensive and not affordable (Jones et al., 2002). Those who attempted to seek formal services reported that what they needed were either not available or the system was too complex for them to navigate (Li, 2004). Therefore, seeking formal services was seen as a last resort (Jones et al., 2002). To cope, the caregivers utilize their

family resources, such as seeking spousal assistance and sibling responsibility sharing, as well as relying on their inner strength, commitment, endurance, and personal sacrifice. Some also leaned on their spirituality for support. Albeit the challenges, caregivers discussed positive outcomes of their caregiving role, mainly how the experience fostered their personal growth and inner strengths (Jones et al., 2002).

The stress related to elder caregiving could possibly escalate into elder maltreatment. A study of Chinese older adults in Canada identified a 4.5% prevalence of maltreatment (Lai, 2011), while those in the United States found around 15% (Dong, Chen, Fulmer, & Simon, 2014). In most cases, spouses (40.2%) and adult children (30%) were the main perpetrators (Lai, 2011). Qualitative study with Chinese older adults in Chicago (USA) revealed that caregiver neglect was the most prevalent form of elder maltreatment, with financial exploitation and physical abused being less common (Dong, Chang, Wong, Wong, & Simon, 2011). However, Asian older adults explained that psychological mistreatment, such as scolding, verbal attacks, and insults were the most intolerable.

Certain factors increased the risk of elder maltreatment. Lower educational levels, lack of religious beliefs and social support, and length of residence in Canada have been found to be risk factors for maltreatment towards Chinese older adults (Lai, 2011). Elders who reported family relationships characterized by high emotional closeness but also high family conflict (unobligated ambivalent), as well as those with low intergenerational engagement (detached), were at the highest risk for elder maltreatment (Li, Guo, Stensland, Silverstein, & Dong, 2019). Elder maltreatment had been linked to poorer quality of life (Dong et al., 2014) and greater suicidal ideation, especially among older women (Dong et al., 2016). Asian older adults generally lacked understanding of available resources to address elder maltreatment and how to seek help. Some also mentioned the fear of losing face due to being abused by a family member, which prevented help-seeking (Dong et al., 2011).

Racism, Discrimination, and Stereotype

Some of the more difficult to label and eliminate issues relate to racism, discrimination, and prejudice. This section discusses both historical and contemporary examples of larger institutional practices as well as personal examples of racism and discrimination that individuals of Asian origin experienced. We also examine how these negative experiences affect their health and outcomes.

Many critical immigration legislations targeting Asian immigrants were passed in the 1880s in the United States and Canada. For example, the United States enacted the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882, banning immigration from China, and in 1907–1908, similar restrictions were placed on Japanese and Korean immigrants through the Gentlemen's Agreement (DIVA, 2009–2012). The Canadian parliament also passed similar legislations, banning or limiting immigration from certain regions of Asia. For example, in 1885, it passed the Chinese Immigration Act, placing a heavy head tax on Chinese immigrants to deter or limit immigration from

China (Canadian Museum of Immigration, 2017; DHR, 2017). Canada added an amendment to their Immigration Act in 1908, called the *continuous journey regulation*, which allowed only immigrants who made a continuous journey from their country of origin into Canada. This regulation was in response to increase anti-Asian sentiments, aiming to restrict immigration from Japan and India, because there were no continuous routes from these countries directly to Canada (DHR, 2017).

Asians in North America were also denied the rights to citizenship, suffrage, and due process under the law (Zia, 2000). In 1923 in *United States v. Bhagat Singh Thind*, the Supreme Court ruled that Asian Indians were ineligible for citizenship (Gee, Spencer, Chen, & Takeuchi, 2007). In Canada, citizenship and voting rights were restricted based on race. Canadians of East Indian, Chinese, and Japanese origin were not allowed to obtain citizenship or the right to vote until 1947 (DHR, 2017). Although some Asian ethnic groups, such as those of Japanese, Chinese, and Korean ancestry have been in North America for many generations, they were still considered foreigners.

Reports from Statistics Canada (2016, 2017) showed that 30% to 40% of Canadians of Asian origin reported experiences of discrimination or unfair treatment due to their race, ethnicity, religion, language, or accent. Similarly, a study of Southeast Asian refugees resettled in Canada revealed that over a third (40%) reported experiencing some form of subtle discrimination, such as being looked down upon, being treated unfairly, and hearing insulting remarks (Beiser, Noh, Hou, Kaspar, & Rummens, 2001). Approximately 10% experienced overt forms of discrimination, such as threats, racial graffiti on personal property, or physical abuse. Similarly, according to the 2016 Collaborative Multiracial Post-Election Survey in the United States, 44% of Asians have experienced discrimination (Do & Wong, 2017). These rates were higher for Koreans (61%) and lower for Asian Indians (31%). Similarly, those who were born outside of the United States tend to experience more discrimination.

Major events in North America also heightened the levels of racism and discrimination experienced by various ethnic and religious groups within the Asian community. After the terrorist attack on September 11, 2001 in the United States, Muslims and Sikhs, many of whom were of South Asian ancestry, were targeted and sometimes physically assaulted due to various physical markers, such as wearing a turban or head covering and having an uncut beard (Ahluwalia, 2011). According to the United States Department of Justice (2015), the prevalence of hate crimes against Sikh, Muslims, and South Asian Americans have skyrocketed after 9/11, reaching over 800 incidents. Many more hate crimes go unreported.

Racial discrimination negatively affects the physical and mental health of Asian Americans and Asian Canadians. The United States Surgeon General noted that racial discrimination was a risk factor for mental disorders and other psychological issues (USA DHHS, 2000). Perceived discrimination had been found to predict depression among Korean immigrants in Canada (Noh & Kaspar, 2003) and increased the risk for depressive and anxiety disorder in Vietnamese, Filipino, Chinese, Asian Indians, Japanese, Korean and Pacific Islanders in the United States (Gee, Delva, & Takeuchi, 2007). Racial discrimination also impaired physical

health by increasing the risk of chronic illnesses, such as cardiovascular, respiratory, and pain conditions (Gee et al., 2007), even after controlling for demographic characteristics, such as age, sex, education, family income, nativity status (Yoo, Gee, & Takeuchi, 2009). Additionally, unfair treatment related to discrimination was linked to increased prescription and illicit drug use, as well as alcohol dependency in Filipino Americans (Gee, Delva, & Takeuchi, 2007).

Related to racism and discrimination is the emergence of bullying and peer victimization among youths. Asian American youths reported greater peer discrimination, through physical and verbal attacks and social exclusion, than their peers from other racial/ ethnic groups (Cooc & Gee, 2014; Fisher, Wallace, & Fenton, 2000). In a sample of diverse high school students, 84% of East Asian and 73% of South Asian students reported that they had been called racially insulting names by someone their own age (Fisher et al., 2000). These rates were similar to those found by Wang, La Salle, Wu, Do, and Sullivan (2018). Although the researchers did not specifically ask about racially motivated discrimination, they found that about 64% of the Asian American middle school students reported traditional victimization by a peer, and about 25% faced victimization online (Wang et al., 2018). Asian males faced greater risk of racial harassment from peers than Asian females (Cooc & Gee, 2014), and those from first- and second-generation (Peguero, 2009) were more likely to be victimized. In a study of first-generation Chinese adolescents in Boston and New York (USA), adolescents described experiences of discrimination and harassment from peers due to the recency of their immigration status, not being able to speak English well, and the model minority myth (Qin et al., 2008). To the last reason, Chinese youth recounted incidents of peer resentment towards their academic performance and teachers' positive perceptions of Asian students.

Racial/ethnic discrimination from peers seemed to have more deleterious effects on Asian-origin youths than those from other ethnic minority backgrounds (Rivas-Drake, Hughes, & Way, 2008). Specifically, Asian students reported higher distress related to peer discrimination than their white, Latino, and African American counterparts, with East Asians experiencing the highest levels of distress (Fisher et al., 2000). Peer discrimination related to more internalizing symptoms (e.g., depression, low self-esteem; Greene, Way, & Pahl, 2006; Wang et al., 2018) and externalizing symptoms (e.g., somatization, substance use; Juang & Alvarez, 2010).

Discrimination and racism towards individuals of Asian descent is difficult to address, because there is a general perception that this community does not face such problems. Data from the 2016 Collaborative Multiracial Post-Election Survey showed that even though 22% of White persons believed that there was "a lot" of discrimination towards white individuals, only 9% believed that there was "a lot" of discrimination towards Asians (Do & Wong, 2017). This may be due to the "model minority model" myth, where individuals of Asian ancestry were perceived to be successful and had few problems (Kawai, 2005). The perception of success may lead people to believe that Asians face relatively little to no racism or discrimination.

In addition to being viewed as a model minority, individuals of Asian ancestry also faced the perpetual foreigner stereotype, where they were seen as outsiders or

foreigners, regardless of their place of birth or length of time in the host country (Huynh, Devos, & Smalarz, 2011). This stereotype may be due to their physical features. In an experiment in the United States, Cheryan and Monin (2005) found that white college students rated pictures of Asian faces as "less American" than those of blacks and Hispanics. In terms of their experiences, Asian American college students were five times more likely than whites, and 3.4 times more likely than blacks, to report being perceived as a foreigner. Researchers have shown that being perceived as a perpetual foreigner was a type of micro-aggression that was particularly damaging, because it invalidated and denied an individual's identity and sense of belonging (Cheryan & Monin, 2005). Awareness of the perpetual foreigner stereotype predicted lower self-esteem, more depressive symptoms, and more anxiety symptoms (Do, Wang, & Atwal, 2019), as well as lower life satisfaction (Huynh et al., 2011). These effects were significant even after accounting for reported levels of perceived discrimination (Huynh et al., 2011). Overall, these studies showed that even subtle forms of racism had a major impact of Asian's well-being and adjustment.

Attention has been dedicated to identifying protective factors and strategies to address peer discrimination among youths. For example, in a study of over 1000 high school students (14% were Asians), Bellmore, Nishina, You, and Ma (2012) found that positive peer, teacher, and school interracial climate were associated with lower levels of peer ethnic discrimination across time. Positive school interracial climate was particularly protective against peer discrimination for Asian students. Wang et al. (2018) also found that having a positive school climate buffered the negative effects of face-to-face and cyber victimization on suicidal thoughts and behaviors among Asian American students. Researchers had only begun to examine family-related protective factors. Family cohesion protected youth from the negative effects of ethnic/ racial discrimination by reducing anxiety (Juang & Alvarez, 2010), and parental involvement mitigated the adverse effects of face-to-face victimization on suicidal thoughts and behaviors, especially for Asian American girls (Wang et al., 2018). Much still can be done in researching pathways of protection and resilience to address racism, discrimination, and stereotyping among individuals and families of Asian background.

Domestic Violence

Accumulated stress and strain resulting from immigration may escalate into violence within the home. In this section, we review the literature on two broad categories of domestic violence: intimate partner violence (IPV) and child maltreatment. With each category, we examine the prevalence, risk factors, as well as the associated outcomes and related interventions. When appropriate, we also discuss gaps that can be addressed in future research.

There is a sizable body of research on IPV in Canada (see Okeke-Ihejirika et al., 2018) and the United States, particularly violence towards South Asian women (Choksi, Desai, & Adamali, 2010; Dasgupta, 2000). This was consistent with both

countries' focus on developing programs and policies to address domestic violence (Abraham & Tastsoglou, 2016); however, national-level data on the prevalence of IPV among Asian population remained scarce. Some sources showed rates ranging from 10% to 25% among Chinese immigrants and 25% to 40% among South Asian immigrants in the United States (Midlarsky, Venkataramani-Kothari, & Plante, 2006; Silverman, 2002). Similar rates were found among a community sample of South Asian women in Canada (19%; Madden, Scott, Sholapur, & Bhandari, 2016).

The high prevalence of IPV within Asian immigrant communities may be due to personal, familial, social, as well as cultural factors (Lee & Hadeed, 2009). One such factor may be the strong patriarchal beliefs (Bhuyan, Mell, Senturia, Sullivan, & Shiu-Thornton, 2005). For example, Yoshioka, DiNoia, and Ullah (2001) found that high proportions of Vietnamese immigrants in the United States endorsed beliefs in male privilege, such as *a man is the ruler of his home* (60%) and *a husband should have the right to discipline his wife* (54%). They were also more likely to endorse wife beating for situation-specific reasons, such as *infidelity* (54%) or *nagging too much* (46%). Immigration-related factors, such as legal status, lack of transportation and limited language proficiency, may increase violence in the home (Midlarsky et al., 2006). Structural factors, including racism and a lack of culturally sensitive services and interventions in both Canada and the United States, may prevent victims from reporting or seeking help (Erez & Hartley, 2003; Miedema & Wacholz, 2000). Interviews with Cambodian immigrant women also revealed traditional beliefs about enduring the abuse as part of one's karma (Bhuyan et al., 2005). Asian immigrant women were reluctant to leave an abusive marriage or to seek help for domestic violence, because of the cultural and social stigma of divorce and familial and economic pressure to stay married (Midlarsky et al., 2006).

Qualitative work detailed the coping process among victims of domestic violence. Research with South Asian immigrant women in both Canada (Ahmad, Rai, Petrovic, Erickson, & Stewart, 2013) and the United States (Bhandari, 2018) described their personal willpower in deciding to leave an abusive situation, motivated by the desire to promote the well-being of their children and facilitated by the support of family and friends, both in the host country and back home in their country of origin. Their personal faith and structural support from professional services (e.g., housing, language classes, and immigration advice), as well as continual support from family and friends helped the women through the difficult transition.

More research is needed, especially studies using nationally representative samples both in Canada and the United States. As with the other topic areas, there is a continual need to disaggregate data among Asian ethnic groups (Chung, 2001). Although the majority of domestic violence was perpetuated by men, a few studies highlighted incidence of domestic violence with male victims (Kim & Emery, 2003). Due to strong patriarchal beliefs, these individuals may face greater resistance in reporting the abuse or seeking help (Cheung, Leung, & Tsui, 2009). IPV and domestic violence typically occurs within the couple relationship, but some studies revealed abuse committed by in-laws (Bhuyan et al., 2005; Raj, Livramento, Santana, et al., 2006). Additional research is needed to examine the experience of

men in abusive situations and violence perpetuated by other members within the family.

IPV also comes in many different forms, including physical, verbal, psychological, and sexual abuse. To date, most of the research focuses on physical abuse. More studies are needed to explore other types of violence. One severe form is honor killings, which is "premeditated killings of family members, primarily women, who are thought to have brought shame or dishonour to their family by engaging in certain behaviors considered unacceptable" (Muhammad, 2010, p. 4). These killings are often planned in advance, the victims have been warned to change their behaviors, and multiple family members, including fathers, mothers, siblings, and other relative, are involved either in the killing or in covering up the act (Chesler, 2009).

Honor killing is a highly controversial topic. Many scholars are still debating whether the word "honor" is appropriate to be included in the label and if categorizing it as a form of domestic violence diluted the seriousness of the crime (Chesler, 2009; Terman, 2010). Honor killings, in Canada and the United States in particular, highlight the intersection between acculturative stress and domestic violence. The "dishonoring" acts, as the families see them, often involved "Westernized" behaviors that contradict their cultural and religious heritage, such as refusing to wear a head cover and wanting to lead an independent life (e.g., pursuing college, driving a car, seeking a divorce; Chesler, 2009, 2010; Muhammad, 2010). The family of the victim may feel judged by the community if they do not take action to punish the family member(s) who violated social norms to cleanse the shame and restore their honor (Muhammad, 2010).

More studies are needed to assess the extent to which honor killings are practiced. In 2000, the State of the World Population report estimated that approximately 5000 such killings occurred each year worldwide (UNFPA, 2000). The number of cases were much smaller in Canada and the United States (Chesler, 2010). However, there are currently no official estimates as these crimes are not tracked in either country. We also need to understand the experiences of the family members, but this topic is shrouded in secrecy, and families often do not want to put more focus on the shameful event. Therefore, it may be difficult to dig deeper into this phenomenon or explore their perspectives.

Related to IPV is child maltreatment. Available data suggested that child maltreatment tended to be lower among Asian Canadians and Asian Americans compared to other racial, ethnic or visible minority groups (DHHS et al., 2020; Lee, Rha, & Fallon, 2014). The national rate of child maltreatment in the United States was approximately 9 out of every 1000 children each year, but the rate for Asian children was only 2 out of every 1000 (DHHS et al., 2020s). However, if we look at the prevalence among Pacific Islanders, it was much higher than Asian alone and more comparable to the national average, at 9 out of every 1000 children (DHHS et al., 2020). Additionally, in a diverse sample of Asian/ Pacific Islander families in Washington state, the highest percentages of child maltreatment were among Vietnamese and Cambodian children (14.4% and 13.6% respectively; Pelczarski & Kemp, 2006).

Despite the existing differences, one clear trend was the high rates of physical abuse across sub-groups (Chang, Rhee, & Weaver, 2006; Rhee, Chang, Berthold, & Mar, 2012), ranging from about 37% to 67% (Lee et al., 2014; Lee, Fuller-Thomson, Fallon, Trocmé, & Black, 2017). These rates were substantially higher than other racial/ ethnic groups (Lee et al., 2014; Lee et al., 2017). Physical abuse involved behaviors such as hitting a child with an object, slapping a child, shaking, pushing, or grabbing a child. Using data from the Canadian Incidence Study of Reported Child Abuse and Neglect (CIS-2003), Lee et al. (2014) reported that of the 2703 cases involving East and Southeast Asian families, over a quarter of them resulted in physical harm to the child. An earlier study with Korean immigrant families in the United States found that more than half of the cases were of moderate to high severity, and over a third involved persistent abuse (Chang et al., 2006).

Child maltreatment within Asian families shared some similar, as well as some unique contributing factors. Zhai and Gao (2009) developed a useful explanatory framework to understand the mechanisms of both risk and protection against child maltreatment. The framework included three factors, including Asian cultural customs and childrearing practices, immigration experiences and minority status, and attitudes and practices of social service professionals. To the first factor, Asian cultures often emphasize parental authority and tend to be more accepting of physical punishment as a form of discipline. This was consistent with Lee et al.'s (2014) finding that approximately 76% of the physical abuse cases in Canada resulted from "harsh discipline." This rate was significantly higher than cases involving non-Asian children (49%).

The second factor related to acculturative and minority stress that Asian families experienced in their respective host societies. Surveys of Vietnamese immigrant families indicated that perpetrators of child abuse were more likely to have been in the United States for a shorter length of time (Rhee et al., 2012), and interviews with South Asian immigrant parents in Canada found that, in addition to parent-teen disciplinary issues, the majority of the families were involved with the child welfare system due to family conflicts resulting from acculturative and intergenerational conflicts (Maiter & Stalker, 2011). The last factor dealt with service providers' and professional's lack of knowledge and understanding of child maltreatment among Asian families. Although child protection workers that Lee et al. (2017) interviewed recognized physical abuse as the most salient type of maltreatment Asian children experienced, they believed that most were of low severity. They saw the need to engage with families in a more flexible, open, and culturally respectful way, but most acknowledged that they lacked an understanding of the needs of these families and that there were limited early interventions and culturally appropriate services. These sentiments were echoed by South Asian parents involved with child welfare services (Maiter & Stalker, 2011). The parents highlighted some positive experiences with workers, but many were also disappointed with the lack of interactions and the high turn-over of workers, which caused confusions and service interruptions. Parents also felt that many of the workers were unaware of the needs of their family and were culturally insensitive and unresponsive.

Although research continues to show that Asian families were less likely to report child maltreatment and less likely to seek help, those who were involved with child protective services expressed a desire to resolve their family problems (Maiter & Stalker, 2011). For example, South Asian parents in Maiter and Stalker's (2011) study acknowledged that they lacked an understanding of the child welfare system but described their experiences reaching out to their family physician, their therapist, and even the school system for help. Some also looked for resources through the local phone book, and when these resources were non-existent, they created their own support group to offer help to others going through similar situations.

Researchers have remarked that studies of child maltreatment within the Asian population in both Canada and the United States need further development (Behl, Crouch, May, Valente, & Crouch, 2001; Zhai & Gao, 2009). Lower rates of child maltreatment could be due to the presence of existing factors within the Asian community that helped to protect children from maltreatment; however, it could also indicate a problem with underreporting. For example, although research suggested that sexual abuse was low in Asian families (Futa, Hsu, & Hansen, 2001; Lee et al., 2014), one retrospective study with Filipina and South Asian women found that as high as 28% of the participants reported childhood sexual abuse (Kamimura, Nourian, Assasnik, Nourian, & Franchek-Roa, 2020). An additional study with over 8000 college students in Minnesota (USA) found that Asian/Pacific Islanders were more likely to experience sexual abuse during childhood than their white peers (Sieben, Lust, Ainslee, Renner, & Nguyen, 2019). What was more striking was the elevated risk of sexual abuse for Asian males compared to white males. These findings supported the notion that sexual abuse is a highly stigmatized and taboo topic within the Asian community, and people may be unwilling to report or discuss it (Futa et al., 2001). Available data further suggested that school and law enforcement were the two most common referral sources for child maltreatment (Chang et al., 2006), and that the family seemed more accepting of referrals from the latter source (Maiter & Stalker, 2011). Fostering partnerships between these two systems could help to increase awareness and address child maltreatment and other types of violence in the home.

Exploring both IPV and child maltreatment comprehensively, we need to sample family members who are bystanders to understand how they view domestic violence. This is critical, because as many as 27% of Asian adults had witnessed parental marital violence as a child (Yoshioka et al., 2001), and 15% to 23% of child maltreatment cases involved exposure to parental or domestic violence (Chang et al., 2006; Maiter & Stalker, 2011). Research with a nationally representative sample in the United States (4.2% Asian/ Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islanders) found that individuals who experienced maltreatment and who witnessed IPV in the home as a child were more likely to experience personal IPV as adults (Afifi, Mota, Sareen, & MacMillan, 2017). Therefore, further studies should examine the effect of witnessing domestic violence on the development of Asian children and youth from immigrant families, especially on their long-term outcomes and adjustments. Finally, the development of culturally sensitive and effective prevention and interventions to address IPV and child maltreatment in Asian families are warranted. Both parents

and service providers agreed that a strength-based and family-centered approach is critical, calling attention to the need for training and professional development in cultural sensitivity and humility (Kwok & Tam, 2009; Lee et al., 2017).

Conclusions

The frontier of research on Asian-origin families is expanding, as researchers become more aware of existing and emerging challenges that minority families faced, as well as their strengths and resilience. In this chapter we touched on some of these topics, including acculturation and intergenerational relationships; aging; racism, discrimination, and stereotype; and domestic violence. The process of migration, adaptation, and adjustment created unique dynamics within the family and transformed how family members relate to each other. Asian families also faced unique challenges at the later part of the life course concerning caregiving and aging issues. This all occurred within the larger context of structural and institutional barriers, such as racism and discrimination. The accumulated stressors may exacerbate family tension and conflicts, increasing violence in the home.

One clear pattern in the research is the need to sample or examine specific Asian ethnic groups. As the Asian pan-ethnic label continues to grow to include other ethnicities, such as Pacific Islanders, the literature also needs to keep pace with the changes. In summarizing research covering the four major topics, very few empirical studies sampled Pacific Islanders. To promote the development of research with different communities, one possible strategy is to recruit and train researchers from these various backgrounds. They will most likely have access to the population of interest and will have a deeper understanding of issues that are in need to explore further.

Moreover, longitudinal designs will expand current understanding of how various immigration processes affect family life, such as acculturation, integrational relationships, and aging. The studies summarized in this chapter included a few that utilized a longitudinal framework. These studies showed some contrary results as well as some novel findings pertaining to Asian-origin families. Additionally, there were topics that have been underexplored or underdeveloped in research with Asian-origin families. For instance, taboo topics, such as "honor killing" and elder abuse need further attention. Finally, collaborations between Canadian and American researchers should be explored to conduct comparative research highlighting similarities and differences between various Asian communities in these two nations.

The research summarized in this chapter described the varied challenges that Asian families face; however, it also highlighted positive coping strategies and strengths of individuals and family systems. It is important, especially for practitioners, to know how families maintain nurturing and supportive relationships through the family's life course and in time of crisis. Our review highlights a clear need for the development of prevention and intervention efforts to assist Asian-origin families in addressing various challenges they encounter throughout the life course, as

well as culturally relevant services targeting Asian families in both Canada and the United States. In particular, family scholars are calling for a specific focus on how culture not only provides a context for understanding differences in family life, but how it could also promote coping and adjustment (Chun, Moos, & Cronkite, 2006). For instance, researchers could examine cultural and social institutions (e.g., churches, social groups) that provide support and facilitate successful outcomes. Therefore, it necessitates an ecological perspective to understand Asian-origin families to provide them support to adapt and adjust to living in the United States and in Canada.

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