How Racialized Students Define Emotional Dating Violence

by

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ABSTRACT

HOW RACIALIZED STUDENTS DEFINE EMOTIONAL DATING VIOLENCE

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Emotional dating violence is a prevalent phenomenon among youth; however, there is a gap in the literature regarding the ways that youth define emotional dating violence, and racialized youth are particularly underrepresented in current research. The purpose of this study was to examine how racialized students from a Canadian university define emotional dating violence, using a qualitative approach. The data was gathered through an online survey. Thematic analysis was conducted and yielded four themes and six subthemes: verbal displays, evoked victims’ emotions (worthlessness, unhappiness, fear, and guilt), power imbalance (domination and isolation) and manipulation. The comparison of these themes with previous studies shows more similarities than differences, which suggests that definitions of dating violence may be universal. The implications for therapists and the future directions are discussed.
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1 Introduction

Romantic relationships are an important element of human life. However, not all romantic relationships are healthy. Unfortunately, there are high rates of violence in romantic relationships in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2016). When this violence starts within the context of dating relationships, it is known as dating violence. Dating violence has been defined in many ways by various researchers in the literature. However, young people’s conceptualizations of dating violence are understudied. Their definitions impact whether or not they will disclose or seek help, and the meaning they make of their experiences, and, as such, they are an important area of scholarly inquiry. Nevertheless, there is not enough research on this topic, and the studies that are available are largely based on white participants. Thus, the purpose of this study was to address this gap in the literature and to study racialized students’ definition of dating violence. In this study, racialized students refer to students who have cultural backgrounds that are not white. The reason to choose the word “racialized”, instead of non-white or minority, is to avoid implying that white students’ ontology is the reference point.

2 Literature Review

2.1 Prevalence of Dating Violence

There is a high rate of IPV, especially dating violence. Straus (2004) looked at the prevalence of dating violence in 31 universities across 16 countries located in Asia, the Middle East, Australia/New Zealand, Europe, Latin America, and North America. Even at the university with the lowest rate, 17% of students reported that in the previous 12 months they had physically assaulted their dating partner. At the median university, the rate was 29%, and the highest rate of physical abuse was 45%. It was worth noting that, because the rates were measured by asking
participants to self-report when they themselves committed dating violence, one might expect the actual rate of dating violence to be even higher, as some may not want to admit that they committed dating violence, and others may not consider themselves to have committed dating violence when they may have in reality. Nevertheless, the high prevalence of physical dating violence demonstrates the importance of studying this global phenomenon.

More locally, Canada is not an exception to the alarmingly high incidence of dating violence. Statistics Canada (2016) reported 93,247 victims of intimate partner violence. Most (79%) of the victims were women. The data also indicated that dating violence is even more prevalent than spousal violence: 35% percent of female victims reported that their perpetrator is also their current dating partner, while 32% reported their current spouse as the perpetrator. In addition, 25,841 women reported being victims of dating violence from their current partners, while 6,974 men reported violence by their current dating partners. Further, among female victims, 15-19 years old reported the highest percentage of dating violence from their current partners (53%). Finally, the age range of 20-24 has the second highest percentage among female victims (46%; Statistics Canada, 2016).

It is also critical to note that these rates are based on reports to the police—there are many more individuals who experience IPV without reporting it (Holt, Kernic, Lumley, Wolf & Rivara, 2002). As a result, the prevalence of IPV is likely much higher than the numbers reported by Statistics Canada. These high rates of IPV show the importance of addressing this issue, including dating violence which is the most common type (Statistics Canada, 2016).

There is a noticeable gap in the literature when it comes to research that specifically studies dating violence. Most research that examines physical violence focuses on abuse
frequency, number of abusive partners, and age of onset (Bonomi et al., 2012). However, this research does not consider other factors involved in physical violence nor does it consider psychological violence. Additionally, most studies focus on high school students while research has lagged behind when it comes to university students, even though research suggests that this population is at higher risk of dating violence (Gover, Kaukinen & Fox, 2008; Straus, 2004).

An important first step in reducing abuse in youth relationships is to first properly understand how young people define intimate partner violence, including dating violence. This is important because victims of abuse report staying in their relationships because they perceive the abusive acts as care and love (Ismail, Berman & Ward-Griffin, 2007). Thus, it is important to first examine how youth define dating violence in order to provide them with appropriate knowledge to prevent dating violence or to recognize relationships wherein dating violence is present and potentially to motivate them to leave these relationships.

### 2.2 Negative Impacts of Dating Violence

Dating violence (DV) carries significant psychological and physical consequences that can involve medical injuries, psychological disorders, and social problems (Griffin & Kossn, 2002). Women who experience dating violence demonstrate symptoms of mood and anxiety disorders more often than women who do not experience dating violence (see Yalch, Lannert, Hopwood & Levendosky, 2013).

There is a high risk of depression among individuals who experience intimate partner violence (IPV; Alhabib, Nur, & Jones, 2012; Beydoun, Beydoun, Kaufman, Lo, & Zonderman, 2012). In addition, among IPV victims, the rate of depression is twice that of those in the general population (Dutton et al., 2006). Studies of women who left abusive relationships indicate that
there is a relationship between the severity of IPV and mental health outcomes (Black, 2011; Dutton et al., 2006; Ford-Gilboe et al., 2009). Estefan and colleagues (2016) investigated long-term depression in IPV victims. In this study, there was a relationship between emotional abuse frequency and self-reported long-term depression. The authors indicated that emotional abuse alone can cause these negative effects, without other types of abuse (physical and verbal). This shows the importance of considering emotional abuse when studying dating violence.

2.3 Definition of Dating Violence in The Literature

Dating violence is a particular type of intimate partner violence, however, there is not a single, uniform definition of it in the literature. Various researchers have provided different definitions of this concept. For example, some researchers (Lazarevich, Irigoyen-Camacho, Velázquez-Alva & Salinas-Avila, 2017) used Wolfe and colleagues’ (1996) definition of dating violence, “Any attempt to control or dominate another person physically, sexually, or psychologically resulting in some level of harm” (Lazarevich et al., 2017, p. 184). While Wolfe and colleagues’ definition of dating violence describes the intention of the abuser (control and domination) and the result of the abuse (harm), some researchers provided a more general definition. For example, Gonzalez-Guarda, Williams, Merisier, Cummings, and Prado (2014) defined dating violence as “physical, sexual and/or emotional abuse occurring in a past or present dating relationship (p. 633).”

Other researchers have provided examples accompanying their definitions. For example, Vagi and colleagues (2013) stated, “Emotional or psychological violence involves threatening a partner or harming his or her sense of self-worth, name calling, shaming, embarrassing on purpose, or keeping him/her away from friends and family (p. 634).” In addition, Cyr, McDuff
and Wright (2006) defined psychological dating violence as, “behaving in a verbally offensive or degrading manner (p.1006).” Providing these details is helpful to have a better picture of their definition of dating violence as conceptualized by researchers.

Another source defines dating violence as “the threat or actual use of physical, sexual, or verbal abuse by one member of an unmarried couple on the other member within the context of a dating relationship” (Anderson & Denis, 2017, p. 88). This definition highlights that dating violence is not only physical but can be psychological as well. Psychological violence can include insulting or criticizing one’s partner, threatening to break up, making one’s partner feel inferior and saying things that hurt one’s partner (Shorey, Cornelius & Bell, 2008). This type of abuse can be a precursor for physical violence (for review see Shorey et al., 2008) or exist on its own in relationships.

These definitions are all different and shed light on a particular part of dating violence; some of them focus on the actions of an abuser, such as control and domination, while others focus on the feeling of the victims such as feeling worthlessness. The common thread between them, however, is that dating violence can happen in three different ways: physical, sexual and emotional (psychological.) In addition, the similarity between the definitions of emotional dating violence seems to be that all of them include verbal abuse in one way or the other.

Searching through literature, there are not many studies specifically focused on youth definitions of dating violence. One of the studies that examined teenagers’ ideas and definitions of physical and psychological dating violence was conducted by Sears, Byers, Whelan and Saint-Pierre (2006). The authors conducted thematic analysis on data gathered through focus groups comprised of Canadian high school students who were predominantly white. The researchers
found eight themes: “youths define behaviors as abusive only in specific contexts,” “boys define abuse by its intent; girls define abuse by its impact,” “boys use more physical abuse and girls use more psychological abuse,” “youths perceive a double standard associated with boys’ versus girls’ use of physical violence,” “psychological abuse reflects a struggle for control,” “physical abuse and psychological abuse are connected,” “embarrassment prevents teens from disclosing dating violence,” and “adolescents want skills to have healthy relationships.” While this study provides valuable information about how Canadian white youth perceive dating violence, it does not provide any information about racialized Canadian youth’s understanding of dating violence, and the findings cannot be generalized to students from other ethnic backgrounds (Sears et al., 2006). This bolsters the need to examine racialized students’ understanding of dating violence.

### 2.4 Cultural considerations

When thinking about a definition of dating violence, it is likely that one’s definition may be informed by one’s culture. “Culture is to society what memory is to individuals” (Kluckhohn, 1954). Culture can be defined as “the theory that members of a society have about what members of the society consider the "code being followed, the game being played"” (Keesing, 1974, p. 89). This definition of culture suggests that various cultures have different norms. Patriarchal attitudes influence how students conceptualize healthy relationships (Ragavan et al., 2018). In addition, patriarchal attitudes could be manifested differently in various cultures (Erman, 2001). Thus, individuals from various cultures probably hold different meanings about dating violence. Additionally, given that Canada is a multicultural country, universities include students of various cultures, ethnicities, and nationalities. Each of these cultures may have their own corresponding norms related to gender, violence, and dating expectations.
Thus, studying definitions of dating violence held by participants of different cultures can serve to foster an understanding of dating violence more reflective of Canada’s diverse population. However, there is a gap in the literature related to cultural differences in university students’ definition of dating violence. As Kaukinen, Buchanan and Gover (2015) mentioned, most of the research in this area examines white students while the results from studies investigating these phenomena among participants with other cultural backgrounds are inconsistent. One study on Iraqi Americans conducted by Black and colleagues (2009) indicated that participants’ attitudes towards dating violence are probably more related to cultural norms than to their experiences with different types of violence (Black et al., 2009). Meanwhile, a study of Hispanic Americans demonstrated that adolescents reporting higher connectedness to their culture were less likely to report dating violence victimization (Gonzalez-Guarda et al., 2014). These results show the complicated impact that culture might have on dating violence. Further research on university students, focusing on students of diverse backgrounds are needed to address these conflicting findings.

Furthermore, studying individuals from under-researched minority backgrounds is especially important because these populations undergo higher distress due to various factors including acculturation and immigration (Suinn, 2009). Acculturation is a term to describe the changes experienced by groups and individuals when they face a new culture; acculturation also refers to the process of learning to adapt and function within the new culture (Williams & Berry, 1991). Several studies have demonstrated that aspects of acculturation may impact dating violence (Sanderson, Coker, Roberts, Tortolero, & Reninger, 2004; Silverman, Deckler & Raj, 2007; Yeh, 2003). For example, female immigrants often transition from traditional to modern
values more quickly. Thus, they favor modern roles for women more often than male immigrants. This difference can put acculturated women at a higher risk of IPV if their partners of the same heritage culture are still holding on to more traditional gender roles (Sanderson, Coker, Roberts, Tortolero, & Reininger, 2004).

In addition, Nguyen and colleagues (2013) examined the cross-cultural differences in perceptions of male to female IPV among US, China and Japan’s college students. In this study, there was a difference in attitudes towards women based on country of participant. More specifically, there was a difference in beliefs about appropriate gender roles, which can contribute to understandings of IPV. Their findings showed that Japanese students hold more traditional viewpoint towards women compared to American and Chinese students, while there is no difference between American and Chinese students’ viewpoint towards women. Moreover, in the context of dating violence, Chinese students blamed the victims the most, followed by American students, while Japanese students blamed the victims the least. Although this research highlights the impact of culture on students’ viewpoint, it used a quantitative approach. Thus, the nuances of participants’ understandings of IPV are not fully explicated.

Research on prevention programs has also demonstrated the importance of taking into account culture. In one qualitative study, Fawson, Broce, Bonner and Wright (2016) examined the ways that prevention programs in high schools have impacted American students, who mostly identified as racial minorities. One of the emergent themes was an “awareness of a culture of violence.” Participants suggested that the awareness of the ideas that cultural scripts impose on men and women shared in the programs, and how these scripts can lead to violence,
was helpful for them, such that this realization had inspired them to end violence (Fawson et al., 2016).

In short, dating violence is a prevalent phenomenon which has a negative impact on victims. Studying youth perceptions of dating violence, which are informed by culture, is important as their definitions impact whether youth disclose or seek help. Despite the importance of youth understanding of dating violence and the role of culture in shaping their definition of dating violence, there is a gap in the literature studying racialized youth’ definitions of dating violence. Most of the research to this date is focused on white participants (Kaukinen, Buchanan and Gover, 2015) and also takes a quantitative approach (Nguyen et al., 2013; Bonomi et al., 2012). Moreover, there is less research available that has examined specifically emotional dating violence; with most research focusing on physical violence (Gonzalez-Guarda, Williams, Merisier, Cummings, & Prado, 2014; Mahlstedt & Welsh, 2005). This study will address this gap by examining racialized youth’ definition of dating violence using a qualitative approach.

2.5 Current Study Objectives

The purpose of this study was to investigate the ways that minority students at Canadian Universities define emotional dating violence. This qualitative study examined the definition of emotional dating violence of university students of different cultures, from one institution, using thematic analysis. Thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns (themes) within data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The benefit of this approach is that it provides more information about students’ understanding of dating violence than if a quantitative approach was used.
3 Method

3.1 Positionality

Researchers’ ontologic and epistemologic perspectives necessarily affect how they approach their research. My own ontology and epistemology inform the structure and purpose of my research questions, which examine culture. My ontology is informed by both relativism and critical realism. The relativistic viewpoint holds that reality differs across time and context (Patomaki & Wight, 2000). Having this viewpoint led me to think that cultural differences likely affect how people understand dating violence. In addition, I adopted a critical realist viewpoint in which I perceive knowledge to be socially influenced (Patomaki & Wight, 2000). This perspective pointed me towards the idea that people’s perceptions about a concept such as dating violence is under the influence of their cultures. This viewpoint encouraged me to shape my research question such that it examined the perspective of participants who did not identify as white.

Researchers’ viewpoints also affect how they gather data. For the current research project, the research team gathered survey data from 1500 university students. Using surveys is a good approach for gathering data for this study in that it provides a safe space for participants to share their ideas. In other words, their answers are completely anonymous which can lead them to provide their honest beliefs with less concern about the judgment of others. If we were to use interview or focus groups, participants might feel pressure from other participants to provide a particular answer, rather than their honest answers. As a result, although conducting focus groups or interviews could have provided us with the opportunity to ask follow-up questions and go deeper, it could have also affected participants’ honest responses. Therefore, I concluded that
using a survey was a good option for gathering data as it enabled the research team to access a large population and provided a safe space for participants to share honest responses.

3.2 Procedure

This study used existing data from an online survey. The survey asked students open-ended questions about their attitudes toward psychological dating violence. Participants were University of Guelph undergraduate students and 1,533 students participated in this survey. The link for the survey was provided for students in various ways. The psychology students’ pool was used such that the students could participate in this study in exchange of a psychology course credit. Another way of recruiting participants was through the first year Couple and Family Relationships courses. In addition, the study was promoted through various advertisement outlets such as posters, social media, and CourseLink (students’ website for accessing course content) postings. Posters included information about participant eligibility criteria, the survey website URL, and the estimated chance of winning the incentive gift cards; and they were placed in various locations across the campus. Recruitment materials invited potential participants to answer survey questions on their attitudes about dating. The consent form further explained that questions would focus on attitudes toward emotional and physical violence.

3.3 Measures

The survey was comprised of three parts. It started with demographic questions, followed by qualitative open-ended questions, and ended with quantitative questions. The demographic section included questions regarding the participants’ gender, relationship status and ethnicity. Quantitative questions included four of the six subscales of the Attitudes Towards Dating
Violence Scales (Price et al. 1999). The subscales that are used were: the Attitudes Towards Male Psychological Dating Violence Scale (AMDV-Psyc; 15 items), the Attitudes Towards Male Physical Dating Violence Scale (AMDV-Phys; 12 items), the Attitudes Towards Female Psychological Dating Violence Scale (AFDV-Psyc; 13 items), and the Attitudes Towards Female Psychological Dating Violence Scale (AFDV-Phys; 12 items). However, these measures were not utilized for the current study.

The qualitative questions were 1) How can you tell if your relationship is a good one? 2) How do you define physical dating violence? 3) How do you define emotional dating violence? 4) How did you learn about or decide what is acceptable or unacceptable behaviour in a dating relationship, in terms of both physical and emotional abuse? For the purpose of this study, I focused only on the qualitative question that concerned emotional dating violence: “How do you define emotional dating violence?” This question provided the opportunity for participants to explain their definition of emotional dating violence.

3.4 Data Cleaning

The survey was filled out by 1533 students. For the purpose of this study, students who identified as white, as well as students who did not complete the ethnicity question were eliminated. Thus, the sample of 269 of racialized students was remaining. Among this sample, 20 students did not respond to the emotional dating question, leaving the analytic sample of 249 students. The answers of these students yielded 602 lines of data, which were 6062 words.

4 Analyses

Using thematic analysis to analyze the data provided the opportunity to derive themes of students’ beliefs towards emotional dating violence. Thus, a thematic analysis was conducted in
order to examine the definition of emotional dating violence among racialized undergraduate students at a Canadian university.

In my analysis of the data, I used thematic analysis based on Braun and Clarke’s (2013) approach; a method for recognizing patterns related to a research question. The flexibility of thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006) aligns with my general approach to this research. My aim was to discover what people from different cultures think about dating violence, without having a theory in mind beforehand. Thematic analysis is “independent of theory and epistemology, and can be applied across a range of theoretical and epistemological approaches” (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p. 78). Since I had an exploratory approach to this research, thematic analysis was a useful method to analyze the data.

Thematic analysis according to Braun and Clarke contains six steps (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Braun & Clarke, 2013). First, I familiarized myself with the data, which includes reading the data and writing down initial ideas. Second, I came up with initial codes and consulted with my advisor about them. Third, I searched for themes which exist in those codes. At this point, I coded the results into three themes and 16 subthemes in total as follow. The first theme was “intentionality” and the subthemes were intentional and unintentional. The second theme was “actions of the abuser” with eight subthemes of: physical force, sexual, verbal displays, belittling, ignoring, dominating, manipulation and isolation. The final theme was named the “impact on the victim” with six subthemes of: hurt feelings, worthlessness, unhappy, uncomfortable, fear and guilt.

Fourth, I reviewed the themes to make sure that they were related to the codes and correspond to the whole data set. At this point, I consulted with a committee member and I
realized that some themes and subthemes could go together and others did not have sufficient data to support them. As such, some themes were merged and others were deleted from the analyses. This left me with four main themes and six subthemes in total. Fifth, I defined and named the themes. Finally, I explained the results by selecting compelling examples and explaining how they relate to the research question.

5 Results

5.1 Sample Description

The average age of the participants was 19.5 and the age range was 17 to 68. Among the participants, around 80 percent were white. I focused only on participants who reported that they are racialized, which were 269. Among these participants, 214 were identified themselves as female, 54 were identified themselves as male and one person chose the option of “other.” Regarding their ethnicities, 41 participants identified themselves as Chinese, 29 as Asian, 29 as Indian and 17 as Black. There was a wide range of other ethnicities comprised of less than 8 students each. A list of these ethnicities can be found in the appendix A.

5.2 Thematic Structure

Analyzing the responses to the question about defining emotional dating violence yielded four themes and six subthemes, which are shown in table one. The themes are: verbal displays, evoked victims’ emotions, power imbalance and manipulation. The power imbalance theme has two subthemes: domination and isolation. The evoked victims’ emotions theme was comprised of four subthemes: worthlessness, unhappiness, fear and guilt. The order of the themes is based on the frequency of the answers, meaning that the first theme was supported by the answers of
most students. As we go further through the list, the number of the answers supporting the results decreased.

**Table 1. Themes and subthemes found in the results**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Themes</th>
<th>Subthemes</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Verbal Displays</td>
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<tr>
<td>Evoked Victims’ Emotions</td>
<td>Worthlessness</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Unhappiness</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Fear</td>
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<td>Guilt</td>
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<tr>
<td>Power Imbalance</td>
<td>Domination</td>
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<td>Isolation</td>
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<td>Manipulation</td>
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</table>

5.3 Verbal Displays

Many participants defined emotional dating violence by referring to verbal displays. In this context, verbal displays is defined as hurting one’s partner through offensive language and loud voices. Data from more than one-half of the students was organized into this theme. Some participants did not provide further explanation and they only wrote down the word “verbal abuse.” Other students, however, provided some examples in their answers. Among those answers, most of them were about the content and the words that abusers might use. For example, one student defined emotional dating violence as, “harsh words, swearing, rude comments.” Another student wrote, “any name calling, or abusive words.” One student provided
more details and stated, “When a partner or both partners in the romantic relationship feel emotional torment and feel sad and upset because of their partner's negative and hurtful words.”

On the other hand, a few students did not explain the content of the verbal abuse; rather, they explained the way of communicating such as using loud voices. For example, a student stated, “Shouting or yelling.” Some students explained both the way of communication and the content of it, as one student stated, “I think emotional dating violence is when the partner is using words to put the other person down or vice versa. This can be done by name calling, … constant yelling and fighting.”

5.4 **Evoked Victims’ Emotions**

This theme incorporates data from participants that referred to difficult emotions that victims would experience as a result of the abusers’ actions. Rather than focusing on the abusers’ actions, as the previous two themes do, this theme focuses on the victims’ experiences of emotional dating violence. Data from most of the participants could be organized into this theme. A wide range of emotions were referred to by students to explain emotional dating violence. Among their examples, four emotions were used by most of the students, which led to the development of four subthemes: worthlessness, unhappiness, fear, and guilt.

Aside from the subthemes, most participants did not provide further details about impacting victims’ emotions; rather, they explained it more broadly. For example, most of the students described emotional dating violence as hurting victims’ feelings, as one student stated, “It involves one party hurting another on an emotional level.” Some participants used the words of emotional pain or distress. For example, a student stated, “If one partner is not communicating well that the other is causing them emotional stress and pain, that is not good.” Another
participant wrote, “Committing acts that are known to cause emotional distress to your partner.” There were also a number of students who defined emotional dating violence as the negative impact on the victims’ psychological health. Most of the students used the word psychologically. For example, a participant stated, “Basically it is anything that psychologically harms your partner.” A few students, however, explained examples of psychological harm such as depression; one student wrote, “Verbal abuse is being instilled into the couple making them feel overall not good, couple of things they could feel are humiliated, worthless, leading to depression and a lot more.”

Among the students who provided more details about the feeling of hurt, some students described emotional dating violence as feeling disrespected. For example, a participant wrote, “When a person is not respected.” Some students explained that the abuser might lead victims to feel insecure. For example, a participant stated, “They make you feel insecure about yourself.” Similarly, one student wrote, “Any kind of action that targets the insecurities or sensitivities of an individual you are dating.”

In addition, there were some explanations that are used only by a couple of students. One of these definitions was feeling torn down, “Harming your partner emotionally, where they are no longer happy and feel torn down and abused.” Another description was related to feeling unstable, as one of the students stated, “Emotional dating violence occurs when one partner makes the other feel emotionally unstable.” Another student defined dating violence as feeling emotionally invalidated, as they stated, “When their emotions are invalidated.” The rest of the students’ responses were categorized into the four subthemes as follow.
Worthlessness. The worthlessness subtheme is defined as behaving in a way that attacks the victims’ self-worth or self-esteem, leading them to feel worthless, unimportant and small. Some students only described the feeling of worthlessness, while other students described the acts of abusers that can lead victims to feel worthless and small. For example, participants explained actions such as criticism, humiliation, and belittling.

Among the students who did talk more about the feelings of the victims, many of them used the words worthless or lowering their self-worth in their responses. For example, a participant stated, “Make you feel worthless.” Another participant wrote, “Anything which may harm someone's self-worth.” A few participants explained the feeling of worthlessness through the words of being not good enough. For example, one student stated, “Making them feel inadequate by telling them they're not good enough.” Relatedly, some students used words such as attacking one’s self-worth. For example, a participant wrote, “It leads to damaging thoughts and feelings about one's self. Attacks self esteem and the victim.”

The students that focused more on the acts of abuser that led to the victim feeling worthless and small mostly described criticism, belittling, and humiliation. For example, one student described the acts of criticism, “Treating the other person as if you're too good for them, as if you're settling and they should feel lucky to have you. Openly criticizing them in public, or acting with deference towards them.” The other student described that belittling is the main factor in dating violence: “Belittling the other person or knocking them down verbally is considered emotional dating violence in my opinion.” A few students explained that humiliation is way of emotional dating violence. For example, one student wrote, “Verbal abuse is being
instilled into the couple making them feel overall not good, couple of things they could feel are humiliated, worthless, leading to depression and a lot more.”

Unhappiness. The next subtheme is unhappiness, which is defined as evoking feelings of sadness and unhappiness in the victim. Many students used the words of unhappiness or sadness. For example, one student stated, “Emotional dating violence occurs when one partner makes the other feel emotionally unstable and unhappy in the relationship.” Another student wrote, “Can be similar to bullying, such as actively making the other person feel bad, sad…” A couple of students used words such as not being satisfied in the relationship: “When a person is not respected or satisfied.”

Fear. The third subtheme is fear, which is defined as experiencing of being afraid or being unsafe as a result of abusers’ actions. Many students whose responses were consistent with this subtheme used words such as afraid, scared, intimidated, or fear. For example, a student wrote, “When one partner is feeling intimidated, threatened and internal pain from their partner.” Another student stated, “When someone tries to get what they want by making you feel scared.” Additionally, some students explained that being threatened by the abuser had led them to feel fearful; as one student stated, “In the form of threats, which could cause fear, insecurities and anxiety in the other person.”

Furthermore, some students whose responses supported this theme explained being unsafe as emotional dating violence. Since feeling unsafe could lead to feeling frightened, it was coded under the subtheme of fear. An example explaining feeling unsafe as emotional dating violence is: “When either one in a couple relationship physically psychologically makes their
partner feel uneasy and unsafe around their partner.” Another student wrote, “Anytime a person is purposefully made to feel unsafe or hurt by someone intending to inflict harm.”

**Guilt.** Guilt is the last subtheme, which is defined as leading victims to feel guilty because of the abusers’ actions. Most participants used words such as feeling guilty by the partner. For example, a student wrote, “Making partner feel guilty for not doing something.” Another participant response in line with this subtheme is, “A partner might use their emotions to make the other feel guilty.” A couple of students explained that guilt tripping as a way of emotional dating violence. An example of a response supporting of this subtheme is, “Guilt tripping you into doing what they want you to do.”

Some students explained that emotional dating violence is when the abuser makes the victim feel it is their fault, or when they blame the victim. A participant response supported this theme as they stated, “They put you down more often than not, and they make you feel like it's your fault.” Another comment, which is consistent with this subtheme, is, “Blaming the victim for everything.”

In addition, a couple of students wrote that punishment is a way of engaging in emotional dating violence. These answers were coded under the subtheme of guilt because punishing someone implies that they are guilty. A participant comment consistent with this theme is, “In these types of relationships, one individual may insult and disrespect their partner as a way of punishment. This may result in the emotionally abused individual to develop psychological problems.”
5.5 Power Imbalance

The power imbalance theme incorporates data from participants who defined emotional dating violence as when the abuser acts in a way that puts the victim in a lower power position. Data from more than one-half of the students was coded in the power imbalance theme. A couple of students explicitly used the words power imbalance in their answers. For example, a participant stated, “I believe the most dominant feature of emotional dating violence is the unequal distribution of power that the other person uses against you.” The answers of the rest of the students were coded into two subthemes: “dominating” and “isolation,” which came out the most in the students’ answers. Participants described a number of ways that a power imbalance was actualized in a dating relationship. These responses were organized into the following subthemes: dominating and isolation.

Dominating. The subtheme name “dominating” was given to participant responses which referred to the abuser exercising control over the victim. Many students explained that they defined emotional dating violence as demonstrating controlling behaviours. Participants described controlling behaviours in various ways, such as controlling the mind and behaviour of the victim or controlling the relationship. For example, one participant stated, “I would define emotional dating violence as controlling the other person's mind by telling them they should do this if not they will be severely punished.” Another student stated, “Someone who can control your emotions and do it in a bad way.”

A few students used the words such as domination and submission. For example, a participant wrote, “to force the other person into submission.” Another participant stated, “anything that causes the non-dominant partner to feel inadequate constantly or emotionally
unstable.” A couple of students used the word entitlement in their definitions: “They convince you they are entitled to certain things or activities that you are not.”

Isolation. Isolation is the second subtheme of power imbalance. Participant responses that referred to the abuser’s actions to reduce the victim’s social ties were coded into this subtheme. Most of the participants’ responses supporting this theme were including the word isolation. Some students did not provide further details. For example, a participant stated, “emotional dating violence is when the abuser is isolating the victim.” However, a few students were more specific as they explained the isolation from friends or families. For example, a student wrote, “when the partner isolates you from friends and family.” In addition, one student explained jealousy as emotional dating violence, stating “overly jealous towards the other.” Since being jealous can lead the victim to reduce the social circle, it was considered under the isolation subtheme.

5.6 Manipulation

The final theme is entitled “manipulation.” Data from participants who described the abuse as manipulating the victim was coded into this category. Manipulation could be accomplished various ways, but the similar thread across participant responses was that participants saw the abuser as influencing the victims’ behaviours and feelings for selfish gains.

Most of the students wrote comments that generally explained manipulation without providing specific examples. For example, a student stated, “The manipulation of the emotional state of one’s partner, whether consciously done or not, in an attempt to coerce them to a certain desired attitude or behaviour.” Another student wrote, “When a person is manipulated to feel a
different way.” In the same realm, a couple of students used the word of mind game to describe manipulation. A student’s response supporting this theme is, “Playing mind games.”

Another explanation that most students used supporting this theme is using threats. This was coded under manipulation because threats can be used to make someone do something that they do not want to. While threats can also be coded under the subtheme of fear, they can also be a way of manipulating the victim. A comment supportive of this theme is, “Using threats, blackmail and negative comments to bring the significant other down.” In addition, some students explicitly described using threats as an example of manipulation, “Emotional dating violence is manipulation in a dating relationship. For example, when a partner uses words and threats to ensure that a partner will stay in the relationship.”

Some students used examples and provided ways of manipulation. The first example in this realm is blackmailing or emotional blackmailing which are used by a few students. For example, one student stated, “They hurt you psychological. By forcing you to be with them or blackmailing you.” Another participant wrote, “Emotional blackmailing the other partner into doing something they don’t want to.” Some participants described taking advantage of the victim as a way of emotional dating violence. For example, a student stated, “Verbal, or emotional abuse such as …taking advantage of another person's mental, spiritual or emotional state.”

Some students explained that not being truthful is a way of emotional dating violence. A few students explicitly described that the abuser might tell lies to achieve their negative goals. For example, a student stated, “Misuse of trust that has been placed in you to achieve a malicious result.” Another participant wrote, “Trying to inflict psychological harm towards your partner through lies or verbal abuse.” Other students only described the act of being untruthful, without
providing further information about the intention of this act. For example, a participant stated, “Playing games with one another and not being honest is what I view to be emotional dating violence.”

In short, the analysis of the data resulted in four themes and six subthemes in total. Verbal displays was the first theme which is defined as hurting one’s partner through offensive language and loud voices. The second theme was evoked victims’ emotions, which focuses on victims’ experiences, and is defined as difficult emotions that victims would experience as a result of the abusers’ actions. The evoked victims’ emotions theme has four subthemes: worthlessness, unhappiness, fear, and guilt. The third theme was power imbalance, referring to situations or relationships where the abuser acts in a way that puts the victim in a lower power position. The power imbalance theme has two subthemes: domination and isolation. The final theme was manipulation, which is defined as influencing the victims’ behaviours and feelings for selfish gains.

6 Discussion

The aim of this study was to examine how racialized undergraduate students define dating violence. The secondary data analysis was conducted on the already gathered survey data from a Canadian university. Thematic analysis was conducted using Braun and Clarke’s (2006, 2013) approach. The results yielded four main themes and six subthemes: verbal displays, evoked victims’ emotions (worthlessness, unhappiness, fear, and guilt), power imbalance (domination and isolation) and manipulation.

The findings of the current study demonstrated high cultural diversity in the sample. As it is shown in the appendix A, there are more than 80 types of ethnic backgrounds. This huge
heterogeneity further shows the importance of studying racialized students, and it provided us with the opportunity to learn about the definition of emotional dating violence from a diverse group of students.

The results of the current study can be most directly compared with findings from Sears et al.’s (2006) research. These authors examined teenagers’ ideas and definitions of physical and psychological dating violence. They conducted thematic analysis on the data gathered through focus groups comprised of Canadian high school students, who were predominantly white. One theme from the Sears and colleagues’ study was not found in the current data: “Youths Define Behaviors as Abusive Only in Specific Contexts” (p.1196). The authors reported that participants saw certain actions as abusive in one context but not another context. For example, jealousy was abusive if there was a risk of physical harm and not abusive if it was a sign of caring. This theme did not come up in the current study since the students did not include the context in their answers. This difference could be due to the age difference of the samples of the two studies or the cultural difference. The participants of the Sears and colleague’s study are high school students, while the participants from the current study are undergraduate students. The age difference might be a factor in how to define dating violence, because teenagers might report abusive behaviours as irritating rather than defining them as dating violence (Helm, Baker, Berlin & Kimura, 2017; Baker & Helm, 2010); or perhaps the older participants in this sample considered certain behaviours (i.e., making threats, manipulating) as wrong or emotionally abusive, regardless of the circumstances. This perception may evolve over time and may not have been as common in Sears and colleagues’ (2006) younger sample. This difference could
also be due to the cultural differences, since the participants of the Sears and colleagues’ study are mostly white, while the participants in the current study are racialized.

Nonetheless, the results of Sears and colleagues’ study are also similar to the results reported in the current study. The researchers stated that girls define dating violence if it has negative impacts such as emotional hurt or fear. This is in line with the theme of “evoked victim’s emotions” which is about hurting victims’ emotions. Also, it is in line with the subtheme of fear. Another similarity in the themes is related to the control theme. Sears and colleagues’ study yielded the theme “psychological abuse reflects a struggle for control.” This is in line with the theme of power imbalance and specifically the subtheme of the domination, showing the abuser’s effort to exercise control over the victim. The similarities between the current study and the Sears and colleagues’ study suggest that some aspects of the dating violence definition, such as victim’s hurt feelings and abuser’s exercising control, are more universal.

The results of this study are also comparable with the definitions of dating violence found elsewhere in the literature. The subtheme of domination is in line with the Wolfe and colleagues’ (1996) definition of dating violence, as they stated control and domination as the main intention in dating violence: “Any attempt to control or dominate another person physically, sexually, or psychologically resulting in some level of harm” (as cited in Lazavarich et al., 2017, p. 184). This definition is very similar to students’ responses that were categorized under the subtheme of domination as most of them described exercising control over the victims’ mind and behaviour in a way that harm the victim. For example, a student stated, “Someone who can control your emotions and do it in a bad way.”
In addition, there are some similarities between the themes found in this study and Vagi and colleagues’ (2013) definition of emotional dating violence. For one, the subtheme of self-worth is in line with “harming his or her sense of self-worth (Vagi et al., 2013). Secondly, they included name calling in their definition, which is in line with the theme of verbal displays. Finally, the theme of isolation is similar to Vagi and colleagues’ definition as they stated, “Keeping him/her away from friends and family.” Similarly, the themes of verbal displays and worthlessness are in line with Cyr, McDuff and Wright’s (2006) definition of dating violence as they stated, “Behaving in a verbally offensive or degrading manner (p.1006).” However, the subthemes of fear, guilt and unhappiness, as well as the theme of manipulation, are not present in their definition of emotional dating violence.

The comparison between the literature and the results of the current study suggests that there are some aspects of dating violence that may be more universal. These aspects are: hurting one’s partner’s feelings, displaying verbal abuse, demonstrating control and domination, as well as evoking the feeling of worthlessness in the victim. There are also some aspects that are different: manipulation, evoking feelings of guilt and unhappiness in the victim. These themes are found in the current study; however, they are not present in the definition of dating violence in the literature. These differences could be due to various factors such as the age of the participants, the recruitment approach, which is from only one institute, and the participants’ cultural background, which is racialized.

6.1 Power and Control Wheel

The results of the current study can also be considered in context with the Power and Control Wheel. The Power and Control Wheel (the Wheel), created by the Minnesota Domestic
Abuse Intervention Project (DAIP) in USA, is a useful tool in understanding the overall pattern of violence in intimate relationships, including dating relationships. The Wheel was developed in 1981 in focus groups consisting of mostly white women living in the United States (Paymar & Barnes, 2007). Thus, it can provide a good comparison point between white and racialized understandings of IPV including dating violence. The Wheel has different categories: intimidation; emotional abuse; isolation; minimizing, denying and blaming; using children; economic abuse; male privilege; coercion and threats.

Comparing findings in the current study to the Wheel shows that the results of the current study are very similar to the categories or examples in the Wheel. The Wheel’s category of coercion and threat has similarities to the subtheme of fear. The category of coercion and threat is about “Making and/or carrying out threats to do something to hurt her.” In the current study under the subtheme of fear, students explained that making threats is a way of emotional dating violence. Similarly, the category of intimidation is in line with the subtheme of fear. In addition, the category of emotional abuse in the Wheel includes, “calling her names,” “playing mind games,” and “making her feel guilty.” These descriptions are in line with the themes of verbal displays, manipulation and the subtheme of guilt. Another similarity is the category of isolation in the Wheel, which is similar to the theme of isolation found in the current study.

While there is a lot of similarity between the Power and Control Wheel categories and the themes found in this study, there are also some differences. In the Wheel, there are three categories that did not come up in the results of this study: male privilege, economic abuse, and using children. This could be due to the fact that the present study is about dating violence specifically; thus, these relationships do not reflect a context where these three themes could be
shown. For example, they probably don’t have children together, so the abusive partner could not use children in any manipulations. Similarly, as they are not living together the chance of the abuser being able to involve in economic abuse or using male privilege is lessened.

Another difference between the Wheel and the results of this study is that there the subthemes of unhappiness and worthlessness found in the current study are not represented in the Wheel. This difference suggests that being unhappy in a dating relationship may be more salient for racialized students as an indicator of dating violence compared to among white participants.

Another explanation of this difference could also be because of the age difference of the sample of current study compared to the sample of the research that yielded the Wheel. The next difference between the Wheel and the results of the current study is that there is not a theme found in our study similar to the category of minimizing and denying. It is stated in the Wheel under this category: “Making light of the abuse and not taking her concerns about it seriously. Saying the abuse didn’t happen.” This difference suggests that denying the abuse and disregarding victims’ concern is not as salient to the racialized students compared to the white participants.

The results of this comparison are important because they can help to understand the unique experience of racialized students. For example, as it shows in the comparison, the theme of “unhappiness” and “worthlessness” may be more salient for racialized students than white students. Thus, it is possible that when a white therapist is assessing the presence of dating violence in a racialized client relationship, they could miss that the feeling of unhappiness could be a sign of the presence of dating violence in the relationship. In addition, since the theme of “denying” was not present in the results of this study, it is possible that racialized students are
not aware of the impact of such behaviours on themselves. Thus, it could be helpful for a therapist to explore these types of behaviors when assessing if emotional dating violence is present.

The importance of cultural factors in influencing definitions of dating violence was raised in the literature review. For example, degree of acculturation may influence individuals’ perceptions of gender roles (Sanderson et al., 2004), which may, in turn, influence their acceptance of dating violence. However, the influence of culture and ethnicity has been understudied in relation to dating violence (Kaukinen, Buchanan & Gover, 2015). It was an aim of the current study to centre the experiences of racialized participants, and to potentially learn some insights about the role of culture in definitions of emotional dating violence. The similarities between the current study’s findings and the definitions of dating violence suggest that some aspects of dating violence could be more universal. Various explanations are available for these similarities. First of all, it could be because the participants from various cultures are examined together, thus the nuances of various cultures are not teased apart. Another explanation is that the duration of the participants being in Canada is unknown. It is possible that some students had been born and raised in Canada, whereas others had already acculturated to the North American culture. Thus, their definition of dating violence is more similar to the ones found in the literature. In addition, most of the students are female, who acculturate faster than males (Sanderson, Coker, Roberts, Tortolero, & Reining, 2004); therefore, it is possible that the participants’ responses do not completely echo their cultural background but are more in line with the dominant culture in Canada presently.
6.2 Limitations

This study has a number of limitations. First of all, using survey as a way of gathering data did not provide us with the opportunity to follow up with students’ answers, losing the opportunity to get a more profound understanding of their attitude towards dating violence. However, using a survey provided us with more honest answers (Heiervang & Goodman, 2011; Turner, Ku, Rogers, Lindberg, Pleck & Sonenstein, 1998) as the participants were answering the questions alone, and therefore not as likely to feel judged by the researchers.

The other limitation of this study is that the sample of racialized students included only a few students in each category of cultural backgrounds. While it is good to have a diverse sample, looking at them as one unit leads to losing the specifics of each culture. Thus, it could have been helpful to look at each culture separately to learn more specifically about that culture. This was the initial plan of this study; however, there were not enough students from each ethnicity. As a result, we decided to study them as a whole.

Another limitation of this study is that most of the participants were females, thus we could not compare the male and female definitions of dating violence. Thus, any differences between these two categories are not present in the results of this study. Consequently, further research is needed to examine the differences between the male and female viewpoints.

6.3 Future Directions

While this study added to the literature by providing an understanding of how racialized students define emotional dating violence, it is just a first step to address the gap in the literature. Future research could further contribute to this area of research in various ways. First of all, future studies could attain more in depth understanding of racialized students’ definition of
emotional dating violence by conducting focus group interviews. Since interviews can provide opportunities to ask follow-up questions from participants, they can provide more nuanced answers (Duggleby, 2005; Onwuegbuzie, Dickinson, Leech & Zoran, 2009). Secondly, this study included students from various cultures. Future studies could examine each culture separately, providing more detailed information about students from a particular culture. Finally, participants of the current study are mostly females, thus the results might not completely resonate for males. Future research could further examine male students to better understand their definitions of emotional dating violence.

6.4 Knowledge Translation

Knowledge translation is an important part of qualitative research. The purpose of this study was to understand the attitudes of dating violence among university students so that appropriate steps can be taken to address the issue. With this in mind, it is important to disseminate the results of this study to people and organizations that can use the results to take these necessary steps. The results of this study could be especially relevant and practicable for two main audiences: university staff who are tasked with developing on-campus educational health and wellness initiatives, and psychotherapists who anticipate encountering survivors of dating violence in their practices.

First, the results of this study can be used by universities to design educational programs for students, especially in the area of first year student orientations. Committee members who organize annual orientations can use the results of this study to design appropriate programs within orientations which are geared toward the recognition and prevention of dating violence. For example, in their orientation, they can include more information about the themes that are
less represented by the participants, helping students to become more aware of ways that dating violence might take place. This awareness could help students to become less involved in the dating violence perpetration and victimization.

The training programs can educate students on themes that are talked about less often. First, the importance of physical violence and its possible impact on emotional well-being can be discussed. The themes that could be included in this area are sexual actions such as treating the partner like a sex object and cheating. Second, the training programs can explain that isolation and blaming are considered emotional dating violence and they can affect emotional well-being of partners. This information could be helpful to reduce both dating violence victimization and perpetration, because lack of knowledge could lead to both victimization and perpetration.

By giving those who design these orientations the tools to understand underlying attitudes of participating students towards dating violence, they will find themselves in a better position to develop programming which makes use of available and relevant data to inform the content of those programs. My intention is to provide the results of this study directly to the Student Wellness committee who organize first year orientations. These results can also be used to design an online workshop for undergraduate students which can be disseminated through existing health and wellness channels at the university. The content of the workshop could serve to educate undergraduate students about problematic attitudes they may have towards dating violence. Since the data is inclusive of a broad range of cultural backgrounds, the results can be used to design workshops which are culturally sensitive. As with many voluntary courses which have been developed for undergraduate students, the link for this workshop can be posted on
Courselink. Educating students using workshops is helpful as they can positively change students’ attitudes towards dating violence (Lazarevich et al., 2017).

The therapists can use the results of this program to better assess the presence of emotional dating violence for their clients. They can ask questions that evaluate the themes found in this study. Following are the examples of these types of questions, which are open-ended and thus, in line with many therapy models as most models take an exploratory approach.

1) Can you tell me about a time when your partner mistreat you verbally? For example, shouting or using swear words?
2) Can you tell me about a time when your partner tried to control your behaviour?
3) Can you tell me about a time when your partner tried to cut ties between you and your family or friends? Can you think of a time when you had to reduce your social ties because your partner showed jealousy?
4) Can you tell me about a time when your partner’s behaviour led you to feel worthless? For example, when they showed behaviours such as belittling, criticizing or humiliating you?
5) Can you tell me about a time when your partner’s behaviour made you feel unhappy?
6) Can you tell me about a time when your partner’s behaviours led you to feel fearful or unsafe?
7) Can you tell me about a time when your partner’s behaviour led you to feel guilty? For example, if they have blamed you.
8) Can you tell me about a time when your partner tried to manipulate you? For example, if they have blackmailed you or taken advantage of you?
I will also disseminate the results of this study to psychotherapists through existing provincial and national organizational networks. Some people who experience dating violence do reach out to psychotherapists for help and since dating violence and corresponding attitudes can be different across various cultures, it is important for therapists to be mindful of these differences. This awareness can help them to better conceptualize their clients’ experiences and implement therapeutic treatment strategies and models which will more closely align with their clients’ realities.

To more effectively distribute the results of my study, I can provide outreach materials based on this information to the College of Registered Psychotherapists of Ontario (CRPO) and the Ontario Association for Marriage and Family Therapy (OAMFT). I will encourage the CRPO and OAMFT to deliver the results of the study to practicing psychotherapists by suggesting the development of workshops or seminars. Since these organizations publish monthly journals and magazines that are sent to members, this avenue represents an appropriate and already available method to educate therapists about cultural differences in attitudes toward dating violence. Conference and continuing education presentations may stem from this work, and could be provided by the researchers or others.

This analysis may also be suitable for journal publication. However, it is important to ensure that any publications are also available outside of academic institutions. This can be done with open access online journals, submission to Atrium through the University of Guelph Library, and other legal ways of publicly distributing documents written for journal publication. Furthermore, this could support grant efforts to support future studies or to fund the creation of broader outreach materials.
As psychotherapists begin to implement these results into their work with clients, my hope is that psychotherapy as a field will become more culturally aware in this area and therefore more helpful for a broader range of clients. Psychotherapists have an ethical obligation to provide culturally aware services to diverse populations, including in the area of dating violence. To date, the field of psychotherapy has primarily been based upon research and theory written by white, westernized professionals. As the field improves it’s ability to meet the ethical obligations of culturally aware practice it can better contribute to an overall reduction in intimate partner violence.

7 Conclusion

Given that dating violence is very prevalent, it is important to study this phenomenon to understand it better, so that appropriate prevention and intervention programs could be designed. The first step to study dating violence is to examine how youth define dating violence, which is an under-research area in the literature. The paucity of research in this area is even bigger when it comes to racialized youth (Kaukinen, Buchanan & Gover, 2015). Thus, this study examined how racialized undergraduate students define emotional dating violence. The findings of this study demonstrated that verbal displays, power imbalance (domination and isolation), evoked victims’ emotions (worthlessness, unhappiness, fear, and guilt) and manipulation are the main themes present in racialized youth definition of emotional dating violence. The comparison of these results to the existing literature displayed that hurt feelings, control and domination, verbal displays and feeling of worthlessness are used more universally by youth to describe emotional dating violence. On the other hand, feeling unhappy in a relationship appears to be more salient for racialized youth as an indicator of emotional dating violence. This study is one of the first
steps to address the gap in the literature and the results can be used by therapists to better understand clients from racialized background. Future research could expand these findings by examining each culture separately, which can lead to a more tailored prevention and intervention programs to reduce dating violence among youth.
References


## Appendix A

Participants’ ethnicities and their frequencies

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<th>Frequency</th>
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Italian/Canadian 1
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Japanese 1
Japanese and Colombian 1
Japanese/Irish 1
Jordanian 1
Latino 1
Lebanese 4
Malaysian 2
Mexican 2
Middle Eastern-Iraqi 1
South Asian 6
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South Korean 3
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Mixed 8
Mixed Trinidadian and Canadian 1
Mixed, African and Asian 1
Mixed: British and West Indian 1
Nigerian 2
North American Indian 1
Pakistan 4
Pakistani-Canadian 1
Pilipino and polish 1
Polish and Pakistani 2
Portuguese 3
Punjabi 3
Romanian 1
Russian 1
Scottish, Irish and French 1
Scottish/Mexican 1
Serbian/Cuban 1
Somalian and Italian 2
South American 1
Spanish 1
Sri Lankan 4
Swiss- Pilipino 1
Taiwanese 1
Tanzanian/Indian 1
Turkish 1
Ukrainian 1
Vietnamese 5
West Indian 1