

Domestic Violence and Its Effects on Young Males:

Is There a Risk for Criminal Behaviour?

by

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Abstract

The effect that domestic violence has on children has been well documented. However, knowledge regarding specific factors present in violent families is limited. The present study partially examined whether children who witnessed domestic violence were at risk for developing externalizing behaviour problems. The study also examined the effects domestic violence had on criminal behaviour. The understanding of empathy in the parent-child relationship was also explored. Fourteen Caucasian and five First Nations incarcerated youths from 13 to 19 years of age participated in the study. The Conflict Tactics Scale, The Survey of Exposure to Community Violence Scale, and The Youth Empathy Scale were administered. One hundred percent of the youths reported witnessing some form of domestic violence. The form of domestic violence witnessed was either physical or psychological abuse or both. For example, 42 percent of the youths reported having observed their mother being pushed, shoved, or something thrown at her that could injure her and 84 percent reported their father insulted or swore at their mother. A high percentage of youths reported being arrested, picked up, or taken away by the police. Thirty-two percent of the youths reported being picked-up, arrested, or taken away by the police seven or eight times. One hundred percent of the youths reported that they understood the meaning of empathy. Seventy-four percent of the youths reported that their parents, or mother and partner, had difficulty understanding them and their point of view. Findings suggested a relationship between witnessing domestic violence and externalizing behaviour problems, particularly criminality in adolescence. The

present study also found the empathic quality of the parent-child relationship affected by children who witnessed domestic violence.

Examiners:

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	iii
Table of Contents.....	iv
Dedication	v
Acknowledgements.....	vi
Introduction.....	1
Literature Review.....	6
Domestic Violence and Children	6
Internalizing Problems	9
Externalizing Problems	12
Social Competency Problems	16
Conduct Problems	18
Adolescents and Criminality	28
Parent-Child Relationships	33
Method	37
Participants.....	37
Measures	38
Conflict Tactics Scale.....	38
Survey of Exposure to Community Violence	39
Youth Empathy Scale.....	39
Procedure.....	40
Results.....	41
Discussion.....	47
References.....	53
Appendix A: Survey of Exposure to Community Violence	62
Appendix B: Youth Empathy Scale.....	79
Appendix C: Conflict Tactics Scales Form	80
Appendix D: Participant’s Consent Form.....	83
Table 1	41
Table 2	44
Table 3	46

DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate my thesis and all of my educational accomplishments to my wonderful mother Sylvia, my brother Peter, and my best friend Joanna. Thank you, Mom, for all your gentle words of encouragement, empathy, and your faith in me and my abilities, which gave me the strength to follow my dreams. You're an angel, and I truly cannot express enough how significant of a role you have played throughout my life and my education. To my brother Peter, your ability to always find the positive in some of the most difficult and negative of circumstances was such an inspiration and helped me pick up the pieces and keep on going at the times that I felt so incredibly discouraged. Thank you for all your encouraging words and big heart. To my best friend Joanna, so much of who I am and all that I thought I could accomplish in my life is because of you and your friendship. I am truly blessed to have you in my life and thank you for being my biggest cheerleader.

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INTRODUCTION

Domestic violence is now recognized as a serious health and social problem which can have devastating consequences for families. Johnson (1996) reported that 29 percent of all Canadian women experience domestic violence at some time in their lives after the age of 18. A minimum of half this violence is of a serious nature, such as kicking, hitting, beating, sexual assault, or use of a gun or knife. In contrast, psychological abuse is seldom described or reported.

During the past decade, children who have witnessed domestic violence have become an increasing focus of concern. This population has shifted from being seen as the unintended victims—children who witnessed the physical and/or psychological abuse between their mother and intimate partner—to being seen as high-risk candidates for immediate and long-term emotional and/or behavioural problems (Jaffe, Wolfe & Wilson, 1990; Peled, Jaffe and Edleson, 1995; Sudermann & Jaffe, 1997). The domestic violence these children witnessed can be conceptualized in several ways. These include: observing violence, hearing mother and intimate partner fighting and “knowing” that their mother is being hit but not directly observing the violence; observing outcomes of the violence (e.g., bruises on their mother, broken furniture) but not necessarily observing or hearing the violence directly; becoming aware of the violence (e.g., their mother or a sibling tells them about it) but not necessarily observing or hearing evidence of it; living in a household in which the violence occurs but not being aware of it; and being aware of the psychological abuse between mother and her intimate partner. For the purpose of this study, children who have witnessed domestic violence included those children who

observed the violence directly, heard their mother and intimate partner and knew that their mother was being hit, but did not directly observe the violence, and observed the psychological abuse of their mother and intimate partner. Psychological abuse can be conceptualized as verbal/emotional abuse such as recurring criticism and/or verbal aggression. Psychological abuse can also take the form of neglect and ignoring of a partner.

Many studies have documented associations between domestic violence and a variety of internalizing, externalizing, and social competency problems in children who witnessed domestic violence. Externalizing problems, which are the behavioural problems exhibited by children who witnessed domestic violence, included conduct behaviours (Jouriles, McDonald, Spiller, Norwood, Stephens, Ware, Buzy, & Swank, 2001; McCloskey, Figueredo & Koss, 1995); aggression (Dawud-Noursi, Lamb, Sternberg, 1998); and criminality (Spaccarelli, Coatsworth, & Bowden, 1995). Internalizing problems, which are the emotional or affective problems exhibited by children who witnessed domestic violence, included anxiety/withdrawal (Kerig, Fedorowicz, Brown, Patenaude. & Warren, 1998), nightmares, lower self-esteem, and psychosomatic complaints. Social competence problems included difficult temperaments, extreme approaches to problem solving, and impaired empathic abilities.

Although studies have reported that children who have witnessed domestic violence showed internalizing, externalizing, and social competency problems, conduct problems, one of the externalizing behaviours, were of particular interest to this research paper. Conduct problems include a wide range of “acting-out” behaviours that violate social norms. Not only are such problems extremely disruptive for family members,

teachers, and peers, they have also predicted a number of difficulties during adolescence including peer rejection, drug abuse, school dropout, and criminal behaviour (Loeber & Hay, 1997; Moffit, 1993). Since conduct problems have been reported to start during early childhood and remain relatively stable over time, examining whether domestic violence is related to conduct behaviours is important. Hershorn and Rosenbaum (1985) reported that boys who witnessed domestic violence were more likely to exhibit conduct problems than were boys, matched for age and family socioeconomic status, from nonviolent, satisfactory marriages. Pfouts, Schopler, and Henley (1982) found among adolescents domestic violence has been associated with criminal behaviour, and Spaccarelli et al. (1995) stated exposure to domestic violence is an antecedent factor that results in increased risk for violent offending.

Although studies lend support to the notion that children who witnessed domestic violence were more likely to suffer from conduct problems, our knowledge regarding the specific factors present in violent families relating to child conduct problems is limited. The parent-child relationship has been hypothesized to be one critical factor by which domestic violence affects children. Healthy parent-child relations have been seen to give rise to positive feelings such as love and feelings of security. When the caregiver is sensitive to the needs of the child—confident, responsive, warm, affectionate, empathic and consistent, the child's capacity to relate easily to others is maximally developed, as is self-confidence. These children have been found to display warmth toward others, show few if any signs of emotional dysfunction, and rarely engage in antisocial behaviour (Grossmann & Grossmann, 1990). Patterson (1982) documented that parents of children with conduct problems differ from parents of children without such problems in their use

of specific parenting behaviours, that is, parents of children with conduct problems have been found to have difficulties in setting limits, are more likely to use harsh and inconsistent methods of discipline, and are not as warm and affectionate towards their children. Domestic violence may undermine effective parenting behaviours; for example, a parent's ability to respond empathetically may become limited due to a preoccupation with his or her own problems. Empathy is described as the ability of an individual to identify the feelings of another and to then act accordingly. Domestic violence may be emotionally draining to parents, therefore reducing their ability to recognize and respond empathetically to their children's emotional needs. Jouriles, Spiller, Stephens, McDonald & Swank, (2000) found parents' failure to build warm, affectionate relationships with their children and to systematically encourage prosocial behaviours, as an alternative to defiance and aggression, were hypothesized to contribute to the development and maintenance of child conduct problems.

Overall, several research studies have consistently found domestic violence to be an important health and social problem that can have devastating short- and long-term consequences. Although women are the most obvious victims of domestic violence, it has become increasingly clear that children are greatly affected as well. Many research articles have consistently reported that children who witnessed domestic violence can exhibit a host of behavioural problems. For example, these children have been found to show higher levels of conduct problems especially during adolescence. Not only are such problems extremely disruptive, they have also predicted a number of difficulties during adolescence, including criminal behaviour.

Parent-child relationships have been hypothesized to be a critical factor by which domestic violence can affect children and adolescents. Some studies have found an association between child conduct problems, leading to criminality, and the developing parent-child relationship. For example, parents of children with conduct problems have been found to be not as warm and affectionate towards their children and less empathetic towards their children's needs. Domestic violence has been found to undermine effective parenting practices. For example, a parent's ability to respond empathetically to their child's needs may become limited due to their preoccupation and stresses of their own problems.

Clearly, the association between domestic violence and externalizing behaviours such as childhood conduct problems, and in particular, criminal behaviour, warrants the attention of clinicians and policy makers. The development of effective interventions to reduce conduct problems among children at a young age, before criminality begins, should be a national priority. This study hopes to expand on the very limited knowledge of the effects domestic violence has on children and adolescence. This study seeks to answer the following research questions: Are children who witness domestic violence at risk for externalizing behaviour problems? Are children who witness domestic violence at risk for developing criminal behaviour? And, for children who have witnessed domestic violence, is a failure for parents to respond empathetically to the needs of their children a factor in the development of criminal behaviour?

LITERATURE REVIEW

Domestic Violence and Children

The last three decades have been marked by an increased public awareness of domestic violence. The belief that all family life is safe and secure has been shattered by those who have pointed out the alarming frequency and variety of violence in many North American families. At one time, this topic was considered an acceptable behaviour within a patriarchal society, or a family secret.

Domestic violence is now recognized as a serious health and social issue that can have devastating consequences for families. Johnson (1996) reported that 29 percent of all Canadian women experience domestic violence at some time in their life after the age of 18. Dutton (1988) reported severe violence occurs in one in 14 marriages. Estimates have pointed to the fact that approximately three to four million American households and 500,000 Canadian households live with this violence every year (Stark & Flitcraft, 1996). A minimum of half of this violence is of a serious nature, such as kicking, hitting, beating, sexual assault, or use of a gun or knife. The extremes of this violence are that women are more likely to be killed by their partners than by anyone else. As has been mentioned, psychological abuse against women is seldom described or reported.

Although several important books and articles were published on domestic violence in the 1970s, very few researchers considered the effects of this behaviour on the children. Most of the early literature in this field focused on the incidence of violence against women, and the inadequate response of community agencies represented by the justice, health, and social service systems (Walker, 1979). The needs of the children in

these families were rarely considered. When children were physically abused as well, they were considered by service providers to be a part of the battered women's responsibility. Only in the late 1980s were children who witnessed domestic violence recognized as a potential etiological factor for child psychopathology and associated problems (Hughes, 1988). One reason that literature on the effects of domestic violence on children has developed slowly may simply be due to the fact that, initially, the greater need for direct intervention with the parents and the abusing system overshadowed the possible impact on child witnesses (Davis, 1988).

During the past decade, children who witnessed domestic violence have become a major focus of concern. This population has shifted from being seen as the unintended victims—children who witnessed the physical and/or psychological abuse between their mother and intimate partner—to being seen as high-risk candidates for immediate and long-term emotional and/or behavioural problems (Jaffe, Wolfe & Wilson, 1990; McDonald, Jouriles, Norwood, Ware, & Ezell, 2000; Peled, Jaffe & Edleson, 1995; Sudermann & Jaffe, 1997). For example, Yates, Dodds, Sroufe, and Egeland (2003) examined the contribution of maternal reports of male to female partner violence in the home to children's prospective behaviour problems, independent of other known risks to child development. Participants were drawn from the Minnesota Parent-Child Project, a 25-year longitudinal study. Of 190 participants, when the current investigation began, 82 percent (N=155; 81 males, 74 females) were available at every assessment throughout the preschool and school years and constituted the sample used in their study. Extensive data were collected at several points in time using multiple informants and assessment procedures, including psychological tests, interviews, questionnaires, and direct

observations of child behaviours and mother-child interactions. In the first year, home visits were conducted six times, and there was an additional lab visit at 12 months. After the first year, home visits were conducted every six months until 63 months (except at 36 months), annually thereafter through Grade 3, and at several points throughout adolescence. Detailed information was obtained from teacher interviews, teacher ratings and behaviour checklist, and school files at the end of first, second, and third grades, and when the participants were 16-years-old. Measures used in the current analyses assessed the level of male to female partner violence in the home as reported by the mother, child physical abuse and neglect, child cognitive ability, socioeconomic status, mother-reported life stress, and teacher and youth self-report ratings of child behavioural and emotional problems.

Their study confirmed the relations between childhood exposure to partner violence and both concurrent and prospective child behaviour problems. Gender differences were indicated by significant differences at the level of the bivariate correlations, as well as in the hierarchical regression analysis, with stronger contributions of witnessing partner violence to boys' behavioural problems to girls' emotional problems. These data suggested that partner violence in the home is equally deleterious to the behavioural and emotional adjustment of boys and girls. Boys' exposure to partner violence in middle childhood was positively associated with contemporaneous reports of behaviour problems in Grades 1-3, whereas boys' exposure during the preschool period was significantly associated with behaviour problems in adolescence. For girls, exposure to partner violence in the preschool period was positively related to emotional problems at age 16.

The domestic violence these children witnessed can be conceptualized in several ways, including observing violence, hearing mother and intimate partner fighting and “knowing” that their mother is being hit but not directly observing the violence, observing outcomes of the violence (e.g., their mother or a sibling tells them about it), but not necessarily observing or hearing evidence of it, living in a household in which the violence occurs but not aware of it, and being aware of the psychological abuse between mother and intimate partner. Studies estimated that between 60 and 80 percent of children in families where domestic violence occurred witnessed the violence, either by seeing or overhearing it (Jaffe et al., 1990). Tolman (1989) suggested that the psychological abuse of a female partner is comprised primarily of verbal/emotional abuse. Verbal abuse is generally defined as recurring criticism and/or verbal aggression toward a partner, although verbal abuse is not synonymous with psychological abuse, because psychological abuse can also take the form of neglect and ignoring of a partner. Social workers, shelter staff, and researchers were the first to call the attention to the symptoms that these “unintended victims” exhibited. They reported symptoms of internalizing problems, externalizing problems, and social competency problems in children who witnessed domestic violence.

Internalizing Problems

Internalizing problems, the affective or emotional behaviour exhibited by children who witnessed domestic violence, included enuresis (bed wetting), nightmares, depression, psychosomatic (bodily aches, pains, and illness with no known medical cause) complaints (e.g., headaches, ulcers, asthma), lower self-esteem, fear and

anxiety/withdrawal (Kerig et al., 1998). It is not uncommon for children who have witnessed domestic violence to also report feelings of fear and terror (Ericksen & Henderson, 1992; Jaffe et al., 1990). Kerig (1998) hypothesized that children's appraisals mediated the relationship between interparental violence and internalizing and externalizing problems. Participants included 106 maritally violent couples and their eldest child aged 8 to 11. There were 48 girls and 58 boys in the sample. Families were included in the present study if both husband and wife reported that some physical aggression had occurred between them in the past year. The findings of this study lend support to Grych and Fincham's (1990) cognitive-contextual model which hypothesized that children's appraisals mediated the effects of interparental violence on their adjustments. They stressed that children are active in attempting to interpret the significance and meaning of their parents' arguments, and in discerning what role they might play in causing or solving their parents' conflicts, such as their frequency, intensity, and resolution. The child's perceptions of threat and self-blame were also hypothesized to mediate the impact of interparental conflict on children's emotional adjustment. The present results of the study showed that appraisals of the properties of interparental conflicts (their frequency, intensity, and resolution) were strong predictors of adjustment for both boys and girls. However, some different patterns of effects emerged for boys and girls. Conflict properties mediated the relationship between interparental violence and both externalizing and internalizing problems such as anxiety in boys, while this effect held for internalizing problems only in girls. Therefore, these findings suggested that, while appraisals affect the relationship between interparental

violence and both internalizing and externalizing symptoms in boys, these effects are particular to internalizing problems for girls, especially depression and anxiety.

Jaffe et al. (1990) reported serious internalizing problems were seen at greatly elevated rates (e.g., between 10 and 17 times greater) in children who witnessed domestic violence, than in children from non-violent homes. They suggested that these problems may have resulted because children have internal tension with no effective way of altering the problem, expressing the issues, or seeking help. Children may be afraid for their mother and/or getting hurt themselves. Children who have lived with the secret of domestic violence have also reported feelings of anger, confusion, guilt, shame, and a sense of hopelessness and helplessness. Because the secret is kept from people outside of the family and only kept inside the family, the children who wanted to alleviate the negative feelings he/she had experienced often had to do it alone. A code of secrecy is often enforced, so the domestic violence is not revealed to those outside the family. Children are taught not to tell about the abuse, and may be threatened with punishment if they do tell. Some families may move frequently whenever detection becomes likely, while other families may live in the same neighbourhood for years, with no one in the community taking action to assist the victims. Until the secret of violence becomes known to others outside the family, it may not be possible to individually help children in these families. Although some children show behavioural problems that become visible to others, other children contain their secret inside, showing no discernible symptoms.

Although internalizing difficulties with children who have witnessed domestic violence have been investigated, remembering that each child is an individual and will show or have different symptoms or behaviours is important. Some commonalities to their

psychological and behavioural status have been reported. These behaviours may range from simple clues that they are uncomfortable in certain situations to very hostile, angry, and alienating actions. Often one of the most striking symptoms is the dramatic change in the demeanour or personality of the child. These changes are often very sudden: for example, a child who has been very outgoing and involved with other children may suddenly become isolated and withdrawn. These changes are often reflected in a student's performance at school. Teachers often note a sudden drop in responsiveness or accomplishment in the classroom as something significant is going on in the child's life.

Externalizing Problems

Externalizing problems, the behavioural problems exhibited by children who witnessed domestic violence, included temper tantrums, aggression (Dawud-Noursi, et al., 1998), conduct problems (McCloskey, Figueredo & Koss, 1995; Jouriles, McDonald, Spiller, Norwood, Stephens, Ware, Buzy, & Swank, 2001) and criminality (Spaccarelli et al., 1995). Relationships between domestic violence and children's externalizing problems have been investigated with some vigour over the past decade, and empirical evidence has clearly indicated that children growing up in families marked by such violence are at an increased risk for clinical levels of behaviour problems (Jaffe, Sudermann, & Reitzel, 1992; McDonald & Jouriles, 1991). Jouriles, Norwood, McDonald, Vincent, and Mahoney (1996) conducted two studies that examined whether domestic violence correlated with children's externalizing problems. Study One included 55 families who were seeking marital therapy in which at least one incident of domestic violence was reported. Families had at least one child between the ages of 5 and 12.

Parents provided reports of child behaviour problems on their oldest child within this age range. This yielded reports for 23 boys and 32 girls. Study Two included 199 families also with at least one child between the ages of 5 and 12 years old, at battered women's shelters. The level of physical domestic violence in these families led the women to seek shelter outside of their home. Parents in this group also provided reports of their child's externalizing problems. The study found families characterized by domestic violence and other forms of psychological abuse, such as verbal threats and hitting objects, correlated directly with children's externalizing problems. Such correlations were found for externalizing behaviour problems in Study One, the participants who were seeking marital therapy, and for both externalizing and internalizing behaviour problems in the women's shelter sample from Study Two. An important implication of the present study was that, within families marked by recent physical domestic violence, the frequency of occurrence of psychological abuse other than physical violence (e.g., insults, threats, kicking, throwing objects) appeared to be at least as important as the frequency of physical domestic violence in predicting concurrent child externalizing problems. These results add to an expanding body of literature indicating that researchers need to go beyond the incidence and frequency of physical domestic violence to understand children's behaviour problems within families marked by physical domestic violence.

Yates et al. (2003) found boys' exposure to domestic violence in middle childhood was positively associated with reports of externalizing problems in Grades 1-3, whereas boys' exposure during the preschool period was significantly associated with externalizing problems in adolescence. For girls, exposure to domestic violence in the preschool period was positively related to internalizing problems at age 16. This gender

difference is consistent with prior work showing a stronger association between witnessing domestic violence and externalizing problems among boys and internalizing symptoms among girls.

Fantuzzo, DePaola, Lambert, Martino, Anderson, and Sutton (1991) also found preschool boys to be at risk for developing externalizing problems in cases where there was domestic violence. They found that anger was commonly shown by young children who had witnessed domestic violence. Two longitudinal studies provided relatively good evidence that exposure to domestic violence can be an antecedent causal factor in the development of aggressive behaviour problems in childhood (Aber, Allen, Carlson, & Cicchetti, 1989; Erikson, Egeland, & Pianta, 1989). School-aged and adolescent boys have also been found to be at an increased risk for developing externalizing behaviours problems. For example, Carlson (1990) conducted a study in which the relationship between observation of marital violence and adolescent externalizing behaviour and adjustment was studied. The sample consisted of 101 adolescents from five settings, four residential treatment agencies, and one shelter for runaway youths. The subjects ranged in age from 13 to 18. Just over half of the sample (55 percent) reported witnessing marital violence. Their study found the majority of young people in the sample (83 percent) reported having run away at least once. Just over half of the male respondents reported having thoughts about seriously hurting themselves. There was also a tendency for them to be more likely to hit their mothers, compared to boys from more peaceful homes.

Kernic, Wolf, Holt, McKnight, Huebner, and Rivara (2003) explored the relationship between exposure to maternal intimate partner violence and child externalizing problems. The intimate partner violence-exposed group consisted of

dependent children whose mothers were victims of police-reported or court-reported intimate partner violence. Participants consisted of 448 women 18 years and older who were victims of abuse by a male intimate partner which resulted in a police-reported incident or a filing of a protection order between October 15, 1997 and December 31, 1998. The sample size was 167 intimate partner violence-exposed children. These findings provided significant evidence of the association between children's exposure to maternal intimate partner violence, with or without a history of reported child maltreatment, and the occurrence of externalizing problems.

Jouriles, McDonald, Norwood, Ware, Spiller, and Swank (1998) conducted a study in which externalizing behaviour problems were examined across three groups of children (8- to 12-years-old), living in families characterized by recent physical spousal violence. One hundred and fifty-five children and their mothers participated in the study. They tested the hypothesis that children who have observed domestic violence involving knives or guns exhibited increased levels of externalizing problems compared with children who lived in families characterized by domestic violence, but who had not observed violence involving knives or guns. The study compared the following three groups of children, all of whom were living in families with recent physical domestic violence: (a) those who reported witnessing domestic violence involving knives or guns (observed); (b) those who did not report witnessing violence involving knives or guns but whose mothers reported that such weapons had been threatened or used in recent marital disputes (occurred); and (c) those who did not report witnessing violence involving knives or guns and whose mothers also did not report such violence (neither). Consistent with the hypothesis, children in the observed group displayed higher levels of

externalizing problems than did children in the neither groups. However, children in the observed group and occurred groups did not differ from each other, and children in the occurred group displayed higher levels of externalizing problems than children in the neither groups. Thus, the results from their study suggested that the occurrence of domestic violence with weapons, rather than children's observation of it, marks an increased risk for child externalizing behaviour problems. Children's perceptions of threat resulting from domestic violence involving knives or guns were associated with heightened levels of aggression and disruptive behaviours. For example, children misbehaved in an attempt to end or prevent the escalation of domestic violence by shifting parental attention to themselves. If children recognized domestic violence as potentially lethal, they may be especially likely to act out in an attempt to distract the course of violence.

Social Competency Problems

Children who have witnessed domestic violence have been found to exhibit lower social competence. Although social competency problems have been studied less frequently than the externalizing and internalizing problems, some findings have been reported. Fantuzzo et al. (1991) hypothesized that children who have witnessed both physical and verbal interparental violence would manifest lower social competencies than children not exposed to physical violence. Participants were 107 young children and their mothers, who were either enrolled in Head Start Centers or temporarily residing in shelters for battered women. The children included 58 boys and 49 girls ranging in age from 3.5 to 6.4 years. The results of the study found the shelter group of children

displayed the lowest levels of social competency and maternal acceptance. Results were consistent with prior research that found that children who witnessed interparental violence and were residing in shelters displayed low levels of social functioning (Jaffe, Wolfe, Wilson, & Zak, 1986; Wolfe, Jaffe, Wilson, & Zak, 1985). It could be hypothesized that placing preschool children in shelters with their abused mothers separates them from important coping mechanisms found in their natural environment such as familiar surroundings, toys, peers, neighbours, and relatives, and leaves them feeling defenseless and less buffered from stress. From this perspective, it is not hard to understand why these children would experience feelings of abandonment and become more socially withdrawn. Longitudinal studies are needed to determine whether residing temporarily at a shelter has temporary or long-term effects on children's social adjustment.

Wolfe and Jaffe (1991) reported the aggressive family tends to live in an environment that fails to provide the children with appropriate opportunities for models of socialization or bonding. Hence, it is not surprising that children who are victims of domestic violence often have impaired social competencies. Children from homes where their mothers were being abused have shown less skill in understanding how others feel and examining situations from others' perspective (called empathy) when compared to children from non-violent households. Peer relationships, autonomy, self-control, and overall competence have also been reported significantly lower among boys who had experienced serious domestic violence and had been exposed to the use of weapons between adults living in their homes. Margolin (1998) stated that not only have these

children shown problems with social competence, but also have difficult temperaments, extreme approaches to problem solving, and impaired empathic abilities.

Randolf and Talamo (1997) found that children who witnessed domestic violence was frequently hampered in their social and school development. Children who have witnessed domestic violence may be preoccupied with this issue and have difficulty concentrating on school learning tasks. Their social development may be hampered because they are too sad, anxious, or preoccupied to participate, or their tendency to use aggressive strategies in interpersonal problem solving may make them unpopular and to feel rejected.

Conduct Problems

Although studies have reported children who have witnessed domestic violence show internalizing, externalizing, and social competence problems, externalizing problems such as conduct behaviours are of particular interest to this paper. Research has indicated that children of domestic violence have shown higher levels of conduct problems. Conduct behaviours include a wide range of “acting-out” behaviours that violate social norms. Some children and adolescents go beyond defiance and consistently behave in deliberately disruptive ways that violate the rights of others and the rules of society. These children rarely feel guilt, remorse, or empathy with others, nor do they take responsibility for their own behaviour. They do not get along well with other children or adults and can be cruel to animals or people. Unable to tolerate any frustration or to delay gratification, they are often irritable and try to provoke others. Children with conduct problems may bully or threaten others or get into fights, acting alone or with a

gang. They may steal, set fires, destroy property, assault, rape, or (rarely), murder. Conduct problems in children are associated with early onset of sexual behaviour, drinking, smoking, use of illegal drugs, and reckless or risky acts. It may lead to suspension or expulsion from school, problems with the law, sexually transmitted diseases, unplanned pregnancy, physical injuries, and an increased risk of suicide. Factors that may contribute to conduct problems include difficult temperament, lower-than-average intelligence, poor academic achievement, parents who ignore good behaviour and focus only on bad behaviour, lack of consistent limits or adequate supervision, marital conflict, domestic violence, physical or sexual abuse, removal from a home for any reason, poverty, and brain damage.

Childhood conduct problems are not only extremely disruptive for family members, teachers, and peers, but they also predict a number of difficulties during adolescence and adulthood, including peer rejection, drug abuse, school dropout, and criminal behaviour (Grych, Jouriles, McDonald, Norwood, & Swank, 2000; Loeber & Hay, 1997; Moffit, 1993). A number of studies have found a significantly raised incidence of childhood conduct problems in children who have witnessed domestic violence, compared with control populations. Emery (1982), and Jouriles et al. (1996) reported the types of behaviour problems most frequently associated with domestic violence are conduct problems, and domestic violence has been more strongly related to problems with boys than girls. Since conduct problems have been reported to start during early childhood and can remain relatively stable over time, examining whether domestic violence is related to conduct behaviours in children is important.

Conduct behaviours, such as aggression, may begin in early childhood and once established may be very difficult to change. Therefore, identifying conditions in the lives of young children that contribute to early development of aggression is important. From infancy, children seem to be aware of the emotions of those close to them and to show emotional responses. Cummings, Iannotti, and Zahn-Waxler (1985) conducted a study on the influence of conflict between adults has on the emotions and aggression of young children. Two-year-old toddlers and their mothers were seen in an apartment-like setting in a research laboratory. Forty-seven children (26 boys and 21 girls) took part in two experimental sessions. In the first session, they were approximately equally divided between same- and opposite-sex pairings. In the second session, one month later, children were matched with new children of the opposite sex from the partner seen the first time. The 43 new children (22 boys and 21 girls) thus participated in one experimental session. Twenty children (10 boys and 10 girls), equally distributed in same-sex and opposite-sex pairings, constituted a control group. The three groups of children were compared: a group that was initially exposed to background anger and then exposed to a repetition of anger in a second session to assess cumulative influences; a replication sample who were the children participating in just one experimental session; and a control group of children never exposed to anger stimulation. A procedure using direct observation was used in the present research to further explore children's emotions and aggression upon witnessing conflict between others. This study found young children exposed to a background of conflict and anger between adults was influenced markedly by this environmental stressor. The most immediate effect of anger between adults was to heighten children's distress, an influence that became even more pronounced with

repeated exposure to conflict. Distress was a prominent reaction to anger in the home, especially in toddlers. Children's distress became exacerbated when they were exposed to high levels of parental conflict. Boys more than girls reacted to the argument between the adults with aggression. Such findings have been interpreted sometimes to suggest that boys are less resistant and more vulnerable to the effects of family or marital discord than girls. These findings suggested the probability of direct emotional effects on children of witnessing domestic violence (Cummings, 1987).

In a study conducted by Jouriles, Pfiffner, and O'Leary (1988), relationships were examined involving domestic violence, parenting, and toddler conduct problems. Sixty mother-toddler dyads (30 boys and 30 girls) participated as subjects. Mothers completed measures of general marital satisfaction, overt marital conflict, and toddler conduct problems. The results of their study indicated that general marital discord and overt domestic violence were related to observations of child deviance and maternal reports of conduct problems in a toddler-aged sample. Jouriles et al. (1989) hypothesized that marital aggression contributed to the prediction of conduct disorders. Participants were 87 couples requesting marital therapy with children between 5 and 12 years old. Spouses completed measures of marital aggression, marital discord, child problems, and family demographics. They found that marital aggression contributed to the prediction of conduct disorders. Hughes and Barad (1983) also found school-aged children exposed to domestic violence exhibited a pattern of aggressive and anxious behaviours. Porter and O'Leary (1980) reported an indication of more conduct problems for boys 10 years and younger. Jouriles (1992) reported parents' verbal aggression predicted both conduct and personality problems in school-aged children (5 to 12 years), after accounting for parents'

general marital distress and physical marital aggression. Females were described as withdrawn, clingy, and dependent.

Cummings, Goeke-Morey, and Papp (2003) examined an exposure hypothesis, that is, exposure to marital conflict promoted children's conduct problems such as aggression. They argued that simple exposure to marital conflict increased the probability of child aggression and that these responses are relevant to understanding children's broader patterns of aggressive symptoms. Children's immediate aggressive responding to exposure to marital conflict was examined. Participants were 108 families with 8-to 16-year-old children (53 boys, 55 girls), with diary records of children's reactions to marital conflict in the home completed by 103 mothers (n=578 records) and 95 fathers (n=377 records) during a 15-day period. Child responses to analog presentations of marital conflict tactics were also obtained. Exposure to destructive conflict tactics and negative parental emotionality increased the likelihood of aggressive behaviour in children when they witnessed marital conflict, whereas constructive conflict tactics and positive parental emotionality decreased the probability of aggression. These results are consistent with a long series of analog studies that indicated exposure to marital conflict may be associated with very different responses in children, depending on how the parents handle conflict and negotiate their differences. Conflict tactics presumed to be threatening to the child (child- or marital-related) also heightened the likelihood of conduct problems such as aggression. Topics potentially threatening to children's emotional security such as conflicts about the child or the marital relationship were linked with greater behavioural problems in children, as indicated by a heightened probability for aggressiveness. Thus, support was found for the longstanding clinical wisdom supported by some past research

(Grych & Fincham, 1993) that parents should avoid fighting about their children in front of their children.

Jouriles, Bourg, and Farris (1991) conducted a study that assessed whether the magnitude of the correlation between marital adjustment and child conduct problems varied across subsamples. Parent and child interview data from the National Surveys of Children were used in this study. The first wave of interviews was based on a national random probability sample of 1,107 families with at least one child between 6 and 12 years old. In families where data were collected on multiple children, one child was randomly selected for inclusion. The second wave of interviews was conducted when the children were between 11 and 17 years of age. Longitudinal data were collected on 60 percent of the 1107 families selected for use in this study. The four pairs of subsamples (boys vs. girls, clinic vs. nonclinic, high socioeconomic status vs. low socioeconomic status, crowded vs. uncrowded) used for comparing the correlations between marital adjustment and child conduct problems were determined from the Wave 1 interview data. The results indicated that marital adjustment was associated significantly with parents' reports of child conduct problems in each of the subsamples identified, but when conduct problems were assessed with children's self-reports, marital adjustment correlated significantly with conduct problems only in the subsample of low socioeconomic status families.

Becker and McCloskey (2002) conducted a long-term study on attention and conduct problems in children exposed to domestic violence. During 1990-1991, 363 mother-child pairs were interviewed to assess the impact of marital violence on children's mental health. Children in the study were between 6 and 12 years of age. These families

were followed up during 1996-1997, and 299 youth were re-interviewed. In order to participate, one child between the ages of 6 and 12 in each family had to have lived with their mother during the past year. The study found more boys (14 percent) than girls (3 percent) exhibited clinical levels of conduct problems. ADHD (Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder) appeared to be a catalyst for conduct disorder for both girls and boys. Boys who developed conduct problems in childhood tended to persist, at least in the area of nonviolent offending, when they became adolescents. They reported that attention and conduct problems in children who witnessed family violence predicted later delinquency for boys than for girls.

Ware, Jouriles, Spiller, McDonald, Swank, and Norwood (2001) conducted a study that assessed battered mothers' reports of child conduct problems following a battered shelter departure. Four hundred and one mothers, each with a child between 4 and 10 years old, participated in the study. The physical violence subscale of the Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS) was completed by the mothers during shelter residence. The CTS included eight items describing physically violent acts, and mothers indicated how often they were the victims of each of these violent acts at the hands of their intimate partner during the previous 12 months. The General Severity Index was used as an index of mothers' psychological distress, and it was administered to mothers during both the in-shelter and post-shelter assessments. This measure assessed how many respondents were bothered by 90 different symptoms of psychological distress (including fear, anxiety, depression, and somatic complaints) in the previous week. Mothers' perceptions of their children's externalizing and internalizing behaviour problems were measured using the Child Behaviour Checklist (CBCL). Mothers completed this measure during the in-

shelter and post-shelter assessments. Mothers were asked to report on their children's behaviour over the past six months. A structured diagnostic interview was administered to assess whether children met DSM-IV (American Psychiatric Association, 1994) criteria for conduct disorders at the time of the interview. The interview was designed to obtain information about the frequency of occurrence of specific child behaviours outlined in the DSM-IV as characteristic of conduct disorder. The results of the study reported 30 percent of children between the ages of 4 and 10 who witnessed domestic violence were reported by their mothers to exhibit clinical levels of externalizing problems. Thirty-seven percent of the children met DSM-IV criteria for conduct disorder as determined by structured diagnostic interviews. Thus, the present results were consistent with those of other investigators that indicated about a third of these children exhibited levels of conduct problems considered high enough to warrant clinical attention. The researchers also found mothers who reported clinical levels of child externalizing problems during shelter residence continued to report such problems following shelter departure, even though they reported that their own psychological distress decreased after they left the shelters. This pattern of findings suggested that mothers' psychological distress at the time of shelter residence does not account for the high prevalence estimates of externalizing problems among children who witnessed domestic violence.

Descriptions of children residing in shelters for battered women (e.g., Alessi & Hearn, 1984; Layzer, Goodson, & DeLange, 1986) have noted the high incidence of health problems (including weight and eating problems, sleeping problems, and lack of responsiveness to adults) among infants, and mood-related disorders among preschoolers

(including anxiousness, crying, and sadness). Hughes (1982) similarly noted that younger children (boys in particular) were likely to exhibit conduct behaviours, such as being disobedient, and behaving defiantly and destructively in the shelter. Hughes (1988) conducted a study in which children who have witnessed domestic violence temporarily residing in a battered women's shelter were compared to children from a similar economic background on measures of self-esteem, anxiety, depression, and behaviour problems, using mother- and self-reports. Participants were children ranging in age from 3-to 12-years-old. The comparison families were recruited through the local media. The results of the study found preschool shelter residents exposed to domestic violence evidenced more conduct problems than two groups of older children who were living in shelters and exposed to comparable levels of violence (ages 6–8 and 9–12). A second study with the same populations (Hughes & Barad, 1983) found that preschool children reported significantly lower levels of self-esteem than older groups of school-aged children.

Jouriles et al. (2001) conducted a study on an evaluation of an intervention designed to reduce conduct problems among children who witnessed domestic violence. They reported that there was empirical evidence to indicate that children whose mothers have sought refuge from domestic violence at a battered women's shelter were at a substantial risk for conduct problems. Their study included 36 families (mothers and children) in which the mother had sought shelter because of relationship violence. Twenty-six boys and ten girls participated in the study. Twenty-six children met diagnostic criteria for ODD (Oppositional Defiant Disorder), and the remaining ten met criteria for CD (Conduct Disorder). In the sample, 75 percent of the mothers reported that

they had been beaten up by their partner, and 36 percent reported that their partner had used or threatened to use a knife or gun against them, during the year prior to shelter residence. The intervention included two primary components: (a) providing instrumental and emotional support to mothers during their transition from shelter residence to new homes independent of their batterers; and (b) teaching mothers to use a set of child management skills that have been shown to be effective in the treatment of clinical levels of conduct problems in other populations. The results of the study provided support for the effectiveness of this intervention. Specifically, children's conduct problems decreased at a faster rate among children in families receiving the intervention relative to children in families assigned to the comparison group. In addition, the level of conduct problems of children in the intervention group was brought to within the normative range. Also, mothers in families receiving the intervention demonstrated more rapid and greater improvements in child management skills compared with families who did not receive the intervention. This was the first empirical demonstration of an effective treatment program for conduct problems among children who witnessed domestic violence. Given the high number of children who are brought to women's shelters each year, the sizable proportion with conduct problems at clinical levels, and the long-term negative consequences of untreated conduct problems, the results of this study were very encouraging. That is, children who are at risk for long-term problems can be identified and helped by a practical, circumscribed, and time-limited intervention. This data also suggested, without interventions directed at reducing child conduct problems, clinical levels of child conduct problems shown by children who are brought to battered women's shelters remained relatively stable over the 16-month period following departure from the

shelter. Conduct problems at clinical levels did not appear to simply remit with the mother's separation from the batterer or with time following shelter departure. The principal component of the intervention in this study targeting child conduct problems directly was teaching mothers to effectively use a particular set of management skills. Through direct instruction, practice, and feedback, mothers were taught skills to increase desirable child behaviours, decrease undesirable child behaviours, communicate more effectively with their children, and facilitate a more positive and warm relationship with their children. The results of the study suggested that an intervention that provides support to women during their transition from a shelter to a new home, and teaches women how to effectively address their children's conduct problems, showed great promise.

Adolescents and Criminality

Most of the studies have examined the ways in which preschoolers and preadolescent children are affected by domestic violence—therefore, studying less often and less systematically the impact of domestic violence on adolescents. Adolescents from violent families have been found to use aggression as a predominant form of problem solving and to project blame onto others (Alessi & Hearn, 1984; Davidson, 1978). McCloskey and Lichter (2003) conducted a study to determine whether teenage youth who grew up in maritally violent homes displayed heightened physical aggression across various relationship contexts (e.g., dating, family, and peers). Measures were also collected on youth depression and empathy. The findings were based on a longitudinal study of mother-child pairs first recruited during 1990 (n=363) and re-interviewed during

two subsequent waves over the years 1996 and 1997 (n=310) and 1998 to 1999 (n=296). Children were between 6 and 12 years old at Time 2, and 16.4 years old at Time 3. One unique feature of this study was the measurement of aggression in three different relationship domains. Aggression against same-sex peers was by far the most prevalent form in this study. They also discovered that if an adolescent reported aggression against an intimate, such as a dating partner or parent, they nearly always had a history of peer aggression, also. It appeared that youth who struck out at intimates were aggressive across a wider range of contexts than youth who only manifest aggression against acquaintances or same-sex peers. In studies of aggression in children, researchers have found that aggressing in several different contexts predicted a more entrenched pattern of antisocial behaviour (Loeber & Dishion, 1984). Marital violence was also found to correlate with later teenage depression, and the state of depression accounts for some of the variance in peer aggression. Therefore, both exposure to marital violence in childhood and subsequent depression resulted in higher self-reports of aggressing against same-sex peers. Although empathy did not emerge as a mediator in the study, it was still an important deterrent to adolescent aggression. Children from violent households were no less empathic as measured with combined self-and maternal-reports than children from nonviolent backgrounds. Youth, therefore, low on empathy, are more physically aggressive toward other youth.

Among adolescents, domestic violence has been associated with criminality (Pfouts, Schopler, & Henley, 1982; Spaccarelli, et al., 1995). Establishing that an association exists between domestic violence and adolescent criminality, however, does little to illuminate the causal mechanisms underlying such a relationship. Other studies

have provided reasonably strong tests of the hypothesis that exposure to domestic violence would specifically increase the risk for criminality and violent crime (Lewis, Lovely, Yeager, & Femina, 1989; Lewis, Shanok, Pincus, & Glaser, 1979; Rivera & Widom, 1990). For example, Spaccarelli et al. examined the association between serious juvenile violence and previous exposure to domestic violence. They utilized an incarcerated sample, focusing on those youth who had committed assaults with weapons or sexual assaults, and used less violent juvenile offenders as a control group. A sample of 213 delinquent male adolescents ranging in age from 12 to 17 years of age participated in the study. The sample was divided into four groups: "Violent Offenders," who were arrested for, and self-reported, involvement in serious violence; "Undetected Violent Offenders," who self-reported serious violence but had never been arrested for it; "Deniers," who were arrested for at least one serious violent offence but denied any such behaviour in self-report; and "Control Delinquents," who were never arrested for a serious violent crime and self-reported no acts of serious violence. The primary goal of their study was to determine if domestic violence is a risk factor for serious juvenile violence. Results provided clear support for the hypothesis that exposure to serious domestic violence was associated with the commission of serious acts of interpersonal violence. Compared to the control group of less violent offenders, serious violent offenders were more than twice as likely as the less violent offenders to have experienced adults in their households using knives or guns against one another. The study also reported that exposure to domestic violence promoted attitudes accepting of aggression, and thereby increased serious offending. Results showed effects of exposure to domestic violence primarily on one attitude variable: believing that aggression promoted a positive

self-image. Thus, this study provided some support for the hypothesis that exposure indirectly increased the risk by influencing attitudes toward aggression. The data in this study were consistent with a modelling explanation of aggressive behaviours (Bandura, 1973), in which children are more likely to adopt specific behaviours exhibited by their parents or other significant adults in their lives.

Herrera and McCloskey (2001) conducted a study that examined whether exposure to marital violence in childhood contributed to behaviour problems in adolescence, especially criminality. They hypothesized that, consistent with other reports linking child abuse to juvenile and adult offending, child abuse as well as marital violence would have predicted adolescent crime. Interviews with 393 families were conducted over a period of about ten months (1990-1991). The mothers were on average 33 years old. A total of 299 youth were selected for the study. All women who had co-resided with a man in a sexual relationship within the last 12 months and had a child between the ages of 6 and 12 years of age were recruited for the study. A comparison group was also recruited. To assess delinquency, juvenile court records were collected in the fall of 1995, approximately five years after the children had been first interviewed. The mean age of the children in the total sample at that time was now 14 years old, with ages ranging from 11 to 18. The court records covered all the incidents of arrests and referrals throughout the minor's life, thus providing the child's entire history in juvenile court. Their hypothesis that both child abuse and domestic violence predicted adolescent crime was only partially confirmed. They found that only witnessing marital violence predicted overall offending in boys and girls. The result that domestic violence predicted delinquency better than physical child abuse was explained in two ways. First, physical

child abuse was far less common in their sample than was marital violence, and perhaps there was insufficient power in the analyses to detect its potentially ill effects. Second, these families with marital violence had many other co-occurring risk factors that could have also contributed to criminal trajectories in their children. For instance, higher rates of psychopathology, alcohol and drug use, and criminality among the parents, fathers in particular, could underlay the marital violence variable.

The murder or attempted murder of a child's mother in the context of domestic violence is a significant event in a child's life and carries with it multiple additional possible stressors. Children who have experienced and are experiencing these situations have not, to date, been well studied. Lewandowski, McFarlane, Campbell, Gary, and Barenski (2004) discussed what is currently known in the literature about these children. A total of 121 cases of femicide (homicide of women in intimate partner relationships) and 57 cases of attempted homicide comprised the parent database. One hundred and forty-six children resided in the families who experienced femicide, and 91 children resided in the families who experienced attempted femicide, for a total of 237 children. In 67 percent of the homes there had been prior physical assault of the mother. Affected children were most likely to be under the age of ten at the time of the homicides or attempted homicide, with their mothers between the ages of 30 and 39, working but earning less than \$25,000 per year. The children in this study were found to be at risk for negative psychological and behavioural problems because of the trauma of experiencing the murder or attempted murder of their mothers and all of the associated stressors. They are also at risk for becoming violent adults, repeating the acts they experienced during their childhood. During the developing years of childhood, aggression that occurred in

the family may be reenacted by the child in extra-familial environments. Children exposed to family violence tend to become involved in more negative interaction with their peers, teachers, and others in their social circle at a very early age. Over time, without intervention, an aggressive child may experience rejection and is likely to grow up with the perception of a world (his/her world) that is hostile and biased against him/her. Therefore, these children are definitely at an increased risk for aggression and hostile actions.

Given the chronic nature of domestic violence, it may be that its effects on youth are cumulative and can best be studied in a population that has been exposed for a longer rather than shorter period of time (Carlson, 1990). If length or frequency of exposure to family violence mediated its potential effects, these effects might be more readily reflected in the behaviour of adolescents rather than younger children. Grych and Fincham (1990) stated that increased exposure to domestic violence potentially could have two contrasting effects: it might lead to fewer behaviour problems because children become desensitized to domestic violence; or, conversely, more frequent conflict may sensitize children to conflict and lead to greater incidence of adjustment problems. Available evidence supports the latter hypothesis, in that more frequent open domestic violence is associated with increased conduct problems (Henry et. al., 1996; Johnson, 1987; Porter & O'Leary, 1980) and criminality.

Parent-Child Relationships

Despite the recognition that witnessing domestic violence has had negative effects on children, very little is known about the factors that directly influenced these effects.

Although studies lend support to the notion that children of violent homes are more likely to suffer from externalizing behaviours such as conduct problems and criminality than are children from nonviolent homes, our knowledge regarding the specific factors present in violent families relating to child problems is very limited. The parent-child relationship has been hypothesized to be one critical factor by which domestic violence affects children. Prominent developmental theories have stressed the crucial role of the caregiver in setting the stage for the children's ongoing development and relationships. Healthy parent-child relations have been found to give rise to positive feelings, such as love and feelings of security. When the parent is sensitive to the needs of the child, confident, responsive, warm, affectionate, empathic, and consistent, the child's capacity to relate easily to others is maximally developed, as is self-confidence. The child's propensity to develop positive, desirable relations with peers and other adults is considered to be greatly enhanced. Grossmann and Grossmann (1990) indicated that such children have been found to display warmth towards others, show few if any signs of emotional dysfunction, and rarely engage in antisocial behaviour.

Alternatively, an early parent-child relationship marked by fear, inconsistency, and unmet physical and emotional needs is associated with poor formation of peer relationships, and higher frequency of externalizing problems. Research has indicated that children in violent families have often not experienced the empathy, warmth, affection, and caring from parents that is associated with healthy parent-child relations. Patterson (1982) documented that parents of children with conduct problems differed from parents of children without such problems in their use of specific parenting behaviours. Specifically, parents of children with conduct problems were more likely to

have difficulties in setting limits, used harsh and inconsistent methods of discipline, were not as warm and affectionate toward their children, and were less empathic towards their children's needs. For example, a parent's ability to respond empathetically in situations of domestic violence may become limited due to a preoccupation with his or her own problems. Domestic violence may be emotionally draining to parents, therefore reducing their ability to recognize and respond to their children's emotional needs. Jouriles, Spiller, Stephens, McDonald, and Swank (2000) found parents' failure to build warm, affectionate relationships with their children, and to systematically encourage prosocial behaviours as an alternative to defiance and aggression, were hypothesized to contribute to the development and maintenance of child conduct problems leading to criminality. The trust between a child and a violent parent may be severely strained.

Howes and Markman (1989) conducted a study on marital quality and child functioning. They hypothesized that marital quality affects children through the parent-child relationship. Specifically, regarding child functioning, security of attachment between caregiver and the child was assessed because it represented the quality of the history of interaction between parent and child, in general, and how well the child handled the negative affect, in particular. Given the importance of the quality of the child's attachment to concurrent and later functioning, factors that preceded and facilitated secure attachment relationships between caregiver and child were of critical interest to the researchers. Participants included 20 families with children between 1- and 3-years-old who completed measures of marital satisfaction, conflict, and communication in two time periods (premarriage, and postbirth, 3-5 years later). There were 12 male and 8 females in the sample. The researchers found parents to have different views of the

marriage, and fathers' satisfaction with the relationship had a different impact on the child than did the mothers' satisfaction. Children of more maritally dissatisfied fathers tended to be dependent, while children of more maritally dissatisfied mothers tended to be insecure and unsociable. Maritally satisfied fathers may facilitate autonomy, while more maritally satisfied mothers facilitated secure attachments. Mothers' data in general was more associated with child outcomes than was the fathers.' Since mothers are more likely to spend time with the child, it makes sense that disturbances in the marital relationship would have a greater impact on outcomes that are a function of the quality of mother-child relationship than on the father-child relationship. There was one exception: dysfunctional communication and conflict had negative effects on the child's dependency as rated by fathers, but not mothers, highlighting the role of fathers' responses to negative affect as one of the key factors that determined marital and family functioning. Marital research indicated that men responded to marital conflict and negative communication by withdrawing from their wives. Fathers may also withdraw from their children in a way that negatively affects the child's development of autonomy.

METHOD

Participants

Participants included 19 incarcerated youths ranging in ages from 13-to 19-years-old. Five First Nations and 14 Caucasian youths participated in the study. The youths were serving either a sentence for a criminal offence, or they were on remand, which means the courts have not yet dealt with their cases and they will be held at the custody centre until sentencing occurs. The duration of the sentences ranged from 30 days to 43 months. The criminal offences committed by these youths included: breach and mischief, \$5000 or under; criminal harassment and robbery with violence; break and enter; sexual assault; possession of stolen property under and over \$5000 and possessing a weapon for dangerous purpose; dangerous operation of a motor vehicle; theft; and manslaughter. Subjects were selected from the Victoria Youth Custody Centre located in Victoria, British Columbia. Staff at the custody centre recruited participants for the study by asking them if they would like to participate in a study on family relations. They were told they would receive a chocolate bar and soft drink for their participation. After the researcher read over the letter of consent, which explained the study in detail, participants consented to participating in the study, and signed letters of consent. The participants were guaranteed anonymity and confidentiality as they were instructed not to indicate their names on any of the three questionnaires. To help manage the group of participants, the 19 youths were divided into two groups. Ten youths participated in the study first, and the second group of nine youths participated after the first group completed the questionnaires. Participation was held in a conference room. A correctional officer was

assigned to escort the youths to and from the conference room and to remain in the room until the data collection was complete.

Measures

Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS)

The CTS is a standardized measure frequently used to assess the type and level of interpersonal conflict (Straus, Gelles, & Steinmetz, 1980). The CTS contains items measuring three factors: (a) reasoning and the provision of information; (b) verbal and physical acts that exclude physical assaults on an individual but that are often considered to be aggressive, coercive, and controlling when performed in the context of an adult relationship; and (c) acts of physical violence against an individual. The specific factors on the CTS that will be used to assess physical marital violence include the following: threw something at a partner; pushed, grabbed, or shoved; slapped partner; kicked, bit, or hit a partner with a fist; hit or tried to hit partner with something; beat partner up; used a knife, or fired a gun. Items on the CTS that are used to assess other forms of marital aggression include the following: insulted or swore at a partner; stomped out of the room or house; did something to spite a partner; threatened to hit; or kicked something. Only the verbal and physical subscales will be used in this study. Youths will indicate the frequency of occurrence for each item during the past year they lived at home on the following 7-point scale: 1=never; 2=once; 3=twice; 4=3 to 5 times; 5=6 to 10 times; 6=11 to 20 times; 7=more than 20 times. The CTS has been reported to have adequate internal consistency. The criterion validity data have not been published.

Survey of Exposure to Community Violence

The Children's Exposure to Community Violence Survey is a self-report questionnaire for older youths. It measures the frequency of exposure to or being a victim of various types of violence in one's home, school, or neighborhood. Youths were asked to indicate the frequency of occurrence, who was involved, where and when it happened, in a multiple-choice survey. The measure takes approximately 15 minutes to complete. Thirty-two questions out of 54 were administered in paper and pencil form. Twenty-two questions asking youths about their exposure to or being a victim of various types of violence were asked to be eliminated from the study due to the ethical concerns dealing with an incarcerated sample of youths. The reliability and validity of the survey is high (71-100). The internal consistency is .84.

Youth Empathy Scale

The Youth Empathy Scale is used to assess the understanding of empathy in families. The Youth Empathy Scale is a *likert* scale in which participants were asked to check their level of agreement (e.g., strongly agree, agree, neither agree or disagree, disagree, or strongly disagree) about their perceptions of their parents' ability to empathize with them. This paper and pencil self-report scale consisted of 19 statements. The Youth Empathy Scale takes approximately ten minutes to complete. The researcher, for the purpose of this study, created the Youth Empathy Scale to help determine an understanding of empathy and its role between the youths and their parents or mother and her partner. This scale has no validity or reliability. Validity and reliability coefficients were not established for this instrument.

Procedure

The researcher contacted the director of the Victoria Youth Custody Centre by telephone. The researcher explained the desire to conduct a study on family relations at the centre. A meeting was later held to go over the proposed research study in greater detail. The director approved the research study and contacted the facilities probation officer and asked if he would assist the researcher from this point on. The day before the study began, the probation officer briefly explained the study to the youths and asked them if they wished to participate. It was explained that there would be three questionnaires to complete and it would take approximately 30 minutes. They were told they would receive a reward of a chocolate bar and soft drink for participating in the study. Those who showed interest in participating signed their names down on a piece of paper. The next day the correctional officer collected the first group of ten youths and brought them to the conference room where tables and chairs were set up. Before the study began, the researcher handed out a letter of consent and read it through with the youths, to ensure full understanding of the study. The letter explained information about the researcher, the title of the research paper, the importance of the research, the research questions the study hopes to address, the three questionnaires to be completed, the inconveniences of participating in the study, voluntary participation, and anonymity. After the researcher and youths read the consent forms, the youths signed them. They were also instructed not to indicate their names anywhere on the questionnaires. The researcher stayed in the conference room to answer any questions and address any issues the participants raised. After the first group completed the questionnaires they were taken back to their rooms, and the second group was brought in to complete the questionnaires.

Results

One hundred percent of the youths in this study reported witnessing domestic violence. Results from the Conflict Tactics Scale are depicted in Table 1. Forty-two percent of the youths reported that they observed their mother being pushed or shoved by their fathers or male partner. Thirty-two percent reported witnessing their father or male partner beat up their mother. Twenty-six percent reported that they witnessed their fathers or mother's partner choke their mother, and 42 percent reported their father or mother's partner threw something at their mother that could hurt. Sixteen percent of the youths reported that their mother used a knife or a gun on their father or partner and 89 percent reported never witnessing their father or mother's partner use a knife or gun on their mother.

Table 1
Number and Percentages of Youth Reporting Having Witnessed Domestic Violence

Item	Total (N=19)	Percent
Father pushed or shoved mother	8	42
Father beat up mother	6	32
Father choked mother	5	26
Father threw something at mother that could hurt	8	42
Father used a knife or gun on mother	2	11
Mother used a knife or gun on father	3	16
Father insulted or swore at mother	16	84
Father called mother fat or ugly	7	37
Father did something to spite mother	9	47

One hundred percent of the youths reported witnessing some form of psychological abuse between their mother and partner. For example, 84 percent of the sample reported witnessing their father or mother's partner insult or swear at their mother. Forty-seven percent reported this happened 3 to more than 20 times during the last year they lived at home, and 26 percent reported it happened not during the last year they lived at home but at a time before or after that. Thirty-seven percent witnessed their father or mother's partner call their mother fat or ugly, and 21 percent reported this happened 6 to 20 times during the last year they lived at home. Forty-seven percent reported observing their father or mother's partner do something to spite their mother. Thirty-two percent observed this once to twenty times during the last year they lived at home, and 16 percent reported observing not that year, but at another time before or after that.

Results of the Survey of Exposure to Community Violence are depicted in Table 2. Seventy-three percent of the youths reported being a victim of violence and/or having witnessed illegal acts in the community or at home. Seventy-nine percent of the sample reported that they have observed other people using or selling illegal drugs almost every day (84 percent was by a friend, 47 percent by a young stranger, and 37 percent by an adult acquaintance). Eighty-nine percent of the youth reported being asked to use illegal drugs by their friends 95 percent of the time. Thirty-two percent of the sample reported being picked up, arrested, or taken away by the police seven or eight times, and 37 percent of the sample reported observing someone else being picked up, arrested, or taken away by the police; 63 three percent were friends of that youth.

Seventy-nine percent of the sample reported someone had threatened them with serious physical harm. Thirty-seven percent of these threats were made by a young stranger. Seventy-four percent of the sample reported seeing someone else being threatened with serious harm; 37 percent was by a young stranger. Eighty-four percent of the sample reported they have been slapped, punched, or hit by someone; 42 percent was by a young stranger, and 16 percent was by a parent. Thirty-seven percent of the youth reported this happened in their home. Fifty-eight percent reported observing someone else being slapped, punched, or hit by a member of their family; 16 percent was a parent being slapped, punched, or hit with 37 percent of the sample having reported that a parent did this. Forty-two percent reported this happened in the home. Fifty-three percent of the sample reported seeing someone else getting beaten-up or mugged. Sixty-three percent of the youths reported seeing someone carrying or holding a gun or a knife (not including police, military, or security officers); 32 percent was by a friend and 21 percent by a stranger. Twenty-six percent observed this happened two to eight times, and 47 percent of the sample witnessed this, from almost every day, to once a month.

Table 2
Number and Percentages of Youth Reporting Having Witnessed Other People or Themselves Involved in Community Violence

Item	Total (N=19)	Percent
Witnessed other people using or selling illegal drugs	17	89
Witnessed other people using or selling illegal drugs almost every day	15	79
A friend using or selling drugs	16	84
A young stranger using or selling drugs	9	47
An adult acquaintance using or selling drugs	7	37
Themselves being asked to get involved in any aspect of selling drugs by a friend	18	95
Themselves being picked up, arrested, or taken away by the police	19	100
Themselves being picked up, arrested, or taken by the police 7 or 8 times	6	32
Witnessed other people being picked up, arrested, or taken away by the police	7	37
Witnessed their friends being picked up, arrested, or taken away by the police	12	63
Themselves being threatened with serious physical harm by someone	15	79
Themselves being threatened with serious physical harm by a young stranger	7	37
Witnessed someone else being threatened with serious physical harm	14	74
Witnessed someone else being threatened with serious physical harm by a young stranger	7	37
Themselves being slapped, punched, or hit by someone	16	84
Themselves being slapped, punched, or hit by a young stranger	8	42
Themselves being slapped, punched, or hit by a parent	3	16

Table 2 (continued)

Item	Total (N=19)	Percent
Witnessed someone else being slapped, punched, or hit by a member of their family	11	58
Witnessed someone else being beaten or mugged	10	53
Witnessed someone carrying or holding a gun or knife (not including police, military, or security officers)	12	63
Witnessed a friend carrying or holding a gun or knife	6	32
Witnessed a stranger carrying or holding a gun or knife	4	21

One hundred percent of the youths in this study reported they understood the meaning of empathy, as reported on the Youth Empathy Scale. Results from the Youth Empathy Scale are depicted in Table 3. Fifty-eight percent reported that they were good at putting themselves in other people's shoes and trying to understand how they feel. Seventy-four percent of the sample reported that their parents or mother and partner had trouble understanding them, and 42 percent reported that their parents or mother and partner always thought about how they (the youth) felt after they had a fight. Seventy-four percent of the youths reported that when they got into trouble, their parents or mother and partner wanted to help them. Thirty-seven percent of the youths reported that they blamed themselves for their own bad behaviours.

Table 3***Number and Percentages of Youth Reporting on Empathy***

Item	N=19	Percent
Understand what empathy means	19	100
Good at putting myself into other people's shoes to try and understand what they are feeling	11	58
Parent or parents have trouble understanding me	14	74
Parents or mother and partner always think about how I feel after they had a fight	8	42
When I get into trouble, my parent or parents want to help me	14	74
I blame myself for my bad behaviours	7	37

DISCUSSION

This study was designed to add to our knowledge and understanding of the effects of domestic violence on children and adolescents. Toward this end, children's experiences of witnessing domestic violence and its relation between externalizing problems, particularly conduct behaviours, criminal behaviour, and the understanding of empathy in the parent-child relationship was partially investigated.

Boys' exposure to domestic violence during childhood was positively associated with both externalizing behaviours, such as conduct problems, and criminal behaviour. Due to the ethical considerations dealing with a population of incarcerated youths, many questions addressing the youths' involvement with past criminal behaviours in the present study were excluded. However, in support of the hypothesis tested, approximately two thirds (32 percent) of the sample reported being picked up, arrested, or taken away by the police at least seven or eight times. Also, a large percent of the youths in this study reported having witnessed illegal acts in the community, such as witnessing others using or selling illegal drugs, seeing youths being picked up, arrested, or taken away by the police, seeing others being threatened with serious harm, beaten up or mugged, witnessing someone carrying or holding a gun or a knife (not including police, military, or security officers), and seeing a seriously wounded person after an incident of violence. These youths reported having witnessed all of these events at least seven or eight times and that 63 percent of the individuals that they witnessed were their friends and/or acquaintances. Although youths in this study were not able to report on their own involvement with crime, the fact that they reported having witnessed and been exposed to

as much as they were and as frequently with their friends suggests the possibility that the youths in this study may have also been involved in past criminal activity. Also, the fact that this study utilized incarcerated youths, some of which have been incarcerated more than once, and have been exposed to frequent domestic violence, lends support to the hypothesis that children are at risk for developing externalizing behaviours, such as conduct problems eventually leading to criminality in adolescence. These findings support previous research that children who witnessed domestic violence are at risk for developing externalizing behaviours, such as conduct problems (Becker & McCloskey, 2002; Cummings et al., 1985; Dawud-Noursi et al., 1998; Jaffe et al., 1990; Jouriles et al., 2001; Jouriles et al., 1996; Jouriles et al., 1991; Ware et al., 2001; Yates et al., 2003) and criminality (Herrera & McCloskey, 2001; Pfouts et al., 1982; Spaccarelli et al., 1995).

Of the 19 youths who participated in this study, all of them reported having witnessed domestic violence. However, the severity of domestic violence reported in this study was lower than in other studies. For example, the percentages of domestic violence reported, such as their father shoved their mother and their father beat their mother, were smaller than in other studies. Other studies reported percentages that were significantly higher in children witnessing the same types of violence. Also, 89 percent of the youths in this study reported never having witnessed their father use a gun or a knife on their mother. This finding did not support other studies which have found children to witness domestic violence involving knives or guns by their father or mother's partner. For example, the Carlson (1990) study reported 33 percent of children observing violence toward their mothers reported that weapons had been used. The Jouriles et al. (1988)

study reported that children exposed to domestic violence with weapons displayed higher levels of externalizing problems, such as conduct behaviours, and Spaccarelli et al. (1995) found serious violent offenders were more than twice as likely to have experienced adults in their households using guns or knives against each other. Perhaps the percentage of women resorting to weapon use, such as a gun or a knife, may be an attempt to equalize the physical power differential between men and women. Jouriles et al., (1998) suggested that children's perception of threat resulting from violence involving knives or guns will be associated with heightened levels of externalizing problems (e.g., aggression, disruptive behaviour). Our findings suggest that the incarcerated youths in this study were still at risk for developing heightened levels of externalizing problems and criminal behaviour even though they did not witness domestic violence with guns or knives.

Although the psychological abuse between parents has not yet been examined empirically in terms of its impact on children's adjustment, the youths in this study reported having witnessed more frequent psychological abuse than physical abuse between their parents or mother and her partner. These findings are similar to the Jouriles et al. (1996) study in which it was found that in families marked by recent physical domestic violence, the frequency of occurrence of psychological abuse other than physical violence (e.g., insults, threats, kicking, throwing objects) appeared to be at least as important as the frequency of physical domestic violence, in predicting concurrent child externalizing problems. Almost half of the sample in this study reported psychological abuse, such as name calling, insults, and swearing directed at their mother. Previous correlational research has also indicated that interparental verbal conflict had

predicted a range of behaviour problems and competencies in children. For example, other studies have reported levels of interparental verbal conflict tend to correlate positively with externalizing behaviour problems, such as aggression and delinquent behaviour, internalizing problems, such as depression and anxiety, and poor social and academic competence.

One explanation for finding an association between children who witness domestic violence and externalizing behaviours, such as conduct problems and criminality, can be found in Bandura's (1973) social learning theory. Children's witnessing of frequent and intense domestic violence (e.g., yelling, name calling, insults, physical aggression) both allows children to add verbally aggressive conflict resolution strategies to their behavioural repertoire, and to legitimize their use. Thus, observational learning increases the likelihood of children relying on these strategies in conflict situations. For example, it is not uncommon in women's shelters to come across school-aged children who are very disruptive and unruly and equate feeling angry with yelling and throwing things. That is, their children think that they are "supposed" to yell and throw things when they are angry. Children and adolescents on several occasions have been found to engage in verbal tirades when they lash out at their mothers because they are upset about not getting their way. Their tirades have included obscene names ("bitch" and "whore"), threats of violence (I'm going to throw this at you if you don't get out of here), and berating statements ("you're no good" or "you're a terrible cook"). In almost every case, mothers have explained that their children's verbally abusive behaviour is an imitation of the husbands' or partners' behaviour.

Children may act defiantly to deflect attention away from their parents' domestic violence. Many women in physically violent relationships have reported incidents in which their children attempted to present the escalation of conflict, once yelling had begun, by doing something to distract their parents. Their distraction strategies have included hitting siblings, hurting a pet, dropping or breaking a piece of furniture, and yelling at their parents.

To this date, research on domestic violence and the role of empathy has not been investigated. This study raised the question "for children who witness domestic violence, is a failure for parents to respond empathically to the needs of their children a factor in the development of criminal behaviour?" Some very interesting results emerged. All of the youths in this study reported understanding the meaning of empathy. Three quarters of the youths reported that their parents or parent had trouble understanding them, and less than half of the youths reported that their parents or mother and her partner thought about how they felt after a fight. Even though the process by which domestic violence interacts with the empathic quality of the parent-child relationship has received very little attention in the literature, one explanation might be plausible. Frequent domestic violence may be emotionally draining to parents and thus reduce their ability to recognize and respond empathetically to their children's emotional needs. Fathers in particular may tend to withdraw from their children when they are dissatisfied with their marriages or relationships. Children may perceive this lack of attention as rejection of them, which in turn may have a host of effects on their emotional and behavioural adjustment. Some children may develop signs of depression because they blame themselves for the domestic violence, and feel rejected by one of their parents, whereas others may learn to

react to peer conflict with aggression. A critical task for future research is specifying how domestic violence and the construct of empathy in the parent-child relationship are interrelated. Because domestic violence and parent-child relationships are so tightly interwoven, one cannot draw valid inferences about the effects of domestic violence without simultaneously considering the nature of parent-child relations.

It is important to acknowledge the limitations of the present study. First, self-report data must be viewed with caution. Adolescents may have been biased in reporting their experiences with domestic violence, exposure to community violence, and empathy. Their responses on the questionnaires may have been false or exaggerated. In future research, the issue of potential false reports of domestic violence and criminal behaviour could be addressed by examining their criminal records. Due to the age and confidentiality issues in the present study, this study did not allow the opportunity to examine family histories and youths' criminal records. Although reviewing their records would not resolve the issue of whether or not certain youth were making false reports, it would allow researchers to define a group of verified cases. Memory distortion may also be particularly problematic since participants were asked to recall the domestic violence witnessed during the last year they lived at home. Some of the youths' experiences with domestic violence and community violence may have been many years previous. This study did not obtain information regarding exactly when or how long ago the violence occurred, both within their families and in the community. Such information should be collected in future studies to obtain a more accurate understanding of the effects of family and community violence on adolescent adjustment. The use of multiple reporters (mothers, fathers, children, other family members, teachers, and health care workers) is

needed for purposes of corroboration and for purposes of examining different perspectives. Second, adolescence was the target of investigation rather than young children. Future studies are needed which follow youth and parents or parent from early childhood forward, with repeated measurement of exposure to domestic violence and the youth's involvement with criminality. There is a need to understand children's perspectives, attributions, and the meaning they ascribe to domestic violence, and to examine how the meaning of domestic violence changes across development. Third, data from the present study need to be interpreted with caution due to the small sample size of incarcerated youths. The generalizability of this study is extremely limited. Fourth, because approximately half of the questions of the *Survey of Exposure to Community Violence* questions were eliminated from this study, the researcher was only able to make a few correlations between the youths' experience with domestic violence and externalizing behaviour problems. Also, the *Youth Empathy Scale*, which was devised to assess the youths' understanding of empathy and its role with their parents or parent, has no validity or reliability and would not hold up to scrutiny. This was merely a tool created to get a sense of the youths' understanding of the construct of empathy.

Despite the recognition that witnessing domestic violence has a host of negative effects on children and adolescence, our knowledge regarding the specific factors present in violent families is very limited. Future research needs to assess the mechanisms by which domestic violence contributes to externalizing behaviours such as conduct problems, which can eventually lead to criminality. Families with domestic violence may have other co-occurring risk factors that could contribute to externalizing behaviour problems and criminality in their children and adolescents; for instance, poverty, higher

rates of psychopathology, alcohol and drug abuse, and criminality among siblings and/or parents. A future goal for research would be to incorporate these additional risk factors when measuring the effects of domestic violence on children and adolescents.

In terms of the psychological adjustment of children exposed to domestic violence, rarely have researchers taken an in-depth look at the children who seem to be functioning reasonably well, and studied the resilience of these children. That is, little research specifically focuses on identifying children who may be coping well, or even coping adequately, in the face of exposure to such violence. Understanding why some children and adolescents are more resilient and well functioning, despite living in families in which severe domestic violence is present, is an important task for researchers. An investigation is required to assess the risk, vulnerability, and protective factors that exist within children, their families, and their community. Perhaps factors such as parental support and constructive coping strategies may enable children to thrive even in stressful circumstances such as domestic violence.

In summary, the studies reviewed for this paper combined with the present results, provide evidence that children who witness domestic violence are at risk for developing externalizing problems. The association between violence against women and child conduct problems leading to criminality in adolescence warrants the attention of clinicians and policy makers. The development of effective interventions to reduce conduct problems, therefore reducing the likelihood of criminal behaviour among these children, should be a national priority. There are only a few studies that have examined the effects domestic violence has on incarcerated juvenile delinquents. Therefore, the connection between their experiences with domestic violence and offending makes this

population particularly important for investigating especially since studies have found that paroled youth with maltreatment histories, such as witnessing domestic violence, have a higher rate of recidivism than do those without such histories. This places the youths at a higher risk for involvement in the adult criminal justice system. While this study did not assess the quality of the parent-child relationship, research has suggested that domestic violence has its effects on children through parent-child interactions. Even though this study made a very small attempt by creating the Youth Empathy Scale, the effects domestic violence has on children and adolescents and the empathic relationship with their parents has not yet been investigated. Given the importance of the quality of the parent-child relationship to later functioning and adjustment, factors that precede and facilitate positive, secure attachments between parents and children should be of critical interest to researchers.

Finally, we need research on early intervention and prevention for children at risk for later behavioural and/or emotional problems, which can lead to criminal behavior, due to exposure to domestic violence. As researchers find ways of identifying and defining the factors that place children and adolescences at risk or that protect them from harmful negative consequences, we must be able to provide these children and their families with targeted interventions and services that have demonstrated effectiveness. For example, large-scale, multi-site intervention research is needed to determine the earliest time for effective intervention, the appropriate length of the intervention, the necessary skill levels of those intervening, and the most effective delivery methods (e.g., small groups or one-on-one) and settings (e.g., clinic, shelter, in-home). Also, intervention research is needed on current programs for children exposed to domestic violence and their families,

including programs for children who currently are or who have previously been in trouble with the law, current shelter programs, parenting programs for separated or divorced parents with a history of domestic violence, domestic violence prevention programs, and programs for batterers and victims. Such research needs to document treatment protocols and models, involve health care workers and community participants in the development of treatment programs, include multiple data sources, and evaluate the cost-effectiveness of different approaches. In addition, intervention studies should be ethnically and culturally appropriate for the populations they serve.

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Appendix A

Survey of Exposure to Community Violence

National Institute of Mental Health

Listed below are various kinds of violence and things related to violence that you may have experienced, seen, or heard about. For each question circle the letter that best describes your experience. **DO NOT INCLUDE IN YOUR ANSWERS THINGS YOU MAY HAVE SEEN OR HEARD ABOUT ONLY ON TV, RADIO, THE NEWS, OR IN THE MOVIES.** Do not write your name anywhere on this form. This is a confidential survey. No one will know that these are your answers.

BEING CHASED

1. How many times have you yourself been chased by gangs or individuals? (Circle only one)

- | | | |
|-------------|------------------|---------------------------|
| (a) never | (d) 3 or 4 times | (g) at least once a month |
| (b) 1 time | (e) 5 or 6 times | (h) at least once a week |
| (c) 2 times | (f) 7 or 8 times | (i) almost every day |

If you circled never, skip to question 2

Where were you chased? (Circle one or more)

- | | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| (a) near home | (c) near school | (e) other _____ |
| (b) in the home | (d) in school | |

When was the last time you were chased? (Circle only one)

- | | | |
|------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (a) about a week ago | (d) about 6 months ago | (g) between 1 and 2 years ago |
| (b) about a month ago | (e) about 9 months ago | (h) between 3 and 5 years ago |
| (c) about 3 months ago | (f) about 1 year ago | (i) more than 5 years ago |

2. How many times have you seen someone else get chased by gangs or older kids? (Circle only one)

- | | | |
|-------------|------------------|---------------------------|
| (a) never | (d) 3 or 4 times | (g) at least once a month |
| (b) 1 time | (e) 5 or 6 times | (h) at least once a week |
| (c) 2 times | (f) 7 or 8 times | (i) almost every day |

If you circled never, skip to question 3

Who did this happen to? (What was the person's relationship to you?) (Circle one or more)

- | | | | |
|------------------------|------------------------|--------------------|----------------|
| (a) adult stranger | (d) young stranger | (g) parent(s) | (j) don't know |
| (b) adult acquaintance | (e) young acquaintance | (h) brother/sister | |
| (c) adult friend | (f) young friend | (i) other relative | |

Where did you see this happen? (Circle one or more)

- | | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| (a) near home | (c) near school | (e) other _____ |
| (b) in the home | (d) in school | |

When was the last time you saw someone being chased? (Circle only one)

- (a) about a week ago (d) about 6 months ago (g) between 1 and 2 years ago
 (b) about a month ago (e) about 9 months ago (h) between 3 and 5 years ago
 (c) about 3 months ago (f) about a year ago (i) more than 5 years ago

DRUG ACTIVITY

3. How many times have you seen other people using or selling illegal drugs? (Circle only one)

- (a) never (d) 3 or 4 times (g) at least once a month
 (b) 1 time (e) 5 or 6 times (h) at least once a week
 (c) 2 times (f) 7 or 8 times (i) almost every day

If you circled never, skip to question 4

Who was using or selling drugs? (What was the person's relationship to you?) (Circle one or more)

- (a) adult stranger (d) young stranger (g) parent(s) (j) don't know
 (b) adult acquaintance (e) young acquaintance (h) brother/sister
 (c) adult friend (f) young friend (i) other relative

Where did you see this happen? (Circle one or more)

- (a) near home (c) near school (e) other _____
 (b) in the home (d) in school

When was the last time you saw this? (Circle only one)

- (a) about a week ago (d) about 6 months ago (g) between 1 & 2 years ago
 (b) about a month ago (e) about 9 months ago (h) between 3 & 5 years ago
 (c) about 3 months ago (f) a year ago (i) more than 5 years ago

4. How many times have you yourself actually been asked to get involved in any aspect of selling drugs?

- (a) never (d) 3 or 4 times (g) at least once a month
 (b) 1 time (e) 5 or 6 times (h) at least once a week
 (c) 2 times (f) 7 or 8 times (i) almost every day

If you circled never, skip to question 5

Who asked? (What was the person's relationship to you?) (Circle one or more)

- (a) adult stranger (d) young stranger (g) parent(s) (j) don't know
 (b) adult acquaintance (e) young acquaintance (h) brother/sister
 (c) adult friend (f) young friend (i) other relative

Where did it happen? (Circle one or more)

- (a) near home (c) near school (e) other _____
 (b) in the home (d) in school

When was the last time this happened? (Circle only one)

- (a) about a week ago (d) about 6 months ago (g) between 1 & 2 years ago
 (b) about a month ago (e) about 9 months ago (h) between 3 & 5 years ago
 (c) about 3 months ago (f) about a year ago (i) almost every day

5. How many times have you yourself actually been asked to use illegal drugs? (Circle only one)

- (a) never (d) 3 or 4 times (g) at least once a month
 (b) 1 time (e) 5 or 6 times (h) at least once a week
 (c) 2 times (f) 7 or 8 times (i) almost every day

If you circled never, skip to question 7

Who asked? (What was the person's relationship to you?) (Circle one or more)

- (a) adult stranger (d) young stranger (g) parent(s) (j) don't know
 (b) adult acquaintance (e) young acquaintance (h) brother/sister
 (c) adult friend (f) young friend (i) other relative

Where did it happen? (Circle one or more)

- (a) near home (c) near school (e) other _____
 (b) in the home (d) in school

When was the last time it happened? (Circle only one)

- (a) about a week ago (d) about 6 months ago (g) between 1 & 2 years ago
 (b) about a month ago (e) about 9 months ago (h) between 3 & 5 years ago
 (c) about 3 months ago (f) about 1 year ago (i) more than 5 years ago

6. How many times have you seen someone else being asked to get involved in any aspect of selling illegal drugs? (Circle only one)

- (a) never (d) 3 or 4 times (g) at least once a month
 (b) 1 time (e) 5 or 6 times (h) at least once a week
 (c) 2 times (f) 7 or 8 times (i) almost every day

If you circled never, skip to question 7

Who was asked? (What was the person's relationship to you?) (Circle one or more)

- (a) adult stranger (d) young stranger (g) parent(s) (j) don't know
 (b) adult acquaintance (e) young acquaintance (h) brother/sister
 (c) adult friend (f) young friend (i) other relative

Who did the asking? (What was the person's relationship to you?) (Circle one or more)

- (a) adult stranger (d) young stranger (g) parent(s) (j) don't know
 (b) adult acquaintance (e) young acquaintance (h) brother/sister
 (c) adult friend (f) young friend (i) other relative

Where were they when they were asked? (Circle one or more)

- (a) near home (c) near school (e) other _____
 (b) in the home (d) in school

When was the last time this happened? (Circle only one)

- (a) about a week ago (d) about 6 months ago (g) between 1 and 2 years ago
 (b) about a month ago (e) about 9 months ago (h) between 3 and 5 years ago
 (c) about 3 months ago (f) about a year ago (i) more than 5 years ago

SERIOUS ACCIDENTS

7. How many times have you yourself actually been in a serious accident where you thought that you or someone else would get hurt very badly or die? (Circle only one)

- (a) never (d) 3 or 4 times (g) at least once a month
 (b) 1 time (e) 5 or 6 times (h) at least once a week
 (c) 2 times (f) 7 or 8 times (i) almost every day

If you circled never, skip to question 8

Where did this happen? (Circle one or more)

- (a) near home (c) near school (e) other _____
 (b) in the home (d) in school

When was the last time this happened? (Circle only one)

- (a) about a week ago (d) about 6 months ago (g) between 1 and 2 years ago
 (b) about a month ago (e) about 9 months ago (h) between 3 and 5 years ago
 (c) about 3 months ago (f) about a year ago (i) more than 5 years ago

8. How many times have you seen someone else have a serious accident where you thought that the person would get hurt very badly or die? (Circle only one)

- (a) never (d) 3 or 4 times (g) at least once a month
 (b) 1 time (e) 5 or 6 times (h) at least once a week
 (c) 2 times (f) or 8 times (i) almost every day

If you circled never, skip to question 9

Who was in the accident? (What was the person's relationship to you?) (Circle one or more)

- (a) adult stranger (d) young stranger (g) parent(s) (j) don't know
 (b) adult acquaintance (e) young acquaintance (h) brother/sister
 (c) adult friend (f) young friend (i) other relative

Where did you see this happen? (Circle one or more)

- (a) near home (c) near school (e) other _____
 (b) in the home (d) in school

When was the last time you saw this happen? (Circle only one)

- (a) about a week ago (d) about 6 months ago (g) between 1 and 2 years ago
 (b) about a month ago (e) about 9 months ago (h) between 3 and 5 years ago
 (c) about 3 months ago (f) about a year ago (i) more than five years ago

FORCED ENTRY

9. How many times have you yourself actually been at home when someone has broken into or tried to force their way into your home? (Circle only one)

- | | | |
|-------------|------------------|---------------------------|
| (a) never | (d) 3 or 4 times | (g) at least once a month |
| (b) 1 time | (e) 5 or 6 times | (h) at least once a week |
| (c) 2 times | (f) 7 or 8 times | (i) almost every day |

If you circled never, skip to question 10

Who broke into the house? (What was the person's relationship to you?) (Circle only one)

- | | | | |
|------------------------|------------------------|--------------------|----------------|
| (a) adult stranger | (d) young stranger | (g) parent(s) | (j) don't know |
| (b) adult acquaintance | (e) young acquaintance | (h) brother/sister | |
| (c) adult friend | (f) young friend | (i) other relative | |

When was the last time this happened? (Circle only one)

- | | | |
|------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (a) about a week ago | (d) about 6 months ago | (g) between 1 and 2 years ago |
| (b) about a month ago | (e) about 9 months ago | (h) between 3 and 5 years ago |
| (c) about 3 months ago | (f) about a year ago | (i) more than 5 years ago |

10. How many times has your house been broken into when you weren't home? (Circle only one)

- | | | |
|-------------|------------------|---------------------------|
| (a) never | (d) 3 or 4 times | (g) at least once a month |
| (b) 1 time | (e) 5 or 6 times | (h) at least once a week |
| (c) 2 times | (f) 7 or 8 times | (i) almost every day |

If you circled never, skip to question 11

Who broke into your house? (What was the person's relationship to you?) Circle one or more

- | | | | |
|------------------------|------------------------|--------------------|----------------|
| (a) adult stranger | (d) young stranger | (g) parent(s) | (j) don't know |
| (b) adult acquaintance | (e) young acquaintance | (h) brother/sister | |
| (c) adult friend | (f) young friend | (i) other relative | |

When was the last time this happened? (Circle only one)

- | | | |
|------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (a) about a week ago | (d) about 6 months ago | (g) between 1 and 2 years ago |
| (b) about a month ago | (e) about 9 months ago | (h) between 3 and 5 years ago |
| (c) about 3 months ago | (f) about a year ago | (i) more than 5 years ago |

ARRESTS

11. How many times have you yourself actually been picked-up, arrested, or taken away by the police? (Circle only one)

- | | | |
|-------------|------------------|---------------------------|
| (a) never | (d) 3 or 4 times | (g) at least once a month |
| (b) 1 time | (e) 5 or 6 times | (h) at least once a week |
| (c) 2 times | (f) 7 or 8 times | (i) almost every day |

If you circled never, skip to question 12

Where were you when this happened? (Circle one or more)

- (a) near home (c) near school (e) other _____
 (b) in the home (d) in school

When was the last time this happened? (Circle only one)

- (a) about a week ago (d) about 6 months ago (g) between 1 and 2 years ago
 (b) about a month ago (e) about 9 months ago (h) between 3 and 5 years ago
 (c) about 3 months ago (f) about a year ago (i) more than 5 years ago

12. How many times have you seen someone else being picked-up, arrested, or taken away by the police? (Circle only one)

- (a) never (d) 3 or 4 times (g) at least once a month
 (b) 1 time (e) 5 or 6 times (h) at least once a week
 (c) times (f) 7 or 8 times (i) almost every day

If you circled never, skip to question 13

Who did this happen to? (What was the person's relationship to you?) (Circle one or more)

- (a) adult stranger (d) young stranger (g) parent(s) (j) don't know
 (b) adult acquaintance (e) young acquaintance (h) brother/sister
 (c) adult friend (f) young friend (i) other relative

Where did it happen? (Circle one or more)

- (a) near home (c) near school (e) other _____
 (b) in the home (d) in the school

When was the last time you saw this happen? (Circle only one)

- (a) about a week ago (d) about 6 months ago (g) between 1 and 2 years ago
 (b) about a month ago (e) about 9 months ago (h) between 3 and 5 years ago
 (c) about 3 months ago (f) about a year ago (i) more than 5 years ago

13. How many times have you only heard about someone else being picked-up, arrested, or taken away By the police? (Circle only one)

- (a) never (d) 3 or 4 times (g) at least once a month
 (b) 1 time (e) 5 or 6 times (h) at least once a week
 (c) 2 times (f) 7 or 8 times (i) almost every day

If you circled never, skip to question 14

Who did this happen to? (What was the person's relationship to you?) (Circle one or more)

- (a) adult stranger (d) young stranger (g) parent(s) (j) don't know
 (b) adult acquaintance (e) young acquaintance (h) brother/sister
 (c) adult friend (f) young friend (i) other relative

Where did it happen? (Circle one or more)

- (a) near home (c) near school (e) other _____
 (b) in the home (d) in school

When was the last time you heard about this happening? (Circle only one)

- (a) about a week ago (d) about 6 months ago (g) between 1 and 2 years ago
 (b) about a month ago (e) about 9 months ago (h) between 3 and 5 years ago
 (c) about 3 months ago (f) about a year ago (i) more than 5 years ago

THREATS

14. How many times have you yourself actually been threatened with serious physical harm to someone? (Circle only one)

- (a) never (d) 3 or 4 times (g) at least once a month
 (b) 1 time (e) 5 or 6 times (h) at least once a week
 (c) 2 times (f) 7 or 8 times (i) almost every day

If you circle never, skip to question 15

Who did the threatening? (What was the person's relationship to you?) (Circle one or more)

- (a) adult stranger (d) young stranger (g) parent(s) (j) don't know
 (b) adult acquaintance (e) young acquaintance (h) brother/sister
 (c) adult friend (f) young friend (i) other relative

Where did happen? (Circle one or more)

- (a) near home (c) near school (e) other _____
 (b) in the home (d) in school

When was the last time this happened? (Circle only one)

- (a) about a week ago (d) about 6 months ago (g) between 1 and 2 years ago
 (b) about a month ago (e) about 9 months ago (h) between 3 and 5 years ago
 (c) about 3 months ago (f) about a year ago (i) more than 5 years ago

15. How many times have you seen someone else being threatened with serious physical harm? (Circle only one)

- (a) never (d) 3 or 4 times (g) at least once a month
 (b) 1 time (e) 5 or 6 times (h) at least once a week
 (c) times (f) 7 or 8 times (i) almost every day

If you circle never, skip to question 16

Who was threatened? (What was the person's relationship to you?) (Circle one or more)

- (a) adult stranger (d) young stranger (g) parent(s) (j) don't know
 (b) adult acquaintance (e) young acquaintance (h) brother/sister
 (c) adult friend (f) young friend (i) other relative

Who did the threatening? (What was the person's relationship to you?) (Circle one or more)

- (a) adult stranger (d) young stranger (g) parent(s) (j) don't know
 (b) adult acquaintance (e) young acquaintance (h) brother/sister
 (c) adult friend (f) young friend (i) other relative

Where were you when they were threatened? (Circle one or more)

- (a) near home (c) near school (e) other _____
 (b) the home (d) in school

When was the last time this happened? (Circle only one)

- (a) about a week ago (d) about 6 months ago (g) between 1 and 2 years ago
 (b) about a month ago (e) about 9 months ago (h) between 3 and 5 years ago
 (c) about 3 months ago (f) about a year ago (i) more than 5 years ago

16. How many times have you only heard about someone else being threatened with serious physical harm? (Circle only one)

- (a) never (d) 3 or 4 times (g) at least once a month
 (b) 1 time (e) 5 or 6 times (h) at least once a week
 (c) 2 times (f) 7 or 8 times (i) almost every day

If you circle never, skip to question 16

Who was threatened? (What was the person's relationship to you?) (Circle one or more)

- (a) adult stranger (d) young stranger (g) parent(s) (j) don't know
 (b) adult acquaintance (e) young acquaintance (h) brother/sister
 (c) adult friend (f) young friend (i) other relative

Who did the threatening? (What was the person's relationship to you?) (Circle one or more)

- (a) adult stranger (d) young stranger (g) parent(s) (j) don't know
 (b) adult acquaintance (e) young acquaintance (h) brother/sister
 (c) adult friend (f) young friend (i) other relative

Where did the threat take place? (Circle one or more)

- (a) near home (c) near school (e) other _____
 (b) in the home (d) in school

When was the last time you heard of this happening? (Circle only one)

- (a) about a week ago (d) about 6 months ago (g) between 1 and 2 years ago
 (b) about a month ago (e) about 9 months ago (h) between 3 and 5 years ago
 (c) about 3 months ago (f) about a year ago (i) more than 5 years ago

SLAPPING, HITTING, PUNCHING

17. How many times have you yourself actually been slapped, punched, or hit by someone? (Circle only one)

- (a) never (d) 3 or 4 times (g) at least once a month
 (b) 1 time (e) 5 or 6 times (h) at least once a week
 (c) 2 times (f) 7 or 8 times (i) almost every day

If you circled never, skip to question 18

Who did this? (What was the person's relationship to you?) (Circle one or more)

- (a) adult stranger (d) young stranger (g) parent(s) (j) don't know
 (b) adult acquaintance (e) young acquaintance (h) brother/sister
 (c) adult friend (f) young friend (i) other relative

Where did it happen? (Circle one or more)

- (a) near home (c) near school (e) other _____
 (b) in the home (d) in school

When was the last time this happened? (Circle only one)

- (a) about a week ago (d) about 6 months ago (g) between 1 and 2 years ago
 (b) about a month ago (e) about 9 months ago (h) between 3 and 5 years ago
 (c) about 3 months ago (f) about a year ago (i) more than 5 years ago

18. How many times have you seen someone else being slapped, punched or hit by a member of their family? (Circle only one)

- (a) never (d) 3 or 4 times (g) at least once a month
 (b) 1 time (e) 5 or 6 times (h) at least once a week
 (c) 2 times (f) 7 or 8 times (i) almost every day

If you circled never, skip to question 19

Who did this happen to? (What was the person's relationship to you?) (Circle one or more)

- (a) adult stranger (d) young stranger (g) parent(s) (j) don't know
 (b) adult acquaintance (e) young acquaintance (h) brother/sister
 (c) adult friend (f) young friend (i) other relative

Which one of this person's family members did this? (Circle one or more)

- (a) parent(s) (d) don't know
 (b) brother/sister
 (c) other relative

Where did it happen? (Circle one or more)

- (a) near home (c) near school (e) other _____
 (b) in the home (d) in school

When was the last time you saw this happen? (Circle only one)

- (a) about a week ago (d) about 6 months ago (g) between 1 and 2 years ago
 (b) about a month ago (e) about 9 months ago (h) between 3 and 5 years ago
 (c) about 3 months ago (f) about a year ago (i) more than 5 years ago

19. How many times have you only heard about someone else being slapped, punched or hit by a member of their family? (Circle only one)

- (a) never (d) 3 or 4 times (g) at least once a month
 (b) 1 time (e) 5 or 6 times (h) at least once a week
 (c) 2 times (f) 7 or 8 times (i) almost every day

If you circled never, skip to question 19

Who did this happen to? (What was the person's relationship to you?) (Circle one or more)

- (a) adult stranger (d) young stranger (g) parent(s) (j) don't know
 (b) adult acquaintance (e) young acquaintance (h) brother/sister
 (c) adult friend (f) young friend (i) other relative

Which one of this person's family members did this? (Circle one or more)

- (a) parent(s) (d) don't know
 (b) brother/sister
 (c) other relative

Where did it happen? (Circle one or more)

- (a) near home (c) near school (e) other _____
 (b) in the home (d) in school

When was the last time you heard about this happening? (Circle only one)

- (a) about a week ago (d) about 6 months ago (g) between 1 and 2 years ago
 (b) about a month ago (e) about 9 months ago (h) between 3 and 5 years ago
 (c) about 3 months ago (f) about a year ago (i) more than 5 years ago

20. How many times have you seen another person getting slapped, punched or hit by someone who was not a member of their family? (Circle only one)

- (a) never (d) 3 or 4 times (g) at least once a month
 (b) 1 time (e) 5 or 6 times (h) at least once a week
 (c) 2 times (f) 7 or 8 times (i) almost every day

If you circled never, skip to question 21

Who did this happen to? (What was the person's relationship to you?) (Circle one or more)

- (a) adult stranger (d) young stranger (g) parent(s) (j) don't know
 (b) adult acquaintance (e) young acquaintance (h) brother/sister
 (c) adult friend (f) young friend (i) other relative

Who did it? (What was the person's relationship to you?) (Circle one or more)

- (a) adult stranger (d) young stranger (g) parent(s) (j) don't know
 (b) adult acquaintance (e) young acquaintance (h) brother/sister
 (c) adult friend (f) young friend (i) other relative

Where did this happen? (Circle one or more)

- (a) near home (c) near school (e) other _____
 (b) in the home (d) in school

When was the last time this happened? (Circle only one)

- (a) about a week ago (d) about 6 months ago (g) between 1 and 2 years ago
 (b) about a month ago (e) about 9 months ago (h) between 3 and 5 years ago
 (c) about 3 months ago (f) about a year ago (i) more than 5 years ago

BEATINGS AND MUGGINGS

21. How many times have you yourself actually been beaten up or mugged? (Circle only one)
- | | | |
|-------------|------------------|---------------------------|
| (a) never | (d) 3 or 4 times | (g) at least once a month |
| (b) 1 time | (e) 5 or 6 times | (h) at least once a week |
| (c) 2 times | (f) 7 or 8 times | (i) almost every day |

If you circled never, skip to question 22

Who did the beating up or mugging? (What was the person's relationship to you?) (Circle one or more)

- | | | | |
|------------------------|------------------------|--------------------|----------------|
| (a) adult stranger | (d) young stranger | (g) parent(s) | (j) don't know |
| (b) adult acquaintance | (e) young acquaintance | (h) brother/sister | |
| (c) adult friend | (f) young friend | (i) other relative | |

Where did the beating or mugging happen? (Circle one or more)

- | | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| (a) near home | (c) near school | (e) other _____ |
| (b) in the home | (d) in school | |

When was the last time this happened? (Circle only one)

- | | | |
|------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (a) about a week ago | (d) about 6 months ago | (g) between 1 and 2 years ago |
| (b) about a month ago | (e) about 9 months ago | (h) between 3 and 5 years ago |
| (c) about 3 months ago | (f) about a year ago | (i) more than 5 years ago |

22. How many times have you seen someone else getting beaten up or mugged? (Circle only one)

- | | | |
|-------------|------------------|---------------------------|
| (a) never | (d) 3 or 4 times | (g) at least once a month |
| (b) 1 time | (e) 5 or 6 times | (h) at least once a week |
| (c) 2 times | (f) 7 or 8 times | (i) almost every day |

If you circled never, skip to question 23

Who was beaten up or mugged? (What was the person's relationship to you?) (Circle one or more)

- | | | | |
|------------------------|------------------------|--------------------|----------------|
| (a) adult stranger | (d) young stranger | (g) parent(s) | (j) don't know |
| (b) adult acquaintance | (e) young acquaintance | (h) brother/sister | |
| (c) adult friend | (f) young friend | (i) other relative | |

Who did the beating up or mugging? (What was the person's relationship to you?) (Circle one or more)

- | | | | |
|------------------------|------------------------|--------------------|----------------|
| (a) adult stranger | (d) young stranger | (g) parent(s) | (j) don't know |
| (b) adult acquaintance | (e) young acquaintance | (h) brother/sister | |
| (c) adult friend | (f) young friend | (i) other relative | |

Where did you see the beating or mugging? (Circle one or more)

- | | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| (a) near home | (c) near school | (e) other _____ |
| (b) in the home | (d) in school | |

When was the last time this happened? (Circle only one)

- (a) about a week ago (d) about 6 months ago (g) between 1 and 2 years ago
 (b) about a month ago (e) about 9 months ago (h) between 3 and 5 years ago
 (c) about 3 months ago (f) about a year ago (i) more than 5 years ago

23. How many times have you only heard about someone else getting beaten up or mugged? (Circle only one)

- (a) never (d) 3 or 4 times (g) at least once a month
 (b) 1 time (e) 5 or 6 times (h) at least once a week
 (c) 2 times (f) 7 or 8 times (i) almost every day

If you circled never, skip to question 24

Who was beaten up or mugged? (What was the person's relationship to you?) (Circle one or more)

- (a) adult stranger (d) young stranger (g) parent(s) (j) don't know
 (b) adult acquaintance (e) young acquaintance (h) brother/sister
 (c) adult friend (f) young friend (i) other relative

Who did the beating up or mugging? (What was the person's relationship to you?) (Circle one or more)

- (a) adult stranger (d) young stranger (g) parent(s) (j) don't know
 (b) adult acquaintance (e) young acquaintance (h) brother/sister
 (c) adult friend (f) young friend (i) other relative

Where did you see the beating or mugging? (Circle one or more)

- (a) near home (c) near school (e) other _____
 (b) in the home (d) in school

When was the last time this happened? (Circle only one)

- (a) about a week ago (d) about 6 months ago (g) between 1 and 2 years ago
 (b) about a month ago (e) about 9 months ago (h) between 3 and 5 years ago
 (c) about 3 months ago (f) about a year ago (i) more than 5 years ago

CARRYING GUNS AND KNIVES

24. How many times have you actually seen someone carrying or holding a gun or knife? (Do not include police, military, or security officers) (Circle only one)

- (a) never (d) 3 or 4 times (g) at least once a month
 (b) 1 time (e) 5 or 6 times (h) at least once a week
 (c) 2 times (f) 7 or 8 times (i) almost every day

Who had the weapon? (What was the person's relationship to you?) (Circle one or more)

- (a) adult stranger (d) young stranger (g) parent(s) (j) don't know
 (b) adult acquaintance (e) young acquaintance (h) brother/sister
 (c) adult friend (f) young friend (i) other relative

Where did you see this? (Circle one or more)

- (a) near home (c) near school (e) other _____
 (b) in the home (d) in school

When was the last time you saw someone carrying or holding the weapon? (Circle only one)

- (a) about a week ago (d) about 6 months ago (g) between 1 and 2 years ago
 (b) about a month ago (e) about 9 months ago (h) between 3 and 5 years ago
 (c) about 3 months ago (f) about a year ago (i) more than 5 years ago

25. How many times have you only heard about someone carrying a gun or a knife? (Do not include police, military, or security officers) (Circle only one)

- (a) never (d) 3 or 4 times (g) at least once a month
 (b) 1 time (e) 5 or 6 times (h) at least once a week
 (c) 2 times (f) 7 or 8 times (i) almost every day

If you circled never, skip to question 26

Who had the weapon? (What was the person's relationship to you?) (Circle one or more)

- (a) adult stranger (d) young stranger (g) parent(s) (j) don't know
 (b) adult acquaintance (e) young acquaintance (h) brother/sister
 (c) adult friend (f) young friend (i) other relative

Where was the person carrying or holding the weapon? (Circle one or more)

- (a) near home (c) near school (e) other _____
 (b) in the home (d) in school

When was the last time you heard of this happening? (Circle only one)

- (a) about a week ago (d) about 6 months ago (g) between 1 and 2 years ago
 (b) about a month ago (e) about 9 months ago (h) between 3 and 5 years ago
 (c) about 3 months ago (f) about a year ago (i) more than 5 years ago

26. How many times have you yourself heard the sound of gunfire outside when you were in the following settings?

When in or near the home? (Circle only one)

- (a) never (d) 3 or 4 times (g) at least once a month
 (b) 1 time (e) 5 or 6 times (h) at least once a week
 (c) 2 times (f) 7 or 8 times (i) almost every day

When in or near the school building? (Circle only one)

- (a) never (d) 3 or 4 times (g) at least once a month
 (b) 1 time (e) 5 or 6 times (h) at least once a week
 (c) 2 times (f) 7 or 8 times (i) almost every day

When was the last time this happened? (Circle only one)

- (a) about a week ago (d) about 6 months ago (g) between 1 and 2 years ago
 (b) about a month ago (e) about 9 months ago (h) between 3 and 5 years ago
 (c) about 3 months ago (f) about a year ago (i) more than 5 years ago

SERIOUS WOUNDINGS

27. How many times have you actually seen a seriously wounded person after an incident of violence? (Circle only one)

- | | | |
|-------------|------------------|---------------------------|
| (a) never | (d) 3 or 4 times | (g) at least once a month |
| (b) 1 time | (e) 5 or 6 times | (h) at least once a week |
| (c) 2 times | (f) 7 or 8 times | (i) almost every day |

Who was wounded? (What was the person's relationship to you?) (Circle one or more)

- | | | | |
|------------------------|------------------------|--------------------|----------------|
| (a) adult stranger | (d) young stranger | (g) parent(s) | (j) don't know |
| (b) adult acquaintance | (e) young acquaintance | (h) brother/sister | |
| (c) adult friend | (f) young friend | (i) other relative | |

Where did you see this? (Circle one or more)

- | | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| (a) near home | (c) near school | (e) other _____ |
| (b) in the home | (d) in school | |

When was the last time you saw this? (Circle only one)

- | | | |
|-----------------------|------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (a) about a week ago | (d) about 6 months ago | (g) between 1 and 2 years ago |
| (b) about a month ago | (e) about 9 months ago | (h) between 3 and 5 years ago |
| (c) 3 months ago | (f) about a year ago | (i) more than 5 years ago |

28. How many times have you only heard about a person seriously wounded after an incident of violence? (Circle only one)

- | | | |
|-------------|------------------|---------------------------|
| (a) never | (d) 3 or 4 times | (g) at least once a month |
| (b) 1 time | (e) 5 or 6 times | (h) at least once a week |
| (c) 2 times | (f) 7 or 8 times | (i) almost every day |

If you circled never, skip to question 29

Who was wounded? (What was the person's relationship to you?) (Circle one or more)

- | | | |
|------------------------|------------------------|--------------------|
| (a) adult stranger | (d) young stranger | (g) parent(s) |
| (b) adult acquaintance | (e) young acquaintance | (h) brother/sister |
| (c) adult friend | (f) young friend | (i) other relative |
| (j) don't know | | |

Where did this happen? (Circle one or more)

- | | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| (a) near home | (c) near school | (e) other _____ |
| (b) in the home | (d) in school | |

When was the last time you heard about this? (Circle only one)

- | | | |
|------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (a) about a week ago | (d) about 6 months ago | (g) between 1 and 2 years ago |
| (b) about a month ago | (e) about 9 months ago | (h) between 3 and 5 years ago |
| (c) about 3 months ago | (f) about a year ago | (i) more than 5 years ago |

OTHER TYPES OF VIOLENCE

29. How many times have you been in any kind of situation not already described where you were Extremely frightened or thought that you would get hurt very badly or die? (Circle only one)

- | | | |
|-------------|------------------|---------------------------|
| (a) never | (d) 3 or 4 times | (g) at least once a month |
| (b) 1 time | (e) 5 or 6 times | (h) at least once a week |
| (c) 2 times | (f) 7 or 8 times | (i) almost every day |

If you circled never, skip to question 30

Please describe that situation in your own words:

Where did this happen? (Circle one or more)

- | | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| (a) near home | (c) near school | (e) other _____ |
| (b) in the home | (d) in school | |

When was the last time something like this happened to you? (Circle only one)

- | | | |
|------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (a) about a week ago | (d) about 6 months ago | (g) between 1 and 2 years ago |
| (b) about a month ago | (e) about 9 months ago | (h) between 3 and 5 years ago |
| (c) about 3 months ago | (f) about a year ago | (i) more than 5 years ago |

ALL TYPES OF VIOLENCE COMBINED

30. How many times have you yourself actually been the victim of any type of violence such as those Described in this questionnaire? (Circle only one)

- | | | |
|-------------|------------------|---------------------------|
| (a) never | (d) 3 or 4 times | (g) at least once a month |
| (b) 1 time | (e) 5 or 6 times | (h) at least once a week |
| (c) 2 times | (f) 7 or 8 times | (i) almost every day |

If you circled never, skip to question 31

Who committed the violent act? (What was the person's relationship to you?) (Circle one or more)

- | | | | |
|------------------------|------------------------|--------------------|----------------|
| (a) adult stranger | (d) young stranger | (g) parent(s) | (j) don't know |
| (b) adult acquaintance | (e) young acquaintance | (h) brother/sister | |
| (c) adult friend | (f) young friend | (i) other relative | |

Where did it happen? (Circle one or more)

- | | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| (a) near home | (c) near school | (e) other _____ |
| (b) in the home | (d) in school | |

When was the last time this happened? (Circle only one)

- (a) about a week ago (d) about 6 months ago (g) between 1 and 2 years ago
 (b) about a month ago (e) about 9 months ago (h) between 3 and 5 years ago
 (c) about 3 months ago (f) about a year ago (i) more than 5 years ago

31. How many times have you seen someone else being victimized by some form of violence such as those described in this questionnaire? (Circle only one)

- (a) never (d) 3 or 4 times (g) at least once a month
 (b) 1 time (e) 5 or 6 times (h) at least once a week
 (c) 2 times (f) 7 or 8 times (i) almost every day

If you circled never, skip to question 32

Who did this happen to? (What was the person's relationship to you?) (Circle one or more?)

- (a) adult stranger (d) young stranger (g) parent(s) (j) don't know
 (b) adult acquaintance (e) young acquaintance (h) brother/sister
 (c) adult friend (f) young friend (i) other relative

Who committed the violent act? (What was the person's relationship to you?) (Circle one or more)

- (a) adult stranger (d) young stranger (g) parent(s) (j) don't know
 (b) adult acquaintance (e) young acquaintance (h) brother/sister
 (c) adult friend (f) young friend (i) other relative

Where did it happen? (Circle one or more)

- (a) near home (c) near school (e) other _____
 (b) in the home (d) in school

When was the last time you saw this happen? (Circle only one)

- (a) about a week ago (d) about 6 months ago (g) between 1 and 2 years ago
 (b) about a month ago (e) about 9 months ago (h) between 3 and 5 years ago
 (c) about 3 months ago (f) about a year ago (i) more than 5 years ago

32. How many times have you only heard about someone else being victimized by some form of violence such as those described in the questionnaire? (Circle only one)

- (a) never (d) 3 or 4 times (g) at least once a month
 (b) 1 time (e) 5 or 6 times (h) at least once a week
 (c) 2 times (f) 7 or 8 times (i) almost every day

If you circled never, skip to the end

Who did it happen to? (What was the person's relationship to you?) (Circle one or more)

- (a) adult stranger (d) young stranger (g) parent(s) (j) don't know
 (b) adult acquaintance (e) young acquaintance (h) brother/sister
 (c) adult friend (f) young friend (i) other relative

Who committed the violent act? (What was the person's relationship to you?) (Circle one or more)

- | | | | |
|------------------------|------------------------|--------------------|----------------|
| (a) adult stranger | (d) young stranger | (g) parent(s) | (j) don't know |
| (b) adult acquaintance | (e) young acquaintance | (h) brother/sister | |
| (c) adult friend | (f) young friend | (i) other relative | |

Where did it happen? (Circle one or more)

- | | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| (a) near home | (c) near school | (e) other _____ |
| (b) in the home | (d) in school | |

When was the last time you heard of this happening? (Circle only one)

- | | | |
|------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (a) about a week ago | (d) about 6 months ago | (g) between 1 and 2 years ago |
| (b) about a month ago | (e) about 9 months ago | (h) between 3 and 5 years ago |
| (c) about 3 months ago | (f) about a year ago | (i) more than 5 years ago |

Thank you for your participation.

Please Note: This form has been reformatted for this thesis.

Appendix B
Youth Empathy Scale

Below is a list of questions about family relationships. Please circle the answer that best describes your experience.

1. I understand what empathy means.
2. I am good at putting myself in other people's shoes to try and understand what they are feeling.
3. My parents or parent has trouble understanding me.
4. My parents or parent are very sympathetic.
5. My parents or parent always tries to understand my point of view even if they don't agree with me.
6. When my parents or parent hurts me, either physically, for example slapping me or emotionally, for example, saying something to put me down, they immediately feel bad for their actions.
7. When I hurt my parents or parent, either physically, for example, hitting or emotionally, for example saying something to put them down, I immediately feel bad for what I have done.
8. When I am upset, my parents or parent feel my upset too.
9. My parents or mother and her partner always think about how I feel after they have had a fight.

Please Note: This form has been reformatted for this thesis.

Appendix C

Conflict Tactics Scales Form (CTS2-CA)

Relationships Between My Parents

No matter how well parents get along, there are times when they disagree, get annoyed with each other, want different things from each other, or just have spats or fights because they are in a bad mood, are tired, or for some other reason. Parents also have many different ways of trying to settle their differences with each other. This is a list of things that might happen when your parents had differences or were angry with each other.

If your mother and father (or step mother or step father) were not living together in the last year you lived at home and you were living with your mother, please answer about your mother and the man she was living with then. If you were living with your father or step father, but not your mother, please answer about your father and the woman he was living with then.

Please circle how many times each of them did the things on this list during the last year you were living at home. If a parent did not do one of these things in the last year you lived at home but it happened some other year before or after that, circle "7."

How often did this happen in the last year you lived at home with them?

- | | |
|----------------------------------|---|
| 1=once that year | 5=11 to 20 times that year |
| 2=twice that year | 6=more than 20 times that year |
| 3=3 to 5 times that year | 7=not that year, but it did happen before or after |
| 4=6 to 10 times that year | 0=this never happened |

Please note: Some numbers/questions not applicable to this study were removed.

- | | |
|--|-----------------|
| 1. Mother showed she cared about father even when they disagreed | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0 |
| 2. Father showed he cared about mother even when they disagreed | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0 |
| 3. Mother explained her side of a disagreement to father | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0 |
| 4. Father explained his side of a disagreement to mother | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0 |
| 5. Mother insulted or swore at father | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0 |
| 6. Father insulted or swore at mother | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0 |
| 7. Mother threw something at father that could hurt | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0 |
| 8. Father threw something at mother that could hurt | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0 |
| 9. Mother twisted father's arm or hair | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0 |
| 10. Father twisted mother's arm or hair | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0 |

How often did this happen in the last year you lived at home with them?

- | | |
|--|-----------------|
| 11. Mother had a sprain, bruise, or small cut because of a fight with father | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0 |
| 12. Father had a sprain, bruise, or small cut because of a fight with mother | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0 |

13.	Mother showed respect for father's feelings about an issue	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
14.	Father showed respect for mother's feelings about an issue	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
17.	Mother pushed or shoved father	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
18.	Father pushed or shoved mother	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
21.	Mother used a knife or gun on father	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
22.	Father used a knife or gun on mother	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
23.	Mother passed out from being hit on the head by father in a fight	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
24.	Father passed out from a hit on the head in a fight with mother	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
25.	Mother called father fat or ugly	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
26.	Father called mother fat or ugly	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
27.	Mother punched or hit father with something that could hurt	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
28.	Father punched or hit mother with something that could hurt	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
29.	Mother destroyed something belonging to father	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
30.	Father destroyed something belonging to mother	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
31.	Mother went to a doctor because of a fight with father	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
32.	Father went to a doctor because of a fight with mother	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
33.	Mother choked father	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
34.	Father choked mother	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
35.	Mother shouted or yelled at father	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
36.	Father shouted or yelled at mother	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
37.	Mother slammed father against a wall	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
38.	Father slammed mother against a wall	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
39.	Mother said she was sure they could work out a problem	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
40.	Father said he was sure they could work out a problem	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0

How often did this happen in the last year you lived at home with them?

41.	Mother needed to see a doctor because of a fight with father, but didn't go	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
42.	Father needed to see a doctor because of a fight with mother, but didn't go	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
43.	Mother beat up father	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
44.	Father beat up mother	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
45.	Mother grabbed father	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
46.	Father grabbed mother	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0

49.	Mother stomped out of the room or house or yard when she had a disagreement with father	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
50.	Father stomped out of the room or house or yard when he had a disagreement with mother	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
53.	Mother slapped father	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
54.	Father slapped mother	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
55.	Mother had a broken bone from a fight with father	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
56.	Father had a broken bone from a fight with mother	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
59.	Mother suggested a compromise to a disagreement with father	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
60.	Father suggested a compromise to a disagreement with mother	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
61.	Mother burned or scalded father on purpose	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
62.	Father burned or scalded mother on purpose	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
67.	Mother did something to spite father	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
68.	Father did something to spite mother	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
69.	Mother threatened to hit or throw something at father	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
70.	Father threatened to hit or throw something at mother	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
71.	Mother felt physical pain that still hurt the next day because of a fight with father	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
72.	Father still felt physical pain the next day because of a fight with mother	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
73.	Mother kicked father	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
74.	Father kicked mother	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
77.	Mother agreed to try a solution to a disagreement suggested by father	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
78.	Father agreed to try a solution to a disagreement suggested by mother	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0

Please Note: This form has been reformatted for this thesis.

Appendix D

Participant's Consent Form

To Youths at Victoria Youth Custody Centre,

Hello. My name is Laila Presotto and I am a graduate student in the Department of Psychological Foundations and Leadership Studies at the University of Victoria. As a graduate student it is part of my Master of Arts degree in Counselling Psychology to do a research study. I am doing a study on family relations. I would like to invite you to participate in a research study called Domestic Violence and Its Effects on Children: Is There a Risk for Criminal Behaviour? Domestic violence means witnessing the physical abuse and/or verbal abuse between a mother and her partner. Physical abuse may include kicking, pushing, hitting, punching and using weapons and verbal abuse may include put downs, saying mean statements, and threats made between a mother and father or her partner. My research study is being supervised by Dr. Geoff Hett who can be contacted at (250 721-7783) if you have any questions or concerns. I can be contacted at (604 738 9360). Also, in addition to being able to contact myself or my supervisor, you may verify the ethical approval of this study or raise any concerns by contacting the Associate Vice-President, Research at the University of Victoria at (250 472-4632).

Doing this research is extremely important because at this time there is a very limited amount of research and knowledge on this topic. Your participation in this research study will help educate society on how severe and serious the issue of domestic violence is. It will also help teachers, policy makers, counsellors, doctors, etc., develop treatment plans that will be helpful for mothers, their partners and children who have been affected by domestic violence and for those children and adolescence who have shown criminal behaviour. This study also hopes to identify early warning signs in children so programs can be created to help children before they commit and get charged with criminal offenses. I am asking you to participate in this study because your past experiences will be very valuable to help many others who have been through and are for those who going through similar circumstances. If you decide to participate in this study, this is what you can expect to happen.

Participants in this study will be divided into 3 groups which include youths who have committed serious violent offenses, youths that have committed nonviolent offenses, and youths that have not committed any criminal offenses. Participation will happen at the Victoria Youth Detention Centre in the classroom. The purpose of this study is to answer the three following questions: Are children who witness domestic violence between their mother and mother's partner at risk for developing behaviour problems? For example, behaviour problems may include being aggressive towards others, running away from home, stealing, and being in trouble with the law. Are children who witness domestic violence at risk for developing criminal behaviour? Is a failure for parents to respond empathetically (putting themselves in their child's shoes and imagining how their child is feeling during the times of domestic violence) to the needs of their children a factor in the development of criminal behaviour? This will be done by having you complete three questionnaires and if needed to have permission from you to have access to your other personal records kept at the Youth Detention Centre. The first questionnaire is called the Conflict Tactics Scale. This scale asks questions about conflict in your family. For example, it will ask questions about the type of conflict and how severe it was in your family. The second questionnaire is called Survey of Exposure to Community Violence. This questionnaire will ask questions about the kinds of violence and things related to violence that you may have experienced, seen, or heard about. The third questionnaire is a questionnaire about empathy (which means the ability to put yourself in someone else's shoes). Empathy questions will be

asked to look at the amount of empathy in your family. Questions will be asked about the level of empathy shown in your family during conflict. Each questionnaire will take approximately 15 minutes to complete. Once you have completed the questionnaires, the researcher will collect them.

Participation in this study may cause some inconveniences and risks to you. For example, the time it takes to read the consent form, deciding whether you want to participate in the study and to complete 3 questionnaires, all may be an inconvenience to you. If you do feel emotional stress at any point in time while completing the questionnaires or after, there will be an opportunity for you to discuss your thoughts and feelings with the researcher. I believe having the opportunity to talk about stressful thoughts and feelings is very important when doing research of this nature so please do not hesitate to approach me.

The benefits of participating in this research are because your past experiences are extremely valuable, you have the opportunity to contribute new knowledge to the very limited amount of knowledge that exists. There is an opportunity to make a difference in your life and in the lives of so many other parents, teenagers, and children who have all been affected by domestic violence and/or criminal behaviour. I hope that you will find participating in this research study to be a very meaningful and empowering experience for you. The information you give by completing the questionnaires will help many people in our society.

Your participation in this research must be completely voluntary. This means that it is your decision only to decide whether you want to participate in this research. If you do decide to participate and then change your mind, you may withdraw at anytime without any consequences or explanation. If you do withdraw from this study your data will not be used in the analysis and will be destroyed. To assist you throughout your participation during this research, I will acknowledge any difficulties you may experience and will remind you again of your right to quit without any negative consequences.

To protect your anonymity, which means keeping your identity completely private and protected, the information you give in this study will be kept 100% anonymous. Your names will not be used in this study. All of the information you give will stay with the researcher and supervisor. Know one will have access to the information and it will be destroyed after it has been analyzed. The results from this study will be written to complete my master's thesis and will at some point in time be submitted for publication. A copy of the results of this study, written in terms that are easily understood, will be made available to you upon your request.

Once again, in addition to being able to contact myself or supervisor at the above phone numbers, you may verify the ethical approval of this study, or raise any questions or concerns you may have by contacting the Associate Vice-President at the University of Victoria at 250 472-4632.

Your signature below indicates that you understand the above conditions for participating in this study and that you have had the opportunity to have your questions answered by the researcher.

Name of participant

Signature

Date

A copy of this consent form will be left with you and the researcher will take a copy.

Please Note: This form has been reformatted for this thesis