Edited by

Carlos A. Cuevas and Callie Marie Rennison

THE WILEY HANDBOOK ON

*the Psychology
of Violence*

WILEY Blackwell

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**Carlos A. Cuevas
and Callie Marie Rennison**

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To Joana, my wife who is a great source of support and a great lady to spend my life with. To Carter and Alani, I love you both very much; this is why Papo looks so tired. – CAC

I dedicate this book, and all of the research I do, to my best friend, fearless companion, and husband Dave Vaughan. Without you, none of this has any meaning. – CMR

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This handbook would not have been possible without the contributors who volunteered their time and extensive expertise to put together a great collection of works that inform the field of violence. Contributions in this handbook are authored by a diverse group of well known scholars in the field of violence and victimization from the United States and abroad. We are delighted to present the insights of so many experts on a variety of interrelated topics in one place. Their valuable expertise will benefit researchers, teachers, students, practitioners, and other interested professionals. We especially appreciate their patience when things were bogged down, and we are excited to see everyone's hard work come to fruition. It was a pleasure and an honor to work and collaborate with each of them.

We would also like to acknowledge the colleagues with whom we have collaborated in the past. Each manuscript, grant, and presentation with those who focus on violence and victimization has expanded our knowledge, expertise, and understanding of this topic. Books like this do not come together without the incorporation of the knowledge that we have gained from working with others. Hopefully it will promote the collaboration necessary to move this field forward.

It would be remiss of us if we did not also acknowledge the courage of survivors sharing their stories. Whether it is through a research study or clinical services, the willingness of survivors to talk about what has happened to them and how it has impacted them is the only way we learn how we can address this problem. This includes recognizing those who did not survive their victimization. While they cannot share their stories with researchers, data and information from their tragic experiences are valuable to minimizing and ultimately ending violence. The participation of victims and survivors is the foundation of our understanding of the problem, our prevention efforts, the development of services, and ideas about how to make their lives better and safer.

Finally, we have to acknowledge our families and friends. They are a well of support and help bring balance to our lives. This is particularly important when you dedicate your professional career to a subject matter that can be so challenging and taxing. Having these people in our lives helps us be better professionals in this arena.

Introduction

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Vision and Scope for this Handbook

The Wiley Handbook on the Psychology of Violence is an interdisciplinary exploration of all the major elements in the study of violence and victimization. Our vision for this book was to bring together a group of scholars, covering a variety of disciplines that examine violence in our society, including those in psychology, criminology, social work, and public health. The result of this approach is a comprehensive text that cuts across disciplines, resulting in a cornerstone handbook on this important topic.

Although the book is divided into mainstream silos of violence research, we aimed for a text that addresses the diversity and overlap of victimization and violence experiences, including polyvictimization and revictimization dynamics, methodological and data issues particular to violence research, and a more general evaluation of violence dynamics. Also included in the handbook is valuable information on the social construction of violence, cybercrime, and the role of the Internet and social media in violence (e.g., enticement of minors online, the role of technology in stalking). Another key vision of this text was to focus on populations and areas of violence and victimization that have been understudied, such as ethnic minorities, the LGBTIQ community, and those with disabilities. Our hope is to help bring attention to these populations, fill voids, and promote scholarly work and services for them.

Contributions in this book are authored by a diverse group of well known scholars in the field of violence and victimization from the United States and abroad. The book is organized into seven major parts based on different areas of violence focus: general issues in violence and victimization, general violence, juvenile violence, family violence, partner violence, sexual violence, cybercrime, and underserved/understudied populations.

Finally, we realize that our knowledge in the area of violence is fluid and continually evolving. As such, we felt it was important to provide some ideas about where the field needs to go in these varying arenas of violence. Each part therefore ends with a chapter that discusses some ideas about future directions in the study of violence and victimization.

Choices We Made in Constructing this Book

There were a number of choices we made in the development and construction of this text. First, even though its title included the words "psychology of violence," we recognized that violence research, services, and policy are an interdisciplinary endeavor, and, as such, we recruited contributors both from psychology and disciplines outside psychology.

Another key decision was to give the contributors significant freedom in how they approached the chapter topic. While we requested that a synthesis of the research be part of the presentation, contributors could choose how they drafted the chapter. As a result, we have a diverse and creative approach to the manuscripts, making this a readable and engaging text.

We recognize that edited books such as these are often a resource for individuals who work in some but not all areas of violence. As a result, our approach was that each chapter could stand on its own. However, there are some connections between the chapters and we encouraged the authors not to discuss issues addressed in other chapters where there was overlap.

The Utility and Importance of the Handbook

This is an important book in its comprehensive and up-to-date coverage of research on the topic of violence. It is also important in that it is written by and designed to be read by individuals across numerous disciplines. As such, it should serve as an important and comprehensive resource for researchers, practitioners, and policymakers, regardless of their field.

There are key components to this text that will appeal to potential readers. The book provides a synthesis of the most up-to-date research in the various areas of violence, making it an excellent source of recent work on the topic. Each of the major parts described above addresses intervention suggestions, policy issues, and research needs, so as to provide readers with suggestions on how to use the text's information and where the field is headed. It is hoped that this information will act as a road map for future research designed to move our understanding of violence and victimization forward.

How to Use this Text

We envision a variety of audiences benefitting from the material contained in this handbook. The information presented cuts across a range of disciplines including students of psychology, sociology, criminology/criminal justice, public health, law and social work. In addition, the material serves as a resource for researchers, practitioners, advocates, and policy makers as it addresses an array of topics related to violence and victimization.

The book is best viewed as a tool chest. It contains information and material on many topics related to violence and victimization that do not require reading in any particular order. Each chapter stands alone, meaning that the reader can find the topic

of interest. Of course, others may choose to read the book from front to back, and the book lends itself to this approach as well.

Given the flexibility in the structure of this handbook, it is easily utilized at both the graduate and undergraduate levels. At the graduate level, we view it as a primary source for courses focused on violence and victimization, regardless of one's home discipline. Among undergraduates, the book may serve as a secondary reference document for classes on these topics.

Part One

General Issues in Violence and Victimization

1

The Dynamic Nature of Crime Statistics

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We are in the absurd position of endeavoring to diagnose and cure a social disease with little knowledge of its causes, its nature, and its prevalence.

Commissioner William P. Rutledge

Most people are familiar with the broad statements in headlines about crime trends in the United States based on the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program. However, UCR should be seen as more than simply a measure of broad changes in crime at the national level. The information used by the federal UCR Program flows upwards from a call for service or incident report with a law enforcement agency to the UCR State Program before reaching the federal level. The basic building block of the whole program is a report of a crime or an arrest, and from that basic information a multitude of stories can be told.

To truly understand the proper use of UCR data, one must understand the purpose for which it was collected. The ultimate goal was to provide data and information to help law enforcement do its job. The problem with that rather succinct statement of purpose is that, throughout the nearly 85 years that UCR has been around, the "law enforcement job" has never been static. Policing has evolved from the 1920s to the present day, and within those changes, the relationship between policing and crime data has also evolved. Understanding the changing context of policing is key for understanding the overall design of UCR from its beginnings to present day. It allows us to check our modern expectations for law enforcement against a system built upon a different set of premises than those that are currently used.

As one of only two national measures of crime in the United States, UCR has a prominent place in our understanding of social phenomena. The second measure, the Bureau of Justice Statistics' National Crime Victimization Survey, benefits from more traditional and purposive research-design techniques. As such, the NCVS has a fairly straightforward interpretation as it relates to the data-collection process. The design

**Opinions expressed in this chapter are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Federal Bureau of Investigation or the US Department of Justice.

of the NCVS allows for statistically defensible estimates of nonfatal (and property) victimizations for both the nation and four regions of the country based on information taken directly from household members over the age of 12 – regardless of whether or not it was reported to law enforcement. The design also allows the measurement of change in victimization levels over time (Lauritsen & Rezey, 2013). However, there are limitations with the NCVS that would preclude using it to replace UCR. As a household survey, there are no measures of commercial crime, and the restriction to only interviewing household members who are over the age of 12 means that very little can be said about crimes against children.

The UCR Program, on the other hand, has a rather circuitous collection process that mimics both the federalized political structure of city to state to nation and its resulting different levels of scale. This process is so deeply immersed in the day-to-day administration of law enforcement that it can sometimes confound the completeness and comparability of the data. Where the NCVS may be weak, UCR can provide strength. The UCR data are inclusive of all victims, regardless of age. They include commercial crime, and will allow for a greater specificity of location – down to the jurisdiction – than the NCVS. The UCR and the NCVS provide for complementary views of the complete picture of crime in the United States. Given that data collected as a part of the UCR Program are not a product of designed collection, the interpretation can become more problematic.

This chapter is intended to accomplish two things. First, it presents a basic understanding of the major data-collection components of the UCR Program that allows one to understand what information is available for analysis. Second, this chapter draws connections between the state of policing and law enforcement at various junctures in the history of the UCR Program. In many ways, this chapter reads like a history of the UCR Program. That is unavoidable considering how long this collection has been in existence. In the end, the reader should see how the role of analysis has shaped the development of the UCR Program. "[W]e are compelled to recognize that crime statistics must originate with the police and that without police support there can be no crime statistics" (*Uniform crime reporting: A complete manual for police*, 1929, p. vii).

The Uniform Crime Reporting system (UCR) was conceived by police chiefs and other leaders in law enforcement in the latter part of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century. Created in a time of increasing professionalization on the part of law enforcement, there was a desire to create an accountability method allowing for comparisons regardless of the differences of law that exist between local areas. The time period 1900 to 1929 was the first era of police reform – an ongoing theme in the history of law enforcement. Early reformers, including Leonhard Fuld, Raymond Fosdick, Bruce Smith, Richard Sylvester, J. Edgar Hoover, and August Vollmer advocated for more education, greater professionalism, and reduced corruption in law enforcement (*Uniform crime reporting: A complete manual for police*, 1929; Vila & Morris, 1999). Without comprehensive crime data, police chiefs believed that they were unable to defend their work against frequent accusations of inefficiency and incompetence. In addition, there were no means for police executives to evaluate effectively the performance of patrol officers and detectives under their management. It was within this context that the first discussions of the Uniform Crime Reporting Program took place (*Uniform crime reporting: A complete manual for police*, 1929).

The primary consideration in the development of these tables was that they should serve as the basis of a nationwide system of uniform crime records. They have served this end admirably and the essentials of uniform crime records must not be lost sight of in any modification which may be made of them. However, they do not include data essential to the solution of many police problems. (Wilson, 1942, p. 202)

As mentioned earlier, the primary characteristic that differentiates the UCR Program from other data collections about crime is that it is based upon official reports that come to the attention of law enforcement and are voluntarily forwarded to the UCR Program. As such, the data are generated as a result of an administrative process rather than an interview or survey, like the National Crime Victimization Survey. Official criminal justice information progresses from the call for service with law enforcement to the federal UCR Program with aggregation imposed upon the data at each step of the way. The basic building block of the whole UCR Program is an initial report of a crime or an arrest in a local jurisdiction. The flow of information in the UCR Program mirrors the hierarchical structure within politics and law enforcement in the United States.

The creation of the program itself in 1929 was predicated on the idea that it was necessary to provide a common definition for the reporting of crime in order to maintain comparable data both from year to year and agency to agency. While there was a significant amount of discussion about the possibility of creating consistency with the criminal code among all states, the reality of achieving that result was viewed unlikely. In the absence of a unified system, the International Chiefs of Police (IACP) proposed a system based upon a series of standardized definitions with forms to be recorded by local police and sheriffs (Walker & Boehm, n. d.). This process of standardization results in a loss of granularity at each stage. However, what could be lost in nuance was viewed as a gain in the ability to identify patterns across larger spatial areas or time periods. It is analogous to the idea of maps and scale. The types of maps that would be used to navigate through the streets of a particular city would not serve to measure distances across the United States. In the same manner, different questions about crime and criminality require different data with differing levels of detail.

The most detailed information is held by local law enforcement agencies in their records management systems. From those local records management systems, information is forwarded to the State UCR Programs. State Programs are entities charged with the responsibility to manage the collection of UCR data within a particular state. There is no one particular state agency whose responsibility is to manage the UCR Program. State Programs can be associated with the state police, a statistical analysis center, or some other branch of the state government. At the inception of State Programs in the 1960s, the thought was that state agencies would be able to coordinate and communicate more effectively with their local agencies because of proximity and having fewer agencies to manage (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 1960–2004). The information available at each point along this continuum reflects the types of questions being asked at that level of geography or the style of policing being used at that time. This information is often consolidated both conceptually and geographically before moving up the hierarchy (Barnett-Ryan, 2007).

Scope of the Uniform Crime Reporting Program
Summary Reporting System

In 1930, the UCR Program's first year of data collection, 400 law enforcement agencies in 43 states reported data to the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Currently, the UCR Program has grown to encompass over 18 000 law enforcement agencies from all 50 states, the District of Columbia, and some of the United States' territories as eligible participants. While the conceptual scope of the UCR Program has both expanded and contracted since its inception in 1929, the driving force behind adjustments has always been to serve the strategic needs of law enforcement. Those strategic needs are driven by political goals and trends in policing styles.

From its inception, the UCR Program has been a voluntary program. Law enforcement agencies choose to participate at their own discretion with no extra funding provided to them by the FBI for that specific purpose. As such, there are law enforcement agencies that choose not to participate in the UCR Program in any given year. However, many agencies have begun to participate because of requirements associated with non-FBI funding or because reporting facilitates the awarding of non-FBI funding. Since 1995, annual participation has ranged from 16 522 to 18 108 law enforcement agencies annually. However, the number of agencies contributing a full year of data is less than that – ranging from 80.4 to 93.1% of participating agencies (see Table 1.1). The voluntary nature of the UCR Program ensures that there will always be a need to account for missing or incomplete data from law enforcement agencies (*Crime in the United States*, 1995–2013). Currently, the UCR Program imputes, or estimates, for missing data or incomplete agencies for publication tables in *Crime in the United States*, its annual compendium. The estimation procedure used

Table 1.1 Uniform Crime Reporting Program participation levels, 1995 to 2012.

Year	*Total Agencies*	*Total Population*
1995	16 765	262 755 000
1996	16 798	265 284 000
1997	17 062	267 637 000
1998	16 522	270 296 000
1999	16 788	272 691 000
2000	16 825	281 421 906
2001	16 971	284 796 887
2002	17 324	288 368 698
2003	17 381	290 809 777
2004	17 499	293 655 404
2005	17 456	296 410 404
2006	17 523	299 398 484
2007	17 738	301 621 157
2008	17 799	304 059 724
2009	17 985	307 006 550
2010	18 108	308 745 538
2011	18 233	311 591 917
2012	18 290	313 914 040

can best be described as a version of mean substitution, where either crime rates of similar agencies as determined by size and type are applied to an agency's population to impute a figure for missing data, or by weighting the data up to a full year to accommodate incomplete reporting (Barnett-Ryan, 2007).

The Original Uniform Crime Reporting Program (Summary Reporting System)

The original UCR Program, or what is sometimes referred to as the Summary Reporting System (SRS or Summary), represents the current set of data collected as a continuation of the program that was established in the 1930s. This distinguishes the data from incident-level data collected in the National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS), which was established in the 1980s and early 1990s. While the original data were limited to information solely related to offenses, the SRS grew throughout the years to include information related to arrests, details about homicides, assaults and deaths of law enforcement officers, and police employee data. Criticisms of the limitations associated with the SRS should take into account the historical context of the development of the UCR Program, the evolution of policing styles, and their related impact on the types of analyses sought at the time (Barnett-Ryan, 2007; *Uniform crime reporting: A complete manual for police*, 1929; Walker & Boehm, n.d.).

The first, and still the most widely used, of the data collected by UCR Program are the offenses reported to law enforcement. The original seven offenses that the IACP identified were murder and non-negligent manslaughter, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, motor vehicle theft, and larceny theft. Arson was added to this list in the 1970s. These eight offenses are called the Part I crimes, and they can be further subdivided into violent crimes and property crimes. The violent offenses are murder and non-negligent manslaughter, forcible rape, robbery, and aggravated assault. All remaining Part I crimes are considered property offenses. (These two categories are common aggregate totals published and used with UCR data. However, they should not be confused with the distinction of crimes against persons and crimes against property, which are designations used to identify appropriate counting rules within the program.) Why were those seven offenses originally selected from all the possible offenses investigated by law enforcement? In short, the drafters of the initial standard guidelines believed that these offenses were the most likely to come to the attention of law enforcement regardless of whether an arrest was made. In addition, surveys of the various state criminal codes showed that these offenses were also good candidates for standardization with minimal variation among the states (*Uniform crime reporting: A complete manual for police*, 1929; Walker & Boehm, n.d.).

Definitions were based primarily upon common law, which applied to all states and territories with the exception of the Philippines (a territory at the time). Many other aspects of the law were not included in the data collection due to the lack of consistency with the application of those concepts (for example, degrees associated with the offense or felony vs. misdemeanor). IACP went through a painstaking process of assessing the criminal statutes across all states to determine a "schedule" of offenses (or a lookup table) that would both allow for the most comprehensive and inclusive definition of the Part I crimes, as well as a list of each statute and how

they should be classified (*Uniform crime reporting: A complete manual for police*, 1929; Walker & Boehm, n.d.).

All of the early collections occurred with the use of paper forms. Even though the data are currently collected and stored as electronic data sets, these paper forms provided the underlying skeleton or structure to the data collection that exists today. The first form that provided the basic offense information was the *Return A*. Current data collections in use today are also based on the *Age, Sex, and Race of Persons Arrested* forms; the *Supplement to Return A*; the *Supplementary Homicide Report*; and the *Police Employee* form (Barnett-Ryan, 2007).

Information on offenses collected on the *Return A* form includes the basic counts provided monthly by contributing agencies, as well as other measures of police activity such as clearances by arrest or exceptional means, and the finding of unfounded offenses. Unfounded offenses are those crimes that are reported or discovered by the police, but in the subsequent investigation, it is understood that no crime took place. These crimes are reported, but subtracted from the totals of "actual offenses." Clearances are those offenses that have been resolved either by the arrest of one or more offenders connected to the offense, or in the case of exceptional means, there are factors that will prohibit law enforcement from making an arrest. The rules associated with clearances by exceptional means require that the agency knows who the perpetrator is and where he or she is currently located, but is unable to arrest him or her. Examples include the death of the offender or extradition being denied by another entity. Finally, there are subcategories within the offenses that can be used by contributing agencies to report weapons associated with robbery and aggravated assault, the method of entry for burglaries, and the type of vehicle associated with the motor vehicle theft (*Summary Reporting System (SRS) user manual*, 2013).

A second group of criminal offenses was identified as Part II. These offense classes are seen as unlikely to be reported separately to police due to embarrassment or efforts to conceal the crime by the victim. When these complaints were made in the early part of the twentieth century, they were typically turned over to private agencies for investigation. For these reasons, it was seen that these offense classes would only come to the attention of law enforcement if there was an arrest. Early on in the program, the information provided by law enforcement on Part II offenses was based upon charges against individuals (through the now defunct *Return C*). However, that collection was ultimately dropped in the 1970s due to the difficulty getting information on charges from prosecutors and courts. In its place, a new data collection was established on arrests of individuals and their demographics for both Part I and Part II offenses via the *Age, Sex and Race of Persons Arrested*. The demographics are limited to a combination of age and sex categories and a separate collection of race for adults and juveniles on two separate forms (*Summary Reporting System (SRS) User Manual*, 2013).

In addition to these two basic collections, SRS grew to include detailed information on homicide incidents through the *Supplementary Homicide Report*, Part I offenses on the *Supplement to Return A*, and *Police Employee* data. The *Supplementary Homicide Report* was developed to capture some of the basic information that was gathered by law enforcement in the process of investigating homicides and represents the first attempt by UCR to capture incident-level data. It contains information on victim and offender demographics, weapons associated with the homicide, and other information on the circumstances. The *Supplement to Return A* collects data on property values, types of property, and information on time of day or location for the

Part I offenses. Finally, the *Police Employee* data include annual counts of sworn officers and civilians for both males and females (*Summary Reporting System (SRS) user manual*, 2013).

The main principles that guided the choice of the data collected for published tables at the beginning of the program were concentrated on data quality issues, such as completeness, accuracy, and uniformity, and also on the avoidance of overly detailed tables. The ultimate and only goal for national data was to provide a source of comparison for police executives to use to evaluate the relative effectiveness of their agencies. From those basic beginnings, the role of analysis of crime statistics grew to encompass the shifting attitudes of law enforcement to its application in management and law enforcement activity (Wilson, 1942).

August Vollmer and his student, O. W. Wilson, were two of the biggest proponents of scientific policing in the early part of the twentieth century until the late 1960s. Wilson extended the concepts of Part I and Part II crimes to include Part III (lost and found), Part IV, and Part V crimes. All of these types of crimes had varying levels of police records that could be used to track and trend levels, as well as evaluate the relative effectiveness of the police officers of a particular agency. Wilson summarizes his position on police records and data in his 1942 book, *Police records:*

> There is a direct relationship between the efficiency of the police department and the quality of its records and records procedures. Complete information is essential to effective police work; reports of crimes and other matters of concern to the police must be classified, indexed, and filed so that information is readily available to the officers working in the field. Analyses of these reports are also useful to the commanding officers. Every police administrator is called upon continually to make decisions related to the distribution of his force, the assignment of men to particular tasks, the expenditure of funds for one purpose or another, and the revision of plans of operations in relation to changing crime conditions. (p. 1)

Analysis was seen as the purview of the police executive. Wilson details many types of analysis that should be conducted for the proper administration of the department to include effectiveness measures for detective operations, traffic control, or juvenile crime control. However, the results of those findings would only be meaningful to managers making decisions about allocation of resources and officer time for particular areas of the jurisdiction. Analysis was not seen as a tool to assist in the daily decisions of patrol officers or investigations of detectives (Wilson, 1942). There is a direct connection between the limited role of analysis in law enforcement at this time and the limited amount of information collected (Wilson, 1963).

Changes to the Recording of Crime in Recent Years

> The lack of authentic and comparable records of the extent and incidence of crime has made it impossible to demonstrate what substantial change should be adopted for improvement in the administration of criminal justice. (*Uniform crime reporting: A complete manual for police*, 1929, p. 17)

As indicated in the introduction, the UCR Program is not static. Since its beginning in the early 1930s, law-enforcement agencies and Congress have mandated various

changes and additions to the program to keep up with current demands for information related to crime and criminal justice issues, albeit these changes are sometimes slow in coming. The result, however, is that the participation by law enforcement and the completeness of information will vary widely depending upon which part of the statistical program is being analyzed. In addition, completeness of data could depend upon regional differences of law and its treatment of newer crime categories – such as arson and hate crime.

In 1979, arson was made a permanent part of the list of crimes on which the UCR Program collects offense information. However, since reporting of arson was spotty, the UCR Program published arson along with the other seven *Index* crimes (murder and non-negligent manslaughter, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny theft and motor vehicle theft) crimes as a *Modified crime index* rather than incorporate it in its traditional *Crime index*. (Both the Crime Index and the Modified Crime Index were suspended in the early 2000s in favor of publication of violent crime and property crime aggregates.) Initially there were plans to incorporate the arson data collection with the data collected by Federal Emergency Management Administration's National Fire Data Center. However, as priorities within the UCR Program shifted toward the development of a new generation of data collection for the UCR Program, the project was eventually abandoned in the 1990s. Arson data continue to be sparsely reported to the UCR Program depending upon local considerations of law enforcement jurisdiction and responsibility of investigation of arsons (Federal Bureau of Investigation, (1960–1994).

A Paradigm Shift from Reactive to Proactive Policing and Incident-Based Data

While August Vollmer and O.W. Wilson were instrumental in introducing analysis to law enforcement decisions, the audience for crime analysis was the law enforcement executive. Police reforms up until the 1960s were concentrated on increasing the management efficiency of policing as an organization but not really directed at the effectiveness of those practices. Although criminologists in the early twentieth century explored community disorder and its relationship to crime, policing was largely a response to a report of a crime incident. In 1979, Herman Goldstein published his paper, "Improving policing: A problem-oriented approach," which outlined a general approach towards reducing crime through addressing the conditions that lead to crime. His problem-oriented policing (POP) approach was also one of the first methods of policing that advocated for a more decentralized use of analysis than before. In the problem-oriented policing method, patrol officers, as well as managers, are expected to become experts in the crime conditions of their patrol areas (Goldstein, 1979).

Because problem-oriented policing focuses on the end result rather than a specific method of policing, the role of information and data increased in importance as both an analytical and assessment tool. The SARA model (Scanning, Analysis, Response, and Assessment) was developed by John Eck and William Spelman during their work with the Newport News Police Department (Eck & Spelman, 1987). At two points in the SARA model – analysis and assessment, law enforcement data take center stage in law enforcement decision making related directly to a community problem. The work in Newport News was one of the first instances where Goldstein's ideas were put

into practice. The SARA model relies heavily on information about crime and disorder along with other contextual information to identify characteristics of the local problems. The information collected through the SARA process ultimately feeds into the development of an appropriate law-enforcement response and provides the means to assess the effectiveness of that response toward reducing crime and disorder. In order to implement problem-oriented policing, law enforcement needed to access and use its data more effectively than in the past.

Since that time, other methods of proactive policing have arisen, including situational crime prevention, community-oriented policing, COMPSTAT, intelligence-led or information-led policing, and, more recently, smart policing (Clarke, 2008; Coldren, Huntoon, & Medaris, 2013; Lee, 2010; Ratcliffe, 2008; Scott, Eck, Knutsson & Goldstein, 2008; Weisburd, Mastrofski, Mcnally, Greenspan & Willis, 2003). While each has nuanced differences in approaches toward management and the addressing of crime problems, a central tenet is a reliance on data and a desire to see that the "end product of policing" is the reduction of crime. All of this analysis was made possible by the emergence of readily available and affordable computing power for law enforcement starting in the 1970s. This quantitative revolution moved law enforcement away from records management systems that relied upon note cards and paper forms into methods that allowed for the collation and aggregation of larger amounts of data for organization and analysis (Bruce, 2008; Dunworth, 2000).

In the 30 years since the development of the SARA model, crime analysis and intelligence analysis has flourished in law enforcement agencies. While the larger departments often have a dedicated crime-analysis unit, even the smallest agencies have some expectation that their officers and civilian staff will analyze and assess current and historical conditions related to crime and disorder. This stands in stark contrast to the rudimentary analysis conducted during the mid-twentieth century. Contemporary crime analysis includes a variety of approaches and techniques, and there is also a variety of classification schemes to categorize types of crime or intelligence analyses (Boba, 2005; Ratcliffe, 2008; Wilson, 1942).

One of the more often used classification schemes is Rachel Boba's classification of crime analysis. She qualifies analysis as tactical, strategic, or administrative. These three types of analysis are separate from the investigative analysis that is most often associated with policing. All are based on pattern analysis but with data that differ on the spatial and temporal scope. Boba's tactical analysis is focused more on current crimes and the resolution of linked criminal events while strategic analyses are concerned with long-term trends and responses to those problems. The audiences for tactical and strategic analyses are primarily line officers and line supervisors. Finally, crime analysts use administrative analyses to communicate the results of larger research projects to either police executives, policy makers, or the public.

An additional approach to classifying intelligence analysis is introduced by Jerry Ratcliffe. He identifies law enforcement intelligence analysis as tactical, operational, or strategic. Tactical analyses are those most often associated with police activity. The positive result of a tactical analysis is either an arrest or conviction. Operational analyses take a step back from the incident or case level to include information about regional patterns or trends. Operational analyses are used to develop long-term crime reduction strategies. Finally, Ratcliffe's strategic analyses focus on wider issues that could include noncriminal justice responses from policy makers as well (Boba, 2005; Ratcliffe, 2008).

While using somewhat different terminology, Boba's and Ratcliffe's approaches share many characteristics. The most significant connection between the two is that the analytical process occurs at different levels of scale depending upon the question at hand and goal of the analysis. Law enforcement analysis and the associated data can more correctly be seen as a continuum that includes small-area microlevel analyses, regional mesolevel analyses, up to the national macrolevel analyses. It is a system that NIBRS, the new-generation UCR, mirrors with a standardized method of reporting incident-level data. Understanding this framework is necessary to understanding the role of the types of data collected and analyzed by law enforcement within the UCR system.

Tactical Analysis and the Origins of UCR NIBRS Data

Tactical intelligence and analysis focuses on a particular crime or set of crimes in order to aid in the investigative process. Tactical analysis uses the most detailed information at the disposal of law enforcement. It is at this point most criminal justice information is recorded by a law enforcement agency (city, county, or state). Because of the specific nature of these analyses, the more aggregate forms of UCR data are not usually helpful. However, information that is captured at the agency level is streamlined and ultimately becomes part of the information that is transmitted and compiled through the continuum of UCR data. These include such features as time, day, offense, location, weapons information, victim and offender information, property stolen, recovered, or seized, and arrestee information.

Tactical Analysis and UCR

In 2007, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts had a confessed sex offender in their custody. This individual had confessed to 10 separate sex crimes. Given his confession as a serial offender, prosecutors were concerned that there may be additional crimes to which he had not confessed. The Massachusetts Crime Laboratory requested assistance with identifying possible rape kit candidates for DNA testing in order to link the offender with possible additional crimes. While rape kits are collected on all reported rapes, they are expensive to analyze, and often they are left unanalyzed unless there is a suspect to compare with the samples. Using knowledge of locations of past crimes, addresses of the suspect and known victims, and addresses associated with restraining orders, the boundary of a "hunting ground" was estimated. Based upon the extent of the "hunting ground," all other possible candidate rape kits were identified for further testing from sex crimes with the same MO. While there were no other hits, this example shows a potential utility of crime data that allowed the Massachusetts State Police to establish that the suspect had made a full confession with confidence (D. Bibel, personal communication, June 16, 2010).

Operational Analysis and Regional and State-level Data

Operational analysis, as an example of mesoanalysis, requires a slightly broader view than tactical analysis in both time and geography. It still concerns itself mainly with one particular jurisdiction (or parts of a particular jurisdiction) but could also expand

to include neighboring jurisdictions as well. These analyses aid crime-reduction strategies most commonly associated with community-oriented policing or problem-oriented policing. Because these crime reduction efforts are not typically in response to a call for service, operational analysis can be important for law enforcement to be able to justify their proactive responses to the community through analysis. It is also important to identify areas where law enforcement efforts will have the most impact.

Because of the potential need to pull information from other jurisdictions, it is necessary to begin discussing manners of standardizing common data elements among multiple law enforcement agencies. In addition, the types of analyses focused on crime reduction often have little need for the highly detailed, unique characteristics of particular crimes that are used in the investigative process. By aggregating and standardizing data, often it is easier to identify patterns. It is at this juncture that UCR State Programs play a role. While the enhanced understanding of broad patterns within a state can make up for the details that are lost in terms of nuance, the geographic connection to the original incident is often lost completely. A few states maintain an incident-based statistical system and collect statewide crime data at the incident level. For those states, state policy makers decide on the amount of geographic detail to maintain (for example, latitude/longitude or ZIP code).

While originally conceived as a tool of shared management, the role of the state program began to expand under incident-based reporting. When the plans for NIBRS were originally released, they contained a provision for states to develop a state system according to their own specifications as long as the same basic criteria of a NIBRS incident were met to allow forwarding on to the national program. This allowed for states to construct standardized systems customized to answer common concerns or address known problems that are unique to their state rather than relying on a one-size-fits-all solution. In the "middle ground" of state and regional systems, there is more detail than currently available from NIBRS while instituting some measure of aggregation from the highly granular local systems.

Operational Analysis and UCR

An example of ongoing use of operational analyses for crime reduction is Project Safe Neighborhood (PSN). This began as an initiative under President H. W. Bush's Justice Department. It uses enhanced enforcement and prosecution to target gun-related crime by leveraging statutes that provide for increased penalty or federal prosecution for individuals that commit a crime with a gun or possesses a gun illegally. To accomplish this, PSN uses analysis not only to target specific areas for enforcement efforts, but also to identify good candidates for enhanced prosecution.

Many jurisdictions and cross-jurisdictional task forces have created crime suppression units in their implementation of PSN. Crime suppression units are efforts that target specific areas identified as geographic trouble hot spots with such law enforcement approaches as buy-bust operations. Often individuals arrested as a result of buy-bust operations are subject to the enhanced penalties associated with federal gun laws as they often have prior convictions for serious violent offenses. The intent of these arrests is to reduce crime by removing the most egregious recidivists from neighborhoods. State UCR incident-based data can provide the required data for proactive policing strategies that became part of the law enforcement landscape during the 1980s and 1990s.

Strategic Analysis and NIBRS Data

The broadest level of analysis in terms of geography and time are strategic analyses. Strategic intelligence provides insight and understanding into patterns of criminal behavior and the functioning of the criminal environment. Strategic analysis is future oriented, ultimately aiming to influence long-term organizational objectives: policy, resource allocations, and strategy. Analytical techniques used to achieve these objectives require more data than may be collected by an individual agency. It requires larger geographic scope, and often a longer timeframe than is usually of interest to a local law enforcement agency. NIBRS data have the most potential impact for criminal justice policy and allocation of resources in their strategic use.

Strategic Analysis and UCR

In 2008, Brooke Bennett, age 12, was kidnapped and found murdered in Vermont. At first, the police suspected that she had been abducted by a stranger she had met online. In the initial investigation, police discovered a series of communications between Brooke and an individual on her MySpace page. These early facts lead to calls for sweeping changes to the Vermont sex offender laws regarding online predatory behavior. The state legislature used an analysis of Vermont incident-based data provided by the Vermont State Program to look at victim-offender relationships associated with sex crimes. This analysis provided a more dispassionate view of the characteristics of sex crimes against children. Statistics indicated that 93% of child sexual assaults are perpetrated by someone known to the child – 34% of assaults are committed by a family member. Using these data, the Vermont Senate Committee on Judiciary created a 34-point comprehensive plan for Vermont's sexual abuse response system. After a more extensive investigation of the crime against Brooke Bennett, her uncle was ultimately convicted of her murder. He had created a false trail on Brooke's MySpace page, taking advantage of assumptions that the public often make about sex offenders and their crimes (M. Schleuter, Vermont Department of Public Safety, Personal Communication, June 4, 2010).

National Incident-Based Reporting System

The shift in focus towards a system of law enforcement analysis during the 1980s gave rise to greater demands for information from the UCR Program at the national level. The *Blueprint for the future of the Uniform Crime Reporting Program* was issued by the US Department of Justice in May 1985. In this report, the first description of the NIBRS appeared. NIBRS is a reflection of basic information on crime incidents that come to the attention of law enforcement (Poggio, Kennedy, Chaiken, & Carlson, 1985).

One of the most important aspects to understand about NIBRS is that it is built upon the basic information that was gathered in all of the various and sundry forms that comprise the Summary Reporting System of UCR. The biggest advancement of NIBRS is not that it collects vast amounts of new information – though there are some examples of that – it is that all the information that was aggregated into tallies on separate forms in the Summary system is now maintained on an individual level and all of the

linkages among that information are retained for analysis. By preserving the linkages that used to be only available within the agency's own data, NIBRS provided a new way for users to explore the nature of crime across greater areas than previously available.

Some of the other enhancements gained with NIBRS are the promotion of many of the Part II offenses to a different category of Group A offenses reflecting changing attitudes of victims and the reporting of crimes, as well as the change in response from law enforcement to the investigation of certain offenses. Under SRS, only arrestee information is collected on Part II offenses. With the transition to NIBRS, expanded incident-level data are collected on many of those same offenses – 46 original Group A offenses. A second offense category in NIBRS is the Group B offenses. For the 11 Group B offenses, only arrestee information is provided. (See Table 1.2 for a list of offenses.)

In its original form, NIBRS is built around a structure of six different segments dedicated to a different type of information on a criminal incident of one of 46 possible offenses that are identified as Group A offenses. They are the administrative, offense, property, victim, offender, and arrestee segments. Within each of these segments are pieces of information called data elements specifically for collecting

Table 1.2 Offense types in National Incident-Based Reporting System (as of January 2013).

Crimes against persons	*Crimes against property*	*Crimes against society*
Assault offenses	**Arson**	**Drug/narcotic offenses**
Aggravated assault	**Bribery**	Drug/Narcotic Violations
Simple assault	**Burglary/breaking and**	Drug Equipment
Intimidation	**entering**	Violations
Homicide	**Counterfeiting/forgery**	**Gambling offenses**
Murder/non-negligent	**Destruction/damage/**	Betting/wagering
manslaughter	**vandalism**	Operating/promoting/
Negligent manslaughter	**Embezzlement**	assisting gambling
Justifiable homicide (not	**Extortion/blackmail**	Sports tampering
a crime)	**Fraud offenses**	**Pornography/obscene**
Kidnapping/abduction	False pretenses/swindle/	**material**
Human trafficking	confidence game	**Prostitution offenses**
Human trafficking,	Credit card/ATM fraud	Prostitution
commercial sex acts	Impersonation	Assisting or promoting
Human trafficking,	Welfare fraud	prostitution
involuntary servitude	Wire fraud	Purchasing prostitution
Sex offenses	**Larceny-theft offenses**	**Weapons law violations**
Rape	Pocket picking	*Group B Offenses*
Sodomy	Purse snatching	Bad checks
Sexual assault with	Shoplifting	Curfew/loitering/vagrancy
an object	Theft from building	violations
Fondling	From coin-operated machine	Disorderly conduct
Nonforcible sex offenses	or device	Driving under the influence
Incest	Theft from motor vehicle	Drunkenness
Statutory rape	Theft of motor vehicle parts	Family offenses, nonviolent
	or accessories	Liquor law violations
	All other larceny	Peeping Tom
	Motor vehicle theft	Runaway (not a crime)
	Robbery	Trespass of real property
	Stolen property offenses	All other offenses

standardized data on one of those six aspects. In total, there are currently 58 data elements recorded on a NIBRS incident. A NIBRS incident can contain multiples of many of the segments depending on the circumstances. The administrative segment contains information pertinent to the incident itself, meaning only one administrative segment is reported for each Group A incident. However, up to 10 different offense types, one for each property type loss with up to 10 property descriptions, up to 99 offenders and arrestees, and finally up to 999 victims can all be reported connected to a single incident. Because of the additional avenues for reporting multiple offenses, there is no need for the Hierarchy Rule to determine which offense should be reported in a criminal incident that exists in the SRS (*National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS) user manual*, 2013).

The expanded information on a Group A incident consolidates all the existing data collections and builds upon that foundation. Information that can be found on the *Supplementary homicide report* is included such as victim and offender information and their relationship to each other, weapon information, and circumstances surrounding the incident. Property information on the *Supplement to Return A* can be found as well. Offense characteristics and exceptional clearances collected on the *Return A* are also included. However, there are a few key areas with new data included in the original NIBRS incident. The incident includes indictors for computer crime, crimes committed by offenders suspected to be under the influence, type of criminal activity connected to drug crimes or property crimes (for example, distributing or manufacturing), or gang violence. Quantities of drug amounts, injuries against victims, and the type of weapon that arrestees were armed with are also collected.

Expanding Role of Law Enforcement – Expanding Data?

While the original formats of the legacy Summary information and the NIBRS incident were based upon the most common elements of data collected on a criminal incident, law enforcement is increasingly working with community groups, industry groups, and victim advocacy groups in their crime reduction strategies. Newer data collections in UCR, and specifically NIBRS, reflect these emerging relationships. The first example from the 1990s was the addition of hate crimes to both the Summary and NIBRS data collections, but subsequently data collections for cargo theft and human trafficking were also added.

The Hate Crime Data Collection was added to the UCR Program by Congressional Mandate in 1990. The Hate Crime Data Collection focuses upon the identification of incident motivated in whole or in part by biases against race, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation, gender, or disability. NIBRS is able to collect bias motivation in a particular incident with one additional data element. In its summary form, agencies forward information on the date of the incident, multiple offenses connected to the incident and the location type by offense. In addition, the incident report provides information on the type of bias motivation connected to the hate incident, victim type, the number of offenders, and the race of the offenders as an individual or group. The types of victims collected on the Hate Crime form include individuals, businesses, financial institutions, government, religious organizations, society or public, other, or unknown. In the case of an individual victim type, the agency is to note the number of victims. Participation in hate crime data collection has been slowly growing since

its inception with 2011 participation reflecting 91.8% of the population from 49 states and the District of Columbia. However, there remains a lack of consensus over the quality of the data received by the FBI given that there is not universal acceptance of the need for hate crime designations by law enforcement (*Hate crime data collection guidelines and training manual*, 2012).

Since that time, there have been two large additions to the UCR data collections mandated by congressional legislation – Cargo Theft and Human Trafficking. Both of these collections required the addition of either forms/databases in the legacy Summary program, as well as new data elements or data values in NIBRS. Cargo theft is indicated on a NIBRS incident by a single flag on the administrative segment. Human trafficking is captured by the creation of two new offenses distinguishing commercial sex acts from involuntary servitude as the two main forms of human trafficking.

A final recent example of emerging partnerships between law enforcement and victim advocacy groups is the revision to the definition of rape. One of the main points of criticism levied against the UCR Program Summary Reporting Program is its inability to reflect changes in perspectives on ideas of criminality. The historic definition of forcible rape ("the carnal knowledge of a female forcibly and against her will") in the UCR Program is an example of a concept that was limited in its requirements about the types of sex acts and the gender of victims and offenders that could be included in the forcible rape counts and was not in keeping with current standards towards the criminal justice response to sexual assault. After many years of conversations with various advocacy groups for victims and women, the Justice Department approved a fundamental change in the definition in 2012. This is the first definition change since the beginning of the UCR data collection in 1929. The new broadened definition reads: "the penetration, no matter how slight, of the vagina or anus with any body part or object or oral penetration by a sex organ of another person, without the consent of the victim." Rather than solely being driven by law enforcement practices, these new collections and revisions are a result of the expanding work of law enforcement with community organizations to identify and reduce crime and disorder (*Reporting rape in 2013: User manual and technical specification*, 2013).

Conclusion

Placing the UCR Program in its historical and functional context is an important part of understanding the program's strengths and weaknesses. When viewed as a continuum of data passing from local agencies to the State Program to the FBI, the UCR Program is seen to collect information appropriate for analyses geared toward each level in a hierarchical system of law enforcement. Tactical and operational analyses can be performed using data available in records management systems at the local level. UCR allows for these data to be maintained as each local agency sees fit. As details are lost when data are forwarded to the State Program, patterns emerge that are geared towards operational and strategic analysis. National-level strategic analyses call for the broadest view, and the data collected at that level are appropriate for making sweeping statements about crime in the United States.

The UCR Program is best known for broad statements about national crime trends in the United States; however, those trends are best interpreted within the unique framework of the collection of administrative data based on official reports,

which summarizes and records the normal activities of law enforcement agencies. Agencies have been contributing uniform data on reported events for decades allowing for a level of trend analysis at the national level that is not often replicated by other data collections. One consequence of the longevity of that trend is the impact of changing attitudes of policing on the manner in which data is recorded and moves through the system. These changes are not necessarily captured from year to year. The additions and enhancements to the UCR Program throughout its existence are a reflection of this dynamic nature of policing in the United States and are often easier to spot.

For modern users with access to computers in order to handle large datasets, UCR data appears to be a straightforward process. However, beginning this type of data collection in 1929 was prescient on the part of the IACP at a time when data collection was difficult. The resulting Summary system was designed to meet the analytical needs of law enforcement and its policing styles during the twentieth century. NIBRS, the next generation of UCR data, is built upon the idea of flexibility at the state and local level. Through its use of incident-level data, the data collection has been expanded and encompasses a vast amount of data to respond to the growing use of information and intelligence by law enforcement in their day-to-day activities. In addition, the use of crime data by individual consumers and organizations has increased for a variety of uses such as property purchases or the location of businesses. As society continues to increase the role of data and intelligence in all aspects of life and law enforcement expands its role to address the problems of crime and disorder, the UCR Program will be in a unique position to respond and reflect those changes to its users.

Acknowledgments

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2

Ethical Issues in Surveys about Children's Exposure to Violence and Sexual Abuse

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Introduction

This chapter explores some of the major ethical issues that arise when conducting epidemiological research with children and youth concerning victimization and sexual abuse. It tries to sensitize researchers to concerns, and suggests some alternatives for dealing with them. It focuses largely on issues involved in conducting population-based and community surveys designed to obtain prevalence rates of, risk factors for, and impact of childhood victimization.

We would like to state at the outset that we have a strong belief in the value of such research, which we ourselves have been conducting for more than three decades. Accurate data on the true extent of child victimization are crucial for forming the basis of prevention strategies and policy initiatives. We also believe that there are a range of ethically acceptable research strategies. The best choice for a particular setting may not work in another.

Overall, we urge a pragmatic and flexible approach rather than a prescriptive one. Some people in the field believe that there are clearly right ways to conduct this research. But the existing data on many methodological issues is not at a level that a single, prescriptive solution can be definitively recommended. Most methodological solutions to ethical issues in the end are based on values, and the importance one might place on one objective versus another. We urge caution and against arguing dogmatically for options that more likely reflect personal value preferences than evidence-based practice.

We think that current best practices are characterized by developing a familiarity with the major ethical questions, the various methodological strategies for addressing these questions, and the existing empirical evidence. Then, guided by this awareness, researchers can choose or design their own strategy. In addition, while conducting

their research, they should continue to monitor whether their approach is creating any problems, and should adjust it accordingly.

Fortunately, the empirical study of the impact of the research process on children is growing. Some of the recent literature explicitly covers the types of ethical issues discussed here (Berry, 2009; Mudaly & Goddard, 2009). Someday it may provide more definitive guidance. To date, this research has yielded results reasonably supportive of many established research procedures. However, the empirical database is not at a level of specificity that can guide every methodological choice. In this document, we discuss procedures that have worked well for us. We also describe other options that are in widespread successful use.

This chapter is organized in four major sections: (i) protecting children from harm, (ii) obtaining informed consent, (iii) miscellaneous methodological issues and (iv) research agenda.

Protecting Children from Harm

Can Children be Harmed by Asking about Child Abuse and Exposure to Violence?

Concerns about whether children might be harmed by participating in surveys on child abuse have generally focused on two issues: (i) psychological distress from the survey content, and (ii) harm to the child or child's interests from others who learn about the child's participation or responses.

The possibility of psychological distress has generally been thought about as the result of two main mechanisms. One is that the child will be reminded of an upsetting or traumatic life event, and will not be able to deal with the emotions that the memories provoke. Another is the possibility that the survey subject matter will be troubling to a sensitive child or will broach issues that the child is not developmentally prepared for, particularly concerning sex or sexual violence.

Existing evidence, which is not voluminous, suggests that psychological distress among child participants is unusual, although the evidence is primarily about immediate rather than long-term reactions. For example, the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children in the United Kingdom recently conducted perhaps the largest survey ever on youth victimization, with more than 6000 participants (Radford et al., 2011). In their pilot study, only 3% reported that participating was "not very worthwhile." In their full sample, they assessed negative feelings, particularly focusing on the group of youth whose cases were "red flagged" for further follow up because of serious reports or who asked to speak to a counselor (191 or 3% of participants). Even in this group who disclosed serious victimizations, only 20% (33 youth and five caregivers) said they had been upset by the study. Even more importantly, 82% of upset youth with serious victimizations (27 of 33) nonetheless said that participating had been worthwhile.

Other studies on children's perceptions of research generally find a positive cost-benefit assessment, or a high percentage of children deeming the research useful and a very low percentage reporting some distress (Chu, DePrince, & Weinzierl, 2008; Kuyper, de Wit, Adam, & Woertman, 2010; Widom & Czaja, 2006). Chu found that children's (aged 7 to 12 years) perception of participating in research did not vary

significantly as a function of trauma experience. Ybarra and colleagues (2009) conducted an online survey of youth 10 and 15 years old and also found that victims of violence were no more likely to report being upset about the specific questions than were nonvictims.

It is also important to note that most studies on psychological distress seldom distinguish between minor discomfort and the triggering of more severe psychological symptoms. The latter appear to be especially rare. The level of distress reported is generally mild and transitory and falls within the emotional distress that is considered an acceptable risk (Carter-Visscher, Naugle, Bell, & Suvak, 2007; Ybarra et al., 2009). On the contrary, many youth, not unlike adult respondents, appreciate the opportunity to help address the problems of victimization by participating in research (Cromer, Freyd, Binder, DePrince, & Becker-Blease, 2006; Edwards, Kearns, Calhoun, & Gidycz, 2009; Newman, Risch, & Kassam-Adams, 2006; Preibe, Backstrom, & Ainsaar, 2010; Savell, Kinder, & Young, 2006).

Many surveys of victimization do not ask victimization questions specifically of younger children, for example, children under age 10 or 8. This exclusion is more often for methodological reasons – concern about whether such reports would be accurate or whether parents will allow access to children so young. But parents and ethics committees have also raised concerns about whether it may cause harm and distress to interview younger children about sensitive topics. Nonetheless, some instruments have been designed and some studies have been done on victimization with child populations as young as 4 years old (Fox & Leavitt, 1995; Kaufman Kantor et al., 2004), apparently with some success. But no information is available about distress in such young populations. Nor have observers been very explicit about the mechanisms that may produce distress and how they may relate to issues of child development. It may be better, in fact, to formulate the concern as one about *how* the topics are addressed with younger children, rather than a presumption that the subject material is somehow intrinsically harm inducing.

In addition to psychological distress, the other often discussed potential harm is harm to the child or their interests as a result of participation. This could mean parents or peers attacking or intimidating the child for a reason connected with participating in the study, for example, because they were afraid of what the child may have told or jealous of a benefit that the child received. This kind of harm could also accrue from information about the child (the fact of being abused or raped) that somehow became known or was suspected and therefore exposed the child to stigma or ostracism. This harm has sometimes been termed "informational" harm or risk.

What Procedures Reduce or Minimize the Risks of Survey Participation?

Many procedures have been developed to minimize the possibility of distress caused by participation. However, virtually no research exists on whether they "work." They are widely used, however, and considered standards of best practice.

Introducing the Study and Interviewer Skills   Surveys on sensitive topics can be made less potentially harmful in much the same way as therapy sessions or medical appointments are made less intimidating. Information is generally offered up front that explains, in language appropriate to the audience (youth or caregiver, for example) the purpose of the interview and some information about what to expect in terms of

content. This can include some information about the sensitive nature of some of the questions, including alerting respondents to questions that may concern dangers they may have encountered and sexual situations. Sometimes it can be helpful to indicate that there are no right or wrong answers, and to remind participants that they can skip a question if they choose.

Interviewers, to be skilled and sensitive, do not need to be licensed health professionals, but they should be trained in basic interview skills such as building rapport, avoiding judgmental responses or expressions, clarifying individual questions, and allowing room for participants to decline to answer. Interviewers can practice so that their comments are positive and nonjudgmental. Interviewers can also be trained in how to recognize and deal with distress and be familiar with whatever steps are in place to offer further assistance or help to participants (see below).

Resources in Case a Participant becomes Distressed   Another common strategy to minimize possible distress is to offer information about sources of help to participants. Typically this information is offered to all participants, and not just those who show signs of distress. It can be seen as a benefit offered by the research that respondents can use now or in the future.

Depending on the location of the survey, a variety of resources might be offered to participants. Some places have hotlines for distressed youth, mental health services or agencies that take referrals for child abuse. The names, addresses or phone numbers of agencies that offer help can be provided, including community mental health centers, student health centers, or other local agencies. Assistance making such contacts can also be given. The respondents can be referred to reputable sites on the Internet, such as www.childhelp.org (accessed July 5, 2015), which can be reached from any computer with internet access, anywhere in the world. Youth can also receive counseling as part of the research protocol. In settings where participants may already be receiving ongoing services, it can be helpful to provide information about the study to local providers, and offer guidance about how to handle questions or concerns that participants may bring up at their next visit. It is not uncommon for researchers and interviewers to make themselves available after a survey administration to answer any questions or concerns. This might be especially important in communities where access to other resources is minimal. In some remote or economically disadvantaged settings, it would be worth considering whether offering assistance can be integrated into the research protocol. Especially, in some locales, there is little professional assistance available. In such circumstances, researchers may want to consider providing self-help information themselves, providing staff for counseling or other assistance during the course of the study, or making clear to participants that ongoing assistance and support is not being provided as part of participation in the study. In some cases, it may even be possible to train community members to provide more help to children as part of a research protocol.

Steps to Minimize Risk of Retaliation and Informational Risks   Preventing retaliation and informational risk (harm to someone by losing control of information about them) are closely related to the ethical practice of maintaining confidentiality. The issues in this area overlap with the material discussed in that section, but a few of the main points are highlighted below.

One of the most important safety measures is providing or verifying that a youth respondent is in a safe and private place, where they can speak comfortably and

confidentially during the survey. This should be asked explicitly in phone or internet surveys. This helps minimize harm by reducing the risk of retaliation from someone finding out what the child disclosed. In interview studies, this confidentiality can be increased by using self-administered questionnaires or computer assisted self-interviews.

A salient concern for some researchers is to avoid alerting a victim's possible abuser that he/she is being interviewed about such abuse, which might prompt some retaliation. Very little is known about how often such retaliation occurs or whether any procedure is useful in preventing it. Minimizing the number of people who know about a participant's involvement and the topic of the study might be helpful. For example, one project conducted in several African countries with questions on sexual assault was careful not to interview boys and girls in the same communities, because of a presumption that boys, as more likely offenders, might retaliate against their victims once they learn about the topic by being participants themselves (Mercy, personal communication, December 14, 2011).

In classroom group administrations, another concern has been that victimized children might be inadvertently identified because they take longer to complete self-administered questionnaires. Some researchers have added unrelated questionnaire material to the end of questionnaires to insure that everyone is working until the allotted time is expired (Radford, personal communication, December 14, 2011). In general, it may be useful to prepare or debrief participants in such a way that they can minimize unwanted exposure about their participation, for example by discouraging them from talking about their participation with others.

The language used to obtain parental consent can also help ensure safety. Although caregivers must often be fully informed about the sensitive nature of the questions, it can be important to avoid language which might incline them to grill their child after the interview.

It is also often recommended that care be taken to avoid collecting so much demographic data that it could be used to identify specific individuals, even if names are not attached to the data. This is especially important in smaller samples. For example, if there is only one 7-year-old Filipina female with five siblings, the combination of age, ethnicity, gender and number of siblings would allow someone to identify her data even without her name. Depending on the needs of the study, ways to handle this are to gather information at a more general level (for example, by using age ranges instead of specific ages), omit demographic information that is not needed to address research questions, or to ensure that the sample size is large enough so that any combination of demographic factors is likely to apply to many participants.

In the United States, the National Institutes of Health has a mechanism known as "certificates of confidentiality" that allow researchers to refuse to disclose details of research data to any legislative or judicial authority in the United States. Other agencies have parallel confidentiality mechanisms. More information on US policy regarding this is at: http://grants.nih.gov/grants/policy/coc/ (accessed July 15, 2015).

Are There Benefits that Need to be Balanced against Harm?

One dilemma in the discussion of harm minimization is that discussion of potential harms needs to be conducted alongside a consideration of benefits, which also can be very difficult to quantify. Besides tangible benefits that participants may receive, for

example stipends or incentives, a number of intangible benefits are important to consider. A number of researchers have found that participants report it to have been worthwhile to take part in studies and feel they are contributing to solving a social problem (Radford et al., 2011). Some participants find the disclosure process itself beneficial and are glad to be able to talk to someone about something they cannot ordinarily discuss. Open-ended responses among 100 participants in a study of sexual abuse found that 41% of participants reported it was helpful to review their life experiences, a third of participants felt validated and had increased self-awareness, and 27% felt empowered (Disch, 2001). Cromer and colleagues (2006) surveyed 500 undergraduates' reactions to being asked personal questions that were not trauma-related compared to questions specific to trauma histories. Participants reported that answering trauma-related questions was not more distressing than answering other personal questions and also rated the trauma-related questions as more important and beneficial. Youth may particularly appreciate knowing that the problems they face are important to society and to adults and that adults are actively working on improving the lives of children.

The knowledge the study provides is an obvious benefit as well. Poor information on youth victimization is a harm that affects all children, not just the study participants. Policies and funding to create safer environments for children are at least partly influenced by an understanding of the scope of the problem. Because not all cases of child maltreatment, bullying, or other forms of youth victimization are reported to authorities, we need self-report data to get better estimates of the true burden of youth victimization. There is no other known procedure for identifying the full range of violence, crime, and abuse faced by children. This is also a benefit of all youth victimization research.

Most of the risks and benefits are intangible. The most common exception is cash or other tangible incentives offered to participants. It is difficult, if not impossible, to put a cash value on most of the risks and benefits that are likely to be encountered. Thus, a strict cost-benefit analysis is not possible. In such cases, other alternatives can be used. Most of these involve weighting different options based on relative risks and benefits. In our view, the benefits of youth victimization research greatly outweigh the risks. This is because there is no other way to get data on cases not known to authorities, and the risks of any harm are minimal and the risks of any harm beyond momentary distress appear to be quite rare. Further, there are intangible benefits that many participants experience and the vast majority consider such research to be worthwhile.

Is it Necessary to Provide Help to Children who are in Danger or at Risk, and How Much?

Even when children are not harmed by research, sometimes researchers uncover evidence of danger and victimization in the children's lives, especially if this is the focus of the questioning. There is considerable debate about whether and how to deal with such children and families. There is a spectrum of opinion about how much help researchers are ethically obliged to provide to such child participants.

At the minimalist extreme is the argument that as long as a child is no worse off than she was before the research, no specific help is ethically required. The researcher in effect only has an obligation to leave the child in a condition no worse than the

child was in. If the child was not receiving help prior to the research, it is not an ethical obligation of the researcher to provide it. Help might be a generous and useful benefit, but it is not an ethical requirement. The research participation may provide some indirect help and the child's condition has not been worsened. While this is a defensible standpoint, it is rare for research to adopt it.

At the other extreme to the minimalist approach, by contrast, is the belief that once a child has been identified as in potential danger, the researcher has to make sure that the danger has been removed before the relationship with the child is terminated. While this is a laudable ethical ideal, it may not be achievable, since this is a goal often even missed by a full child welfare investigation and response.

The majority of child violence researchers fall at intermediary points on this spectrum, believing that certain kinds of help are warranted for certain severe kinds of potential dangers. Among the main variations are the thresholds at which researchers believe that help is required and the levels of help that satisfy ethical responsibilities.

One relatively high threshold is that helping is required only when the child is in present, immediate danger of being physically harmed, or of causing harm to others or to him or herself. Others may set the threshold lower, seeing a need to help any child who reports experiencing an episode of physical or sexual abuse at the hands of a caregiver or who has entertained some suicidal ideation.

The kinds of help also vary along a continuum. At one end is the offering of help that is completely optional. At the other end, the help can even be imposed. At the optional end, many researchers routinely provide or offer to provide, as indicated earlier, the number of a hotline or the name of a referral source to children, sometimes to all participants, not just ones who have been identified as having some need.

As a further step, some studies offer specific clinical services to children in danger, with the recognition that the offer may be declined or refused. In some protocols, they make strong recommendations to get help, and even stay in touch with the child or family to try to promote the case for obtaining help, but do not intervene unless the interviewee has agreed (Finkelhor, Ormrod, Turner, & Hamby, 2005). Some researchers offer confidentiality, and believe that promise needs to be maintained and therefore do not go further to impose help.

Other researchers believe that when children are in danger, if no agreement can be obtained from the interviewee to seek help or allow a report, the researcher must obtain help even in the absence of agreement. This can mean overriding refusals and sometimes violating promises of confidentiality.

Most epidemiological research tries to provide help in the form of the name and location of a service organization to all participants or any that express an interest. This is generally provided through a card or flyer with a phone number and/or address in studies that have direct interaction with participants. This practice is also consistent with efforts to mitigate any possible distress that results from participation in the study. (See section on harm to participants.)

In studies that ask about abuse, it may make sense to have a special protocol to assist a respondent or child in potential danger. One problem, however, is that there is rarely enough information in epidemiologic questionnaires to assess the immediacy and seriousness of dangers. Many of the responses to questions about exposure to violence and abuse are not very specific about when the exposure occurred or who the perpetrator might have been (e.g., "an acquaintance"), if details on timing and perpetrator identity are collected at all. It may be ethically justifiable to conclude that not

enough information is available to assess danger. Others may choose to try to gather additional information from such respondents in order to assess risk.

If interventions are to be provided without a child's right of refusal, one of the issues is how to manage this in the most ethical way. Some researchers believe that for studies that intend to invoke intervention, this possibility needs to be highlighted in advance as part of consent statements. Other researchers observe that an emergency response to a person in danger (child or otherwise) is covered by a common ethical understanding of emergencies and how they trump other social obligations. More discussion of consent appears elsewhere in this document.

One added complication concerns conducting research in communities in which helping resources are limited. Some researchers may feel that it is unethical to identify children in great danger or need who cannot be helped. But others may judge that the general knowledge generated by the research will help children in such circumstances in the long run and therefore is well justified. In the context of endemic poverty, some researchers note that "contact with a research project may represent a lifeline to the outside world and the possibility of a link with a more hopeful reality" (Nama & Swartz, 2002, p. 294). However, sometimes children's expectations about what they will receive from participating in a research project may be unrealistically high (Clacherty & Donald, 2007) and researchers might want to dampen unrealistic expectations from the beginning, using developmentally appropriate language.

These issues of providing help are also complicated by legal requirements in some jurisdictions to report child endangerment to state authorities under child abuse or other legal statutes. This topic is also dealt with below.

How do Researchers Deal with Legal Requirements to Report?

Some jurisdictions have "mandatory reporting" laws that require reporting to state, provincial or local authorities when professionals ("mandated reporters"), including researchers, encounter a child who is suspected of being maltreated or is in other danger. The United States, Australia, and Canada are the main countries that pursue this approach, although a list of other countries with some form of mandatory reporting legislation includes Argentina, Denmark, Finland, Israel, Kyrgyzstan, the Republic of Korea, Rwanda, Spain, Sri Lanka, and Sweden (Mathews & Kenny, 2008; Munro & Parton, 2007; Wallace & Bunting, 2007; Williamson, Goodenough, Kent, & Ashcroft, 2005). Voluntary reporting systems are much more common.

There may also be applicable laws that require some classes of professionals or even ordinary community members to report knowledge of crimes, which some of the childhood violence exposures certainly are. Researchers need to determine if they are covered under these statutes. For example, some statutes specify only psychologists or mental health professionals, but researchers may or may not be such professionals. In other cases, statutes give researchers dispensation to maintain confidentiality about crime (Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences, 2011).

Some have argued that researchers automatically should comply with mandatory reporting laws, whether or not explicitly covered, because the ethical responsibility to help vulnerable children is so overriding (Allen, 2009; Urquiza, 2003). But others see reasons for only complying when the legal responsibility for doing so is clear cut and inescapable (Melton, 2005; Sieber, 1994; Uttal, 2003). Among the reasons for this restrained position are concerns that compliance will deter participation and honesty

among respondents because confidentiality cannot be promised and skepticism about whether mandatory reporting laws were truly intended to cover research. Some holding this position also express doubt that real help is provided by reporting, so that the benefits do not outweigh the costs. These issues have been discussed in depth elsewhere (Dench, Iphofen, & Huws, 2004; Margolin et al., 2005; Social Research Association, 2003; Williamson et al., 2005).

If researchers want to minimize their exposure to mandatory reporting requirements, they have a number of options. One way is to delegate the data gathering activity to individuals who are clearly not covered under the statutes, which in some cases is the case for nonclinical survey researchers or trained lay interviewers. In some research designs, such as telephone or Internet interviewing, it is possible to base the research in jurisdictions (another country or state) where researchers or interviewers are not covered by mandatory reporting statutes or are exempt because they are interviewing participants from other jurisdictions. In some circumstances, researchers can obtain administrative exemptions or dispensations from the reporting requirements. Some governments offer special exemptions to certain individuals and researchers for special purposes that can be obtained through application to an agency or from a court.

Another strategy to minimize mandatory reporting exposure is to make the participation anonymous or opaque in some ways such that the researcher does not have enough information to fully identify the family or child. Immediately destroying contact information upon contact is one way of doing this. Although often discussed together, anonymity and confidentiality are not synonymous. Truly anonymous participation is by definition confidential, but confidentiality can still be promised even when anonymity is not present.

Even when researchers do decide to report abuse, they still need to determine the criteria they will use to trigger a report. As indicated earlier, even without an effort to anonymize participants, the information obtained in survey data about episodes is often fragmentary enough so that their seriousness is ambiguous, and they may be difficult to situate temporally. Many researchers set criteria fairly narrowly, confining their reporting to episodes where a child is currently endangered, meaning that it would need to be recent and serious.

In addition, if they are making reports as a matter of course, researchers have to plan how to explain this possibility as part of the informed consent process. Most observers and IRBs judge that it could be unethical for researchers to make a report without the participants knowing ahead of time that this might be one of the potential harms of participating in the study. As indicated earlier, however, other researchers maintain that such reporting is covered by a common ethical understanding of emergencies and how they trump other social obligations. A key dilemma for research is explaining what might happen in an accurate way so the respondent is neither underprepared nor over anxious, but also in a way that does not deter participation or stifle honest responses, making the results less valid.

Unfortunately, little research is available to help inform practice in this area. Few studies have kept track of the number of children who were deemed to be in enough danger to warrant action and what the outcome was. A notable exception is a longitudinal, multisite study of child maltreatment in the United States which examined the frequency of a report to Child Protective Services (CPS) and the impact of reporting on subsequent participation in the research study (Dawes Knight et al., 2006).

This study, which started with a relatively high-risk population, had a very low rate of participants reported to CPS (1%; 17 reports out of 1354 participants or 0.42% of the 4078 research interviews). Furthermore, the majority of children (93%) who were reported for suspected maltreatment participated in a subsequent interview and were retained in the study.

Much more research about these issues is needed. It would be useful to know more about how many respondents take advantage of help that is proffered, such as who contact help lines. It would also be important to know whether the help, provided voluntarily or involuntarily (in the case of mandatory reports) turns out to be beneficial or not. It might be also be valuable to know what the general public believes about the ethical status of researchers who violate promises of confidentiality to provide help. But in the absence of such guidelines, considerable variability in practice appears ethically defensible.

How can Children and Families be Protected against Breaches of Confidentiality?

As pointed out earlier, in addition to harms from the interview, children can be harmed when their privacy and confidentiality is breached. Child violence epidemiology researchers have adopted various techniques to protect this privacy.

One basic concern for researchers is gathering information from the child in a location and fashion that the researcher's questions and the child's responses cannot be overheard or seen by others (Alderson & Morrow, 2011; Powell, Graham, Taylor, Newell, & Fitzgerald, 2011). This can be a challenge in schools, where research is often conducted in classrooms and private office space is at a premium, as well as in homes where the setting is often unpredictable and the space is shared by several family members, including potential perpetrators. It is particularly problematic when parents wish to be present during the interview and monitor the data collection process. When conducting research on children's exposure to violence, especially exposure that may have occurred in the home, parental monitoring of the interview might not only influence the child's responses but represents a breach of confidence that can potentially harm the child. Self-administered questionnaires and computer-administered questionnaires allow responses to be given without a third party hearing the responses, but questionnaires and screens can be viewed by others, and electronic information can sometimes be intercepted.

Solutions to ensuring privacy obviously will differ by the mode of data collection. Although face-to-face interviews allow the researcher to establish trust, to hear and assess the child's verbal and nonverbal responses to questions, and to monitor the physical environment during data collection, it may be associated with the greatest difficulties in maintaining privacy. Finding a space within the home or elsewhere to conduct an interview that cannot be overheard and interrupted is often a challenge. The interviewer must negotiate with gatekeepers, deal with concerns, and overcome obstacles that may differ from one interview to another. One technique often used in face-to-face interviews is to give respondents the most sensitive questions on a self-administered questionnaire that is filled out and placed in a sealed envelope.

In telephone interviews, researchers have less knowledge or control over the physical space in which the interview takes place. However, it also has some potential advantages. Many questions on surveys require yes-or-no responses (or similar brief

structured responses such as "strongly agree" or "sometimes"). Because, in telephone phone surveys, individuals who may wander within earshot of the respondent cannot hear the questions being asked, responses often have little meaning in and of themselves and confidentiality can be maintained. As a safeguard in phone interviewing, interviewers may ask respondents whether they think someone could be unknowingly listening in on their interviews. Interviewers can also emphasize the importance of privacy with the child by asking him/her if there is a place where they could talk where they will be alone and where no one could hear the conversation. Specific probes can be used, such as "Who is there now?", "Do you think you may be interrupted?" "Can anyone hear our conversation?" etc. The interviewer can then suggest calling respondents back at a different time if privacy cannot be obtained. The interviewer might also tell the child that if anything changes during the interview, he/she should just say, "Can you call me back later?" and the interview will be rescheduled.

The computer-assisted self interviewing (CASI) method also has many privacy advantages because it allows participants to read survey questions privately from a computer screen and to enter responses directly on a computer (Rew, Horner, Riesch, & Cauvin, 2004). In some cases audio can be incorporated so that participants can listen through headphones to the questions being read. Advantages of the computer based methods include privacy, greater freedom to report sensitive experiences, and increased data accuracy. Disadvantages can include the high cost associated with obtaining or providing laptops and high speed internet access, and the risk of technology failures such as laptop problems (Mensch, Hewett, & Erulkar, 2003; Newman et al., 2002; Rew et al., 2004). Some studies show CASI increases disclosure of risky behaviors among adolescents (Mensch et al., 2003). Young children and children less familiar with computers may be reluctant to complete a survey on a computer, but it has been successfully used among fourth to sixth graders (Rew et al., 2004).

Online surveys completed on the Internet are another option. Ethical standards for Internet research are not developed yet (Alderson & Morrow, 2011; Blakemore, 2001). Some of the risks include the risk of outsiders seeing or hacking into closed lists, maintaining a secure server, respondents giving false details that cannot be checked by an interviewer, and researchers being less able to help children insure that no one is trying to monitor their answers. Researchers should use passwords, and the best available technology, such as encryption, to ensure that participants' privacy, confidentiality, and security are secure (Council for International Organizations of Medical Sciences (CIOMS) & World Health Organization (WHO), 2008).

With mail surveys, researchers also have little certainty about who actually completed the survey and under what circumstances. This is especially problematic when conducting research with children. Another challenge when using this methodology with research on children is reading ability and comprehension. Further, children may find it boring to complete a self-administered survey, and it is unknown who may be with the child when completing the survey.

How to Maintain Confidentiality of the Data?

Confidentiality concerns the extent to which researchers control the accessibility of participants' private data (Margolin et al., 2005). Hill (2005) identifies three elements to confidentiality in research with children. These are (i) public confidentiality, or not

identifying research participants in research reports; (ii) social network confidentiality, or not passing on information to family members, friends or others known to the child; and (iii) third-party breach of privacy, where a household member reveals something personal about another.

A review of the literature on confidentiality assurances found that they do indeed improve the candor of responses when the questions are sensitive (Singer, Von Thurn, & Miller, 1995). Thus researchers have an incentive to assure confidentiality. But assuring confidentiality is sometimes more difficult than initially thought. A number of mechanisms exist to ensure that all types of confidentiality are preserved when collecting data. Confidentiality in research with children about victimization can be increased by using anonymity, by separating identifying information from interview data, and by taking reasonable measures to ensure that unauthorized people cannot access the data (Alderson & Morrow, 2011; Powell et al., 2011). Researchers should have clear plans for data protection, including who is allowed access, how those with access will be trained, where it will be stored and backed up, and how it will be disposed of after use (Council for International Organizations of Medical Sciences (CIOMS) & World Health Organization (WHO), 2008).

When reporting findings it is also important to not disclose identifying information about individuals, small communities, or institutions. Breach of confidentiality can happen not simply when they are explicitly named, but also when unique features of people, places or institutions are included in the descriptions. When conducting research within a small school or community, care needs to be taken so that groups of people with unique features are not recognized.

Obtaining Informed Consent

Informed consent is the ethical principle that recognizes that all research participants should have a chance to freely agree or refuse to participate based on an understanding of the nature of the research and its risks and benefits. In research with children, it is complicated by the fact that children may lack the knowledge and experience to fully comprehend the issues involved and may be subject to pressures that complicate free decision making (Alderson & Morrow, 2011; Cocks, 2006; Powell et al., 2011).

What is Involved in Obtaining Informed Consent?

Information Provided to Parents and Children   There are several pieces of information that are usually provided in order for parents and/or children to give informed consent for research (see for example http://www.apa.org/ethics/code/index.aspx (accessed 5 July 2015); Council for International Organizations of Medical Sciences (CIOMS), & World Health Organization (WHO) 2008; Social Research Association, 2003; Vitiello, 2008):

- The purpose of the research.
- How the participant was chosen for involvement.
- The expected duration of the research and what, if any, compensation they will receive for their participation.

- That participation is completely voluntary and refusal to participate will not result in any penalty or loss of benefits to which the respondent would be otherwise entitled.
- That, if they choose to participate, participants may decide to stop participation at any time and/or refuse to answer any question.
- That the information that they provide will be held confidential, and what (if any) exceptions to confidentiality apply. For example, if the researcher will report suspected incidents of child abuse to authorities (see above discussion), most researchers believe this must be disclosed in the informed consent procedure.
- Whether there are direct benefits to the participant, including compensation. The participants should be told of the broader benefits of the study. For example, researchers might indicate that the findings from the study will help professionals and policy makers better understand the experiences of young people and develop better ways to help youth avoid or cope with violence.
- Any potential risks associated with participation. The researcher, for example, might state something like the following: "Although most youth enjoy participating in surveys of this type, some people may find certain questions upsetting or difficult to talk about."

One important consideration for informed consent is how detailed the study description should be. Although the information provided should not be misleading, most researchers try to avoid highly charged language (Hill, 2005). For example, terminology in study introductions such as "child abuse" may be adequately described as "children's exposure to violence, crime and family conflict." Surveys asking about exposure to sexual abuse or date rape, for example, might indicate that "questions will include some sensitive issues such as whether you have experienced unwanted sexual advances."

It is also clear that not every topic covered in a survey can be outlined in the consent process, but researchers use descriptions of various lengths. Researchers agree that the most sensitive and potentially distressing content should be explicitly outlined, but it is not always obvious which questions will be perceived as most sensitive by the respondent and they may vary from individual to individual. Indeed, if measured by refusal rates, the survey question that often elicits the greatest concern on the part of participants, even in studies involving highly sensitive crime and abuse questions, is income. On the whole, we believe using accurate but more general content descriptors is often the best strategy.

How to Make Sure Children Understand?   It is important in the consent process that the child understands the purpose of the research and what is involved in participating. This means that researchers should use age-appropriate language and avoid jargon and legal terminology. To confirm that the child understands, the researcher may want to ask the child, after hearing the consent statement, to describe his/her understanding of the study and its procedures. This strategy can help to establish the child's competence to give consent/assent when respondents are younger children and/or when the researcher is concerned about the child's level of comprehension. Few studies, however, have examined children's perceptions of research participation and understanding of informed consent. Chu et al. (2008) did explore this issue with children aged 7 to 12 to assess whether they understood consent. The vast majority

(87%) generally understood their rights as research participants (for example, their freedom to skip questions, stop at any time, and take a break). Furthermore, understanding of informed consent did not vary across trauma exposure groups (no trauma, noninterpersonal violence, interpersonal violence). Other research also suggests procedures for explaining research rights to children aged 8, 10, and 12 (Hurley & Underwood, 2002).

How to Ensure that Children are Volunteering Freely? Because of developmental immaturities and unequal power between children and adults, it can be more difficult to ensure that children are choosing freely to participate (Clacherty & Donald, 2007; Powell et al., 2011). Children may want to avoid disappointing the researcher who may be viewed as an authority figure or parents who may have already given consent. Special efforts should be made to assure the child participant perceives the research as voluntary and that there will be no negative consequences in refusing participation. Researchers might say things like, "Although your experiences and opinions are important to us, it is completely OK if you do not want to participate in the study"; "No one will be angry or disappointed with you if you decide not to participate", "And remember that if you do decide to participate, you can still change your mind at anytime, you can choose not to answer any question that you don't want to answer, and you can stop at any time. It's all up to you."

Interviewers should also be trained to monitor the child's verbal and nonverbal cues throughout the interview. If the child displays hesitancy or discomfort, the interviewer can then ask the child if they wish to continue. It may also help to rehearse with the child how to decline or withdraw from participation to increase the child's sense of control over the process (Kirk, 2007; Matutina, 2009). There are cultural contexts in which ensuring voluntary participation by children may be particularly challenging (Clacherty & Donald, 2007).

School administered studies can pose particular problems for voluntary consent. When teachers are present or are administering the study, students may be concerned that refusing to participate could affect their grade or reputation with the teacher. If no arrangement is made for children to have some alternative activity when a group administration is being carried out, the school may actually put pressure on children to participate. Little is known about the actual consequences of different school survey administration practices. But among those concerned about minimizing pressures on students, best practice is generally thought to involve having outsiders introduce, administer, and explain the study, to emphasize that participation will not affect grade or reputation, to provide alternative activities for nonparticipating students and to allow students to complete the survey in as much privacy as is possible.

Must Researchers Always Obtain Parental Consent for Research involving Minor Children?

There is considerable controversy concerning whether research on children, particularly research on children's exposure to violence (such as maltreatment), should require the consent of a parent or adult guardian. The controversy revolves around two competing ideas (Powell et al., 2011). One the one hand, some believe strongly that children and adolescents are generally capable of informed decision making and have the right to have their views and experiences included in research, especially

about something as important as maltreatment and also if it is going to affect social policy relevant to their interests. On the other hand, some see parents as best positioned to assess and represent children's safety and wellbeing and in many contexts (e.g. phone interviewing in the United States, but not Internet surveys with older adolescents) they are legally required to consent on behalf of their own children.

The issue is particularly complicated in family violence and maltreatment research because parents may sometimes refuse consent not to protect the child, but to protect their own interests, the privacy of the family and prevent children from disclosing incidents of violence and abuse. In addition to censoring or controlling the expression of the child's views and experiences (Cashmore, 2006; Masson, 2000), this type of parental gate keeping can seriously undermine the quality of the research. To the extent that abusive families refuse to participate in a study, the sample will be biased by underrepresenting children exposed to family violence and the validity of the study will be jeopardized.

Not surprisingly, practice concerning parental consent varies widely. In the United States, there tends to be relatively restrictive requirements favoring parental consent (Cashmore, 2006), although Institutional Review Boards sometimes waive parental consent in research involving neglected or abused children (Cashmore, 2006; Fisher, 1993). In other countries, however, there appear to be fewer legal requirements for parental consent (Powell et al., 2011), although researchers sometimes cite legalities on consent to medical and health treatment as relating to the social research context.

The age at which children become legally competent to give consent for research varies from one jurisdiction to another (Council for International Organizations of Medical Sciences (CIOMS) & World Health Organization (WHO), 2008). The age of majority in most European countries and the United States is 18, in Swaziland 21, and in Albania 14 (Schenk & Williamson, 2005). In the United Kingdom, rather than using age-based definitions, the notion of "Gillick competence" is often applied (Gillick v West Norfolk and Wisbech Area Health Authority (1986) AC 112), stipulating that children who achieve a sufficient understanding and intelligence to fully understand what is being proposed should be considered competent to make their own decision regarding participation, without the requirement of parental consent (Cashmore, 2006; Powell et al., 2011). The Gillick ruling specifies that a competent minor under age 16 can give legally valid consent, without specifying any child as too young to be Gillick competent (Alderson & Morrow, 2011). Other sources generally note that children over the age of 12 or 13 years are usually capable of understanding what is required to adequately give informed consent (Council for International Organizations of Medical Sciences (CIOMS) & World Health Organization (WHO), 2008). Many researchers claim that not only are adolescents usually competent to participate in the informed consent procedures, but also even younger children are often competent to give informed consent if it is done properly (Chu et al., 2008; Coyne, 2010).

Passive versus Active Consent   One approach that appears to increase participation rates and reduce parental gate keeping is passive consent. Instead of requiring an affirmative permission from parents (active consent), passive consent allows children to participate as long as parents do not refuse or "opt out." This is a relatively common practice in school-based surveys. Parents are given information about the study

and, as long as they do not respond with a refusal, it is taken as consent for the child to participate. Of course, the child must give permission as well. Advocates of this approach not only cite increased response rates and reduced sample bias, but point out its advantage for supporting children's autonomy as decision makers and their right to have their views represented (Carroll-Lind, Chapman, Gregory, & Maxwell, 2006; Cashmore, 2006).

Consent versus Assent   When a child cannot give legally valid consent, the word assent is sometimes used (Alderson & Morrow, 2011). The notion of assent holds less authority in the process; that is, assent is not sufficient for participation if parents refuse to provide consent. However, if the parent does consent, child assent allows the child to also give permission or to refuse to participate. In studies where parental consent is being waived, then child consent (not assent) is obtained.

What are Appropriate Material Compensations for Child Participants?

Providing compensation for participation (also known as remuneration), typically in the form of cash or gifts, can contribute to the quality of research by helping to maximize participation and reduce the likelihood of sample bias. Moreover, compensation puts value on the time and effort of the participant and communicates that his/her effort and time is appreciated (Council for International Organizations of Medical Sciences (CIOMS) & World Health Organization (WHO), 2008). However, other researchers note that "any payments, however fair, may still bribe or coerce people into taking part" (Alderson & Morrow, 2011). Thus, some prefer compensation to be "tokens of appreciation," recognizing that large remunerations may make it difficult for respondents to think clearly about their interests and needs, and perhaps undermine voluntary participation. What is considered an appropriate compensation will differ by the amount of time and effort that respondents must commit to participate and by the economic context of the population from which participants are recruited. Because the cultural context influences perceptions of research payments, care also needs to be taken to ensure that in the context of extreme poverty the benefits of any research compensation are not the source of distress or retaliation as others may resent the participant or try to coerce them to share the benefit (Clacherty & Donald, 2007; Powell et al., 2011). One possible metric for considering the appropriate level of compensation is the amount of money or materials that people in the region can earn in the same amount of time that it takes to participate in the research. We recommend that compensation should be vetted in focus groups or with local people to assess their appropriateness, since there may be cultural factors to be considered.

Is it Ethically Important to Involve Children as Partners in the Research Design, Conceptualization and Management?

Some researchers have argued that to prevent ethical problems in research on children, children themselves should be involved as co-researchers and partners (Brownlie, Anderson, & Ormston, 2006; Kellett, 2005). This perspective grows out of concerns that children are a socially disadvantaged group and prone to exploitation and stigmatization, unless they have a voice. Some view partnering with children as an

element of harm prevention, insuring that the research does not harm the interests of children.

Although most researchers treat involvement of children in research as a potentially useful way to improve the quality of research, for them it is not seen as an ethical requirement. Most IRBs do not require participation of children as co-researchers.

It certainly seems a reasonable ethical concern to ensure that research studies do not cause harm to children as a group by increasing stigma. It is also a laudable goal to reduce the social exclusion of children. But involving children as partners is not the only way to achieve such goals. For example, reviewing the research with child advocates and others sensitive to these concerns might be equivalently effective.

If researchers want to involve children there are many ways this can be organized depending on the context and the goals. Most frequently focus groups are used to test out questionnaires and language and to develop hypotheses to be tested. Sometimes investigators ask children to help them in interpreting the results of a study. It is less common for researchers to involve children in the review of research designs and other technical matters. Children can also be involved in the dissemination of findings (Ennew & Pierre Plateau, 2004; Mann & Tolfree, 2003). These are valuable ways to help specific children and the interests of children in general. But there is no consensus about how children should be involved for ethical reasons.

Miscellaneous Methodological Issues

How to Approach an Ethical Review Committee Uncomfortable with Victimization Research?

Some researchers work at institutions that have very cautious Institutional Review Boards (IRBs), the bodies that monitor the ethical conduct of research. Indeed, the trend towards increasingly cautious IRB standards has become a matter of much comment and discussion (Gunsalus et al., 2007; National Research Council, 2003). Sometimes, IRBs appear to handle risk minimization by trying to avoid all or most research on sensitive issues, despite the evidence that thousands of children are surveyed every year on this topic with little signs of harm or even discomfort.

As we have stated in other sections on this document, we believe that research on sensitive issues, including youth victimization, serves important purposes and is one key element to addressing virtually any social problem. Thus, we encourage researchers to work with IRBs or other ethical review committees to find workable solutions to the study of social problems.

Our main recommendation is to adopt an educational approach with IRBs. This document, as well as others (Becker-Blease & Freyd, 2007) can provide an overview of the evidence and common practices in research with children on victimization. By and large, this evidence is supportive of these research endeavors and suggests that the risks of harm are small from survey-based research, including survey-based research on victimization. We believe it is also worthwhile to discuss how widespread this research has become in the last 30 years, with many tens of thousands having successfully completed such interviews. Although the majority of this research has been conducted in North America, victimization research has been conducted in dozens of other countries as well.

Some of the steps discussed elsewhere, such as obtaining a certificate of confidentiality, may also provide some assurances to IRBs. There is also the possibility of obtaining a legal opinion from university counsel or other attorneys knowledgeable about informed consent. There is very little evidence of research data ever getting involved in court cases, or of challenges being brought regarding the confidentiality of research records. In the United States, the courts upheld the certificates of confidentiality in a 1973 court challenge (see http://grants.nih.gov/grants/policy/coc, accessed July 15, 2015). We found no record of any other legal challenges to research confidentiality or ethical review procedures regarding survey research. Thus, although we cannot rule out the possibility that such a challenge has occurred, they appear to be quite rare.

How Can Standard Ethical Procedures be Adapted to Different Cultural and Social Contexts?

Many communities have concerns about their vulnerability to exploitation by outside interests. Sometimes these concerns arise because of historical mistreatment, or sometimes they arise from concerns that the community values may differ from those of the researchers. Some have argued that the research process easily leans towards being an exploitive one: researchers get funding, publications, career advancement and other benefits that far exceed the benefits or incentives offered to individual participants or the communities from which they come. Even when research addresses a problem of importance to a community, sometimes problems do not seem to change after the research has been conducted, certainly within the time frame desired by community members. There are a number of steps that can be taken to help address and minimize these concerns.

Sharing Data with the Community   One of the most important steps that can be taken is providing clear mechanisms to share data with communities and participants. Ideally, this will go beyond simply promises to make the results available on request. We especially recommend a clear dissemination strategy when a local sampling strategy is used, for example, when the entire sample is drawn from a single school district or a single neighborhood, town, or community. It may be helpful to make explicit advance agreements about how data will be shared in order to avoid misunderstandings later.

There are a number of forms which this data sharing might take. Local governments or organizations can be provided with research reports that include rates or other statistics that will help them in program planning, needs assessment, or in pursuing more service-oriented grant funding. Community-specific data about the extent and consequences of victimization can help them both improve services and better compete for funding. Nontechnical summaries of results can be presented in community forums, such as parent-teacher nights at schools or presentations provided at local nonprofits or other community organizations. Brief summaries of the findings can be turned into articles that are published in local newspapers. Data can be archived so that future students and researchers can study it to examine their own research questions.

Adapting Procedures to Different Cultures   Promoting good communication between researchers, communities, and supporting agencies is one important step to ethically conducting research that includes diverse ethnic and social groups. There are a number of other procedures that can help with this as well.

It is not only good research practice but also good ethical practice to be careful about using concepts and terms that were developed in one cultural group in another cultural setting. Some of these issues are basic to virtually any cross-cultural study. Concepts of time, number, and frequency, for example, differ across societies. Some societies, for example, the United States, Canada, and Scandinavian countries, routinely collect large amounts of data for many purposes. Many residents of these countries have considerable experience filling out surveys for many purposes and do not question the need for even fairly long surveys or the acceptability of response categories that ask for fine distinctions in attitudes or frequency of events. Surveys that have been developed for one cultural group need to be carefully adapted for others.

Other issues are more specific to victimization research. Most early victimization research was conducted in North America, primarily in the United States. Thus, many of the concepts and terms that have developed have emerged from that specific cultural context. Not all of these concepts or terms can be readily translated into other languages or will mean the same thing in other settings. This includes not only terms for violence and abuse, but also other constructs important to research on youth victimization such as "dating" (Hamby, Nix, De Puy, & Monnier, 2012). For example, "bullying" means different types of behaviors in different languages, sometimes between even linguistically similar languages such as Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian (Smorti, Menesini, & Smith, 2003). Other key variables also vary crossculturally. The age at which youth become legally able to consent to sexual intercourse varies. Corporal punishment is illegal in numerous countries, but remains legal in most. Thus, legal definitions of abuse also vary. Although to some extent these are methodological issues, they also become ethical ones. Regarding the ethics of these issues, it is important to acknowledge such differences. Although advocating for a change in social norms or laws can certainly be done ethically, care should be taken to avoid automatic or implicit assumptions that the standards of one culture are superior to those of others.

In collaboration with the World Health Organization, The International Ethical Guidelines for Epidemiological Studies (2008) has a specific guideline on research in populations and communities with limited resources. It states that "Before undertaking research in a population or community with limited resources, the sponsor and investigator must make every effort to ensure that the research is responsive to the health needs and the priorities of the population or community in which it is to be carried out" (p. 41). The concern that certain populations may be vulnerable to exploitation by sponsors and investigators from wealthy countries and communities has arisen primarily from concern that successful interventions be accessible. When a study's expected outcome is scientific knowledge there should, however, be assurance that it will be used for the benefit of the population. When research is conducted in countries where governments or communities lack the resources or infrastructure for researchers to offer access to counseling or to follow up with situations that may be concerning, extra care should be taken to ensure that the research does not pose any additional burden or put a child in a risky or dangerous situation. Some researchers may try to conduct studies close to schools or organizations that may be able to offer some assistance (Powell et al., 2011).

Clacherty and Donald (2007) describe the challenge of applying ethical principles with different groups of children in different social contexts, and note that applying these principles often requires flexibility and complex decision making by researchers.

Power imbalances between adults and children are often one of the biggest ethical obstacles when conducting research in some countries (Morrow & Richards, 1996; Powell et al., 2011; Thomas & O'Kane, 1998). Children may participate because they want to show respect to adults. In some countries it may not be possible to gain active parental consent because of difficulties identifying and locating parents or guardians, low literacy rates, and skepticism about signing documents (Abebe, 2009; Clacherty & Donald, 2007; Hutz & Koller, 1999).

In terms of implementation, one of the best established means of addressing these types of concerns is with qualitative pilot studies. These can involve individual or group interviews with key stakeholders who will be familiar with the concepts and the intended audience of participants. These can also be done as focus groups with individuals drawn from the same target population as the participants for a structured survey. It is also possible to do some pretest interviews with a specific aim of identifying potential areas that need further adaptation. Although these steps will add to the time it takes to complete a research project, the resulting improvements in quality and acceptability to the host communities make it worth the investment.

A Research Agenda

Clearly there is an enormous need for additional research to inform ethical practices in this area. It is our view that this need for research would be well served by more flexibility and humility on the part of researchers and IRBs. In the absence of clear cut evidence about the superiority of one practice over another, there might be marked benefits from encouraging researchers to take an experimental approach to some of these practices. If there is disagreement, for example, about how explicit the wording describing the content matter of the survey should be, then the researcher should be encouraged to use two versions, both a more and less explicit description of the content, and test for any differences in participation rate and participant satisfaction with the study. This experiment would greatly help decision making about this issue in future studies. In fact, the field might benefit enormously if an informal standard were to be established that every study *ought* to include at least one built-in experiment on ethical issues. Knowledge might accumulate much more rapidly in this fashion.

Another technique for developing knowledge about ethical issues is more use of "cognitive interviewing" in advance of full study implementation. This involves interviewing participants and then reviewing the procedures with them for their specific understanding and reaction to certain statements or questions. If researchers were to more systematically document and publish the results of such cognitive interviewing, it might also enhance knowledge in the field about the effects of ethics procedures.

Here are some of the kinds of issues that would appear to be in need of more evidence:

What proportion of participants experience such a level of distress subsequent to participation that they wish they had not participated or felt bad about it the next day?

What proportion of participants avail themselves of help services offered in the form of toll free numbers or agency names and addresses? How helpful do the participants who use such services believe the services were?

What proportion of participants believed that the description of the study they were presented with did not adequately prepare them for the actual experience of participating? How do variations in the description correlate with the proportion believing they were not adequately prepared?

Is participant satisfaction with the confidentiality procedures of a study affected by whether the study is carried out through different modalities, such as phone, in-person interview, or computer assisted interview?

What are the proportions of parents and children who believe that confidentiality promised to families ought to be observed or abrogated when dangerous situations of various levels of severity are revealed in interviews?

What proportion of parents believes that children of various ages should be allowed to independently consent to participate in a survey about safety and exposure to violence?

What proportion of parents would be agreeable to school officials acting independently to authorize surveys of youth about exposure to violence?

How do the levels of disclosure about victimizations vary depending on whether respondents are promised absolute confidentiality as opposed to being told that reports will be made if dangerous situations are revealed?

How do outcomes for children and families compare when researchers make reports to officials about their situation compared to when researchers do not?

What proportion of participants experience retaliation by a family member or someone in the community as a result of their participation in a survey? What is the nature and severity of this retaliation?

How do cultures vary in their understanding of consent and the willingness to refuse to participate in a survey?

These are only a sample of the kinds of ethical topics that could productively be researched to help inform the practice in this field. The ultimate goal should be to have ethical practice based on as solid an empirical foundation as the prevention and intervention initiatives that the field also fosters.

Acknowledgments

Recommendations for Further Reading

Alderson, P. and Morrow, V. (Alderson and Morrow, 2011). The Ethics of Research with Children and Young People. A Practical Handbook. Los Angeles. Sage.

This book covers ethics at every stage of the research process, including the planning process, the data collection, the writing and follow up, and the impact on children. The authors focus on children who are vulnerable or neglected and provide many examples from research projects.

Council for International Organizations of Medical Sciences in collaboration with the World Health Organization (2008). International Ethical Guidelines for Epidemiological Studies.
  http://www.ufrgs.br/bioetica/cioms2008.pdf (accessed July 5, 2015)

This document describes general ethical principles when conducting epidemiological research and describes guidelines around issues such as informed consent, conducting research in communities with limited resources, research involving children, and safeguarding confidentiality.

Newman, E., Risch, E. and Kassam-Adams, N. Ethical issues in trauma-related research: A review (2006) *Journal of Empirical Research on Human Research Ethics, 1*(3), pp. 29–46.

This paper reviews ethical issues in the field of traumatic stress, including benefit and risks in trauma-related research, whether trauma-related research poses unique risks, informed consent, mandatory reporting, and supervision of trauma-related research.

Powell, M. A. (2011, June). *International literature review: ethical issues in undertaking research with children and young people* [Literature review for the Childwatch International Research Network.] Lismore: Southern Cross University, Centre for Children and Young People/Dunedin: University of Otago, Centre for Research on Children and Families.

This paper reviews recent literature about ethical issues in research with children and young people. Key issues include informed consent, protection of research participants, confidentiality and anonymity, and payment of research participants. Key ethical issues in different global contexts are described.

http://www.childwatch.uio.no/research/research-methodology/ (accessed July 5, 2015)

The Childwatch International Research Network is a global, nonprofit, nongovernmental network of institutions that collaborate in child research for the purpose of promoting child rights and improving children's wellbeing around the world. The website offers extensive resources about ethical issues surrounding research with children.

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3

Why are Offenders Victimized so Often?

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Introduction

Nearly five decades of research have revealed a strong correlation between offending and victimization. This correlation, known as the "victim-offender overlap," is one of the most consistent empirical findings in the criminological literature, on par with other prominent findings in the field (i.e., the age-crime curve). It has been shown in studies based on self-report data and official records, in cross-sectional as well as longitudinal designs, and in studies of lethal and nonlethal violence. An increasing amount of empirical attention is directed at unpacking the complex etiology of the victim-offender overlap. Yet, there is only an embryonic understanding of why it comes about. According to Lauritsen and Laub (2007), research on the etiology of the victim-offender overlap has reached somewhat of an impasse. More is known about the factors that do not produce this phenomenon than about those that might be responsible.

This chapter provides an overview of social science research on the victim-offender overlap. It begins with a description of leading explanations for the phenomenon along with description of relevant empirical work, which is followed by a discussion of several directions for future research on the topic and the implications of the victim-offender overlap for research on violence. We begin with a brief review of early studies of the phenomenon.

Early Studies

Classic studies on adolescent behavior conducted in the early twentieth century, such as Addams' (1909) *The spirit of youth and the city streets* and Shaw's (1930) *The jack roller,* implicitly portray victims as passive participants in incidents of interpersonal violence. The Gluecks (1940) are perhaps the first scholars to suggest a connection between adverse life events, such as exposure to physical harm, and persistent criminal offending. Many of their research subjects allegedly led an "uncontrolled street life"

and had "early contact with undesirable and dangerous companions" (Glueck & Glueck, 1940, p. 12). Despite the Gluecks' early attention to the adverse life experiences of chronic offenders their research did not explicitly suggest a link between offending and victimization.

Hans von Hentig's (1948) textbook is among the first publications to explicitly recognize and attempt to explain victim-offender overlap. He argued from a typological perspective that certain classes of victims contribute directly to their own suffering. Von Hentig speculated that certain victims are ideal targets for offenders because they are reluctant to enlist the services of the police and some may actively precipitate their own mistreatment by tormenting their adversaries. He believed that many criminologists and legal professionals had overlooked this class of victims. While von Hentig's work lacked testable propositions, it prefigured the significance of victimization for the study of violent behavior by recognizing that victims and offenders are not always distinct groups. Here he recognized what much research has since demonstrated: "violent victimization and violent offending are intimately connected" (Sampson & Lauritsen, 1994, p. 34).

Wolfgang's (1958) subsequent study of homicide patterns in Philadelphia provided some of the earliest empirical evidence demonstrating a positive correlation between criminal behavior and serious victimization. Nearly one-quarter of murder victims in his study were said to have "precipitated" their own death. Moreover nearly two-thirds of victims had arrest records – half of whom committed crimes against persons. Wolfgang claimed to have reaffirmed von Hentig's (1948) earlier argument that victims sometimes assume the role of aggressor in violent events (Sparks, 1982, p. 24). Since the publication of this pioneering research, multiple studies on lethal and nonlethal violence have shown that violent victimization is more common for people who perpetrate criminal behavior, particularly violent behaviors (see Lauritsen & Laub, 2007 for a review). Reflecting on the phenomenon, Reiss (1981, p. 711) wrote that "any theory that assumes no overlap exists between populations of victims and offenders or that they are distinct types of persons distorts the empirical research."

Theoretical Overview

Since the publication of von Hentig's textbook more than 60 years ago, several social-science perspectives have served as frameworks for understanding the mechanisms underlying the connection between offending and victimization: They include the lifestyle/routine activities theory, the individual differences perspective, and subcultural approaches.

Lifestyles/Routine Activities

Lifestyles/routine activities theory is among the most influential approachs in discussions of the etiology of the offender-victim overlap. Hindelang, Gottfredson, and Garofalo's (1978) research on victimization patterns in the National Crime Survey (NCS) has important theoretical implications for examining the phenomenon. A core premise of their framework holds that demographic variation in victimization risk is attributable to differences in routine vocational and leisure activities. Certain lifestyles are more apt to expose people to situations and places that are conducive to

victimization (see also Felson, 2002). Victims and offenders tend to share similar demographic profiles, engage in similar routine activities/lifestyles, and reside in areas with higher crime rates. Hence, the relationship between offending and victimization is accounted for by factors such as age, leisure and work activities, and proximity to crime – factors that increase risks of victimization and offending.

A later stream of related research initiated by Gottfredson (1981) merged components of social control theory and the routine activities/lifestyles model to explain the overlap among victim and offenders. He argued that the same social controls that inhibit offending also minimize exposure to motivated offenders, thereby reducing an individual's risk for victimization. Individuals with strong bonds to conventional others are less likely to engage in activities that put them at risk of victimization. As a result, offenders and victims are likely to come into contact with one another. According to this formulation, offending and victimization generally result from the same social conditions and therefore the relationship between them is likely to be reduced when one controls for those social conditions (Mayhew & Elliott, 1990).

Building on core assumptions from routine activities/lifestyles and social control theories, Osgood and colleagues (1996) articulated a situational theory that conceptualized offending as an outcome of routine activities. According to Osgood et al. (1996) social situations that are especially conducive to offending involve peer interaction (because peers enhance the symbolic value of certain potentially deviant actions and facilitate crime commission), the absence of authority figures, and periods of unstructured socializing. Osgood and colleagues' (1996) reformulation of routine activities theory implied that victimization and offending were byproducts of similar lifestyles, including time-use patterns, deviant associations (which enhanced exposure to situational inducements) and the presence of social controls. Their model implies that routine activities structure offending opportunities and contribute to victimization risk, which gives rise to the victim-offender overlap.

Jensen and Brownfield (1986) challenged the capacity of routine activities/lifestyles theory to fully explain the victim-offender overlap. They criticized the theory for taking a "passive interpretation of lifestyles as enhancing victimization only through exposure and guardianship" (pp. 86–87). Jensen and Brownfield (1986) asserted that prevailing interpretations of the theory created an "artificial dichotomy" between victims and offenders. They proposed that offending *itself is a type of routine activity* that increases victimization risk. More specifically, offenders often associate with other offenders, thereby increasing their exposure to dangerous situations (Singer, 1986), and they are legally vulnerable and prone to suffer reprisals as a result of their exploitative behaviors.

Several studies find that various measures of leisure activities and proximity to high crime areas do not account for a significant portion of the victim-offender overlap (Lattimore et al., 1997; Lauritsen, Sampson, & Laub, 1991; Lauritsen & Quinet, 1995; Shaffer & Ruback, 2002). For example, Sampson and Lauritsen (1990) examined the ability of routine activities/lifestyle variables to explain the relationship between offending and victimization using the British Crime Survey. They found that the relationship between the two was only partially explained by leisure activities or neighborhood characteristics, meaning that it was not spurious owing to ecological vulnerability or shared social interaction. Subsequent research by Lauritsen and colleagues (1991, 1995) also tested these ideas with more precise survey measures

from multiple waves of National Youth Survey data. Their findings suggested that offending has a strong relationship to victimization even with controls for informal social controls, peer interaction, and routine activities. These results suggest that ecological vulnerability or shared social interaction cannot fully account for the relationship between offending and victimization. Finally, Wittibrood and Nieuwbeerta (2000) found in a within-person design that "personal crimes" had strong positive effects on risk for assault victimization among a sample of Dutch respondents, net of several variables capturing lifestyles activities.

In sum, empirical research provides only limited support for the idea that an offender's contact with other offenders can explain the victim-offender overlap. However, it is difficult to measure routine activities and contact with offenders with any precision. It could be that if routine activities theory was more precisely measured the theory could better explain the victim-offender overlap.

Individual Differences

According to the individual differences perspective, individual characteristics that produce high rates of offending also produce high rates of victimization (Gottfredson, 1984, p. 17). According to this perspective, relatively stable traits can account for a diverse range of behaviors that include those that lead to victimization. The relationships between victimization and various types of crime, drinking to excess, and use of illegal drugs are spurious, since all are diverse manifestations of underlying individual differences. Sparks (1982) introduced the notion of individual differences, or population heterogeneity, to the study of victimization patterns after observing that a relatively small number of individuals in the National Crime Panel data disproportionately suffered multiple victimizations. Sparks (1982, p. 119) posited that the distribution of multiple- incident victims in the population implies that some individuals have "victim proneness" – a term noting the degree to which some people, by virtue of their personal characteristics, facilitate violence, are susceptible to predation, and can be exploited with impunity. Supporting this notion, an early empirical investigation found that respondents who had high rates of offending and victimization also reported frequent involvement in traffic accidents (Gottfredson, 1984). Interpreting these findings from a risk-heterogeneity perspective, Gottfredson argued that none of the three is causally related to each other; rather each is a symptom of a common trait that sorts individuals into risky or dangerous situations. Other studies have found that high-rate offenders are more likely than nonoffenders and low-rate offenders to die prematurely of natural causes such as heart failure, pneumonia and cancer, and of unnatural causes including suicide, accidents, and homicide (Laub & Vaillant, 2000; Teplin et al., 2005). Each of these studies interprets their findings through the lens of an individual-differences perspective and insists that victimization, offending, accidents, and early death are all outcomes of individual traits.

More recent research in this theoretical tradition proposes that low self-control is a form of population heterogeneity and accounts for a significant portion of the victim-offender overlap (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990; Schreck, 1999). People who lack self-control have a low tolerance for frustration, exhibit a strong preference for physical activity, tend to take risks, and tend to be present oriented. If low self-control increases the probability of both offending and victimization, it may produce a spurious positive relationship between them. A small number of empirical studies have examined

the role of low self-control in explaining the victim-offender overlap. For example, Schreck (1999) found that low self-control accounted for a large percentage of the relationship between violent offending and victimization in a sample of Arizona students. Later research by Schreck and colleagues (2006) also showed a direct effect of low self-control on victimization, net of routine activities, peer associations and offending. Other cognitive and psychological indicators represent theoretically relevant sources of population heterogeneity; including impulsivity/hyperactivity, trait depression, and low verbal intelligence. Empirical research, however, suggests that violent offending is strongly associated with victimization even after controlling for these variables in a variety of research designs (Loeber, Kalb, & Huizinga, 2001; Taylor et al., 2007). For example, Silver et al. (2005) discovered in the Dunedin Birth Cohort Data that individuals were at greater risk of threatened and completed physical assaults if they suffered from anxiety and depressive disorders and the effects of these variables did not fully account for the link between self-reported offending and victimization risk. Although these variables have only partially explained the relationship, this does not preclude the possibility that other unmeasured or unexamined individual differences are important explanatory factors. Longitudinal panel studies find that stable unobserved individual differences, do not fully explain the victim-offender overlap (but see, Averdijk, 2010; Berg & Loeber, 2011). As of now, the explanatory role of time-varying unobserved heterogeneity has not been extensively examined in longitudinal research on the victim-offender overlap.

Subcultural Approaches

Subcultural theories provide the third explanation for the victim-offender overlap. Wolfgang's (1958) research on homicide victims in Philadelphia is among the first studies to introduce the notion that people who subscribe to violent conduct norms are at greater risk of suffering violent victimization. His analysis of homicide case files indicated that a sizeable proportion of victims precipitated their own deaths via aggressive interactions with their adversaries. Furthermore, the majority of victims and offenders were lower class minorities. Wolfgang (1958) concluded from his research that the lower class harbored a unique subculture characterized by a "quick resort to physical combat as a measure of daring, courage or defense of status" (pp. 188–189). People who reside in places defined by this subculture respond more strongly to slights, are unlikely to back down from challengers, and are more likely to instigate physical conflicts. Wolfgang maintained that members of the middle class differ in that they "consider stimuli that evoke a combative response in the lower class as trivial" (Wolfgang, 1958, p. 189).

Wolfgang's (1958) research set in motion systematic consideration of whether oppositional conduct norms contribute to the overlap among victims and offenders. For example, Singer's (1981) analyses of the Philadelphia Birth Cohort indicated that victims of violence were nearly three times more likely to commit an assault than were nonvictims. Singer (1981, 1986) interpreted the pattern as a reflection of the fact that victims and offenders tend to live in social contexts where subcultural norms conducive to violence are salient and where conventional norms are weak. Stated differently, the victim-offender overlap appears to be a product of the tendency for residents of lower class communities to retaliate. Singer (1986) argued that victims in these communities interpret disrespectful treatment as justification for vengeance. In contrast,

in higher class communities victims often do not engage in retaliatory responses because "dominant cultural values dictate calling the police" (Singer, 1986, p. 68). Note that his analysis did not employ an actual measure of conduct norms; rather, he inferred subcultural effects from strong correlation between victimization and criminal offending.

More recent research on the urban honor culture or "street code" also delineates a linkage between subcultural processes and the victim-offender overlap, particularly among African Americans living in poor urban neighborhoods (Anderson, 1999). The street code and other codes of honor emphasize the importance of retaliation for personal insult (Cooney, 1998; Horowitz, 1983; Jacobs & Wright, 2006). Individuals who yield to adversaries convey weakness and place themselves at risk of future violence. The street code also requires individuals to display an aggressive demeanor in order to avoid victimization and broadcast a signal to others that they are not to be bothered.

People who espouse the street code are less inclined to use conventional methods of dispute resolution (e.g., contacting the police) owing to concerns about protecting their reputations and exposing their own legal vulnerability (Berg, Slocum, & Loeber, 2012). Some youth believe that cooperation with the authorities, even if only to report being seriously victimized, may cause them to be branded a snitch (Rosenfeld, Jacobs, & Wright, 2003, p. 298). Furthermore, they are likely to perceive the criminal justice system as unfair, unresponsive to their needs, and discriminatory. Studies find that criminals tend to view the sanctions of the formal law as weak; while the law is punitive in theory, its practical application is substantially less intimidating (Jacobs & Wright, 2006, p. 30). As a result, many victims find that self-help – punishing adversaries themselves – is a more effective means to redress grievances.

At least three studies have examined the role of the street code in explaining the victim-offender overlap. First, Stewart and colleagues (2006) found that youths who adhere to the street code are more likely to be victimized. While a tough demeanor may be designed to prevent victimization, it appears to have the opposite effect. The street code does not explain the positive association between their offending and victimization. Second, a multilevel study indicated that in neighborhoods where the street code is deeply entrenched the positive association between offending and victimization is magnified, and where the street code is virtually absent violent behavior is not related to victimization (Berg et al., 2012). Finally, a multilevel panel study discovered that neighborhood structural disadvantage increased the magnitude of the positive effects of offending on victimization even after controlling for unobserved heterogeneity (Berg & Loeber, 2011). Combined, these findings suggest that the street code has an important role in producing the victim-offender overlap because it serves as a normative context for retaliatory violence.

To summarize, research on the victim-offender overlap suggests that at least a portion of the relationship can be attributed to the effects of routine activities, individual differences, and subcultural processes. However, a recent study concluded that nearly 60% of the relationship between violent offending and violent victimization remained unexplained after controlling for key variables suggested by the leading theoretical explanations (Berg, 2009). According to Lauritsen and Laub (2007) different methodological and conceptual approaches are warranted in order to further unpack the mechanisms behind this phenomenon.

A Situational Perspective

Largely absent from discussions about the source of the victim-offender overlap is consideration of the situational context of interpersonal disputes. Most homicides and assaults, and even some robberies and sexual assaults, stem from disputes. Disputes involve interactions between two or more people that sometimes escalate, culminating in a physical attack. To understand the victim-offender overlap it is therefore important to examine factors that lead individuals to become involved in disputes, whether they become the victim or the offender. It is also important to examine how the behaviors of antagonists during disputes affect whether conflicts escalate and become violent. Conflicts are common in social life but most conflicts do not lead to violence (Gould, 2003).

Criminologists tend to treat adversaries as either offenders or victims when in many violent incidents the offender is not the only participant who engaged in aggressive behavior. Oftentimes both adversaries have used violence and both can be considered offenders. Even an adversary who has not been violent, and therefore has been classified by analysts as a victim, may have provoked the offender in other ways. During the course of everyday disputes aggressive people are inclined to overreact to provocation, but there is still some level of provocation. Adversaries are sometimes identified by the police and bystanders as victims because they lost the battle and were injured or killed. People who are initially offenders may become victims as incidents develop, thereby contributing to the victim-offender overlap.

Homicides and assaults usually begin with a social control process. Someone expresses a grievance in response to a rule violation or a refusal to comply (Luckenbill, 1977; Tedeschi & Felson, 1994). A verbal conflict ensues in which insults and threats are exchanged. Evidence suggests that the aggrieved party is usually the first to engage in a verbal attack. The conflict escalates, culminating in a physical attack and often a counterattack. Physical violence typically occurs at the end of a verbal conflict (e.g., Felson, 2004). It is therefore important to study the entire sequence of events, not just the final act. The behavior of adversaries and third parties, and other contemporaneous factors that encourage or inhibit aggression have important effects on the outcome of these social interactions.

An understanding of how situational factors lead to victim offender overlap requires a consideration of motivation. Felson (2004) suggests that there are three motives for dispute-related violence: (i) forcing compliance; (ii) retributive justice; and (iii) promoting social identities. The first motive, to *force compliance*, involves the use of violence (or its threat) to compel or deter the behavior of the adversary. When offenders use violence to deter the target from engaging in some behavior they find offensive or threatening they are engaged in a form of informal social control. The second motive, *retributive justice*, involves the tendency for individuals to use violence as a punishment for offensive behaviors. The third motive involves the use of violence to *enhance or protect identities* include the self or social images (Goffman, 1959). After receiving an insult or "put down," the target feels dishonored and appears weak and ineffectual, but a physical counterattack can nullify that image by demonstrating power, toughness, and courage.

These motivations are strongly related to the behavior of adversaries. Those individuals who have a tendency to offend others and treat them unjustly are likely to elicit social control reactions and create disputes. Those who have a tendency to

engage in verbal aggression are likely to elicit counterattacks during those disputes. Offenders are likely to have these behavioral tendencies. So, the deviant behaviors of offenders, and not only overt violent behaviors, provoke others and increase their risk of victimization.

In the discussion below we focus on specific dispute-related behaviors that are likely to lead to the victim-offender overlap. From our perspective, offenders are more likely than nonoffenders to engage in certain provocative and offensive behaviors, which enhance their odds of victimization.

Offensive Behavior   From a situational perspective, offenders are more likely to be victimized because of their tendency to upset others in a variety of ways. In other words, their misbehaviors generate grievances. For example, offenders generally have poor work histories, problems with their families, and substance-abuse problems – all of which are more likely to give rise to conflicts. Ultimately, these conflicts can lead to both offending and victimization.

Some of the offensive behavior occurs during the dispute. A body of research dating back to Patterson's (1982) study of coercive family processes suggests that individuals who lack the social skills necessary to resolve disputes peacefully are at greater risk of perpetrating violence and being the victim of violence (Loeber & Stouthamer-Lober, 1998; Moffitt et al., 2001). How actors manage grievances can affect whether conflict escalates and leads to violence. Offenders are perhaps more likely to provoke others by stating their grievances in an aggressive manner. In fact, research demonstrates that violence is more likely to result when reproaches are stated strongly than when they are stated diplomatically (Fincham, 1992). Severe reproaches are likely to elicit negative defensive reactions (cf. Weiss & Heyman, 1990; cf. Cody & McLaughlin, 1988). But the line between reproach and insult is ambiguous. A severe reproach implies an insult where the grievant attacks the offender's character rather than his or her actions (Cody & Braaten, 1992). Offensive behavior in the form of nondiplomatic reproaches will increase the probability of violent victimization.

Offenders may also be more likely to engage in verbal aggression during conflicts. It is reasonable to assume that offenders are more likely to deliver insults, retaliate verbally, and make threats carelessly. Any behavior that leads to escalation is likely to increase the victim-offender overlap.

Remedial Actions   An important social skill is the effective response to grievances expressed by others. A person accused of wrongful behavior may give apologies, excuses, or justifications for their behaviors to avoid blame and punishment. These actions involve deference, and so they address concerns about maintaining a favorable identity (Goffman, 1959). There is evidence that verbal conflicts are less likely to become physically violent if the adversaries gave an account for their behaviors (Felson, 1984). Other evidence suggests that when actors fail to provide accounts for their deviant behavior they are likely to be sanctioned more severely by third parties. If violent offenders are less inclined to engage in remedial actions during disputes, they may increase their likelihood of being attacked by their antagonists.

People involved in criminal behavior may behave more aggressively in their response to the grievances expressed by the persons they offend. Compliance can satisfy the grievance and end the aggressive interaction, whereas noncompliance can produce

escalation. Offenders, however, may be less likely to comply with demands or they may reject claims as illegitimate. Their tendency toward noncompliance may lead others to punish them with physical violence.

Alcohol   Research has shown that alcohol use plays an important role in the incidence of violent encounters incident. Evidence supports the idea that drinking has a causal effect on the likelihood of aggression (e.g., Bushman & Harris, 1990), although the mechanism is unclear. Scholars have suggested that alcohol impairs judgment, reduces attention to costs, reduces self-awareness, provides an excuse for violence, and produces expectations that result in a self-fulfilling prophecy (Dermen & George, 1989; Steele & Josephs, 1990). Their drinking leads them to behave in ways that others find offensive. As a result, they are more likely to become involved in verbal disputes and more likely to behave aggressively during disputes. Furthermore, offenders have greater exposure to intoxicated people because of their tendency to have contact with people like themselves. This exposure to intoxicated people increases their risk of victimization.

Drinking may play a causal role in victimization because it leads to provocative or risky behavior. When people are drinking, they may be more aggressive, more likely to violate social norms, less aware of risks, and less likely to take precautions to avoid those risks (Graham et al., 2000; Steele & Josephs, 1990). These situational explanations can be distinguished from an opportunity explanation that assumes that drinkers are at greater risk of victimization because their routine activities place them in contact with motivated offenders (Felson & Burchfield, 2004). Accounting for differential rates of intoxication and exposure to intoxicated people may explain why offenders are more likely to be victimized.

Third Parties   Third parties who are present during a dispute can also play an important role in whether escalation occurs by engaging in mediation, instigating aggressive behavior, joining in themselves, or simply observing a dispute (Borden, 1975; Phillips & Cooney, 2005). Social identities are more salient to actors in disputes when insults are delivered to them in front of an audience. If third parties encourage the adversaries, the conflict is more likely to escalate. Sometimes third parties act as mediators, however, allowing both sides to back down without losing face. For example, during homicides and assaults offenders deliver more blows when third parties also use violence and fewer blows when third parties engage in mediating actions (Felson, Ribner, & Siegel, 1984).

Third-party behavior during disputes involving offenders may be very different from the third-party behavior during disputes involving nonoffenders. Offenders tend to associate with others like themselves and they tend to live in neighborhoods in which third parties are more sympathetic with violence (Anderson, 1999). Third parties who are affiliated with offenders may be more likely to engage in instigation or become allies, and less likely to engage in mediation. This social context should lead to violence, and thereby contribute to the victim-offender overlap.

The criminal justice system is another type of third party that may affect whether a dispute leads to violence (Cooney, 1998). Qualitative and quantitative research suggests that the unwillingness of antagonists to mobilize the law in order to resolve disputes increases the incidence of violence (Rosenfeld et al., 2003). Disputes that are associated with illegal activity are perhaps more likely to become violent

because the adversaries do not have the protection of the legal system. When adversaries have a disagreement over a drug deal or the distribution of stolen goods, for example, they are more vulnerable to arrest (e.g., Goldstein, 1990). Victims who are offenders are legally vulnerable and unlikely to enlist the services of the police to resolve their disputes. Since disputes involving offenders are more likely to involve illegal activity, their disputes are more likely to culminate in offending and victimization.

Dangers Associated with Offenders Individuals contemplating aggression are likely to pay close attention to the threat posed by their adversaries (Katz, 1990). The coercive power of the individual relative to the adversary's coercive power is likely to be critical. Physical strength and weapons affect the power equation. A reputation for violent behavior is likely to have an impact, but the effect can emerge several ways. Sometimes a reputation for toughness can make someone a more attractive target, since the identity gains of assaulting them are likely to be greater. This process would produce overlap. On the other hand, sometimes a reputation for violence deters adversaries from becoming aggressive thereby inhibiting violence. People generally avoid confrontations with more dangerous adversaries due to the potential of suffering physical harm (Anderson, 1999; Archer, 2007; Felson, 1996). For example, a recent study found that drug dealers who are especially violent were less likely to be victimized than dealers who engaged in lower rates of violence (Berg and Loeber 2015). Such processes should reduce the magnitude of the offender-victim overlap.

Offenders, particularly those with a history of violence, are more likely than nonoffenders to have reputations for being dangerous and are therefore more likely to be feared (Archer & Benson, 2008). It may be that the threat posed by offenders deters others from engaging in conflicts with them, but when conflicts occur their adversaries respond with more severe violence, including armed violence. Furthermore, people who confront offenders in an adversarial encounter may use weapons to meet the challenge. As a result offenders may be at greater risk of suffering victimizations involving weapons, especially with firearms.

Furthermore, since offenders tend to have lower self-control, they may be less attentive to the characteristics of their opponents and the potential costs of their offensive actions. Consequently, offenders may be more willing to attack adversaries with superior coercive power, which significantly increases their risk of victimization. Qualitative research finds, for example, that street offenders appear to discount the risks of suffering reprisal attacks even when the risk potential is high (Jacobs & Wright, 2006, pp. 36–39).

Summary It is important to identify the factors that lead to conflict and the factors that cause conflicts to escalate. Offenders may become involved in more conflicts and their behavior may provoke the behavior of others and lead to victimization. In other words, offenders may have relatively higher rates of victimization because of their own behavior during disputes. They may be more likely to state their grievances aggressively, focusing on the person rather than the behavior. They may be more likely to reject the claims of those who have grievances with them, more likely to refuse to comply with demands, and they may be less likely to engage in remedial actions. These actions may increase their likelihood of being attacked by their antagonists. Offenders can have every intention of avoiding violence but if they provoke others or handle conflicts poorly they are likely to have greater risks of committing violence and

suffering victimization. Once conflicts begin, offenders may be at greater risk of victimization because of their tendency to make threats and level insults, as well as their failure to engage in remedial actions. In other words, offenders may be more provocative and less socially skilled than nonoffenders.

A Conceptual Diagram

The conceptual relationship between violent offending and victimization is depicted in Figure 3.1. The diagram implies a reciprocal relationship between offending and victimization due to the tendency for antagonists to retaliate during a conflict. A portion of the victim-offender overlap is due to retaliation. The effect of offending on victimization may also be due to the vulnerability of offenders due to their lack of access to the legal system. Otherwise the relationship between offending and victimization is spurious, the result of the direct and indirect effect of individual characteristics, such as impulsiveness, low self-control, risk preference, or a tendency to drink to excess. People with these characteristics have a tendency to engage in provocative behaviors that lead them to become involved in disputes. During these disputes, they are more likely to engage in verbal aggression and they are less likely to engage in remedial action. They also more likely to be exposed to people who are more likely to engage in violence. Their friends, acquaintances, neighbors, and family members are more likely to be potential offenders. They also engage in more risky activities. For example, they are more likely to become involved in illegal activities and in activities that produce conflict. Association with risk taking peers, common deviant lifestyles, and neighborhood processes, all result in a shared social context between offenders and victims. All of these intervening risk factors increase the probability that individuals will become involved in violent encounters as offenders and victims.
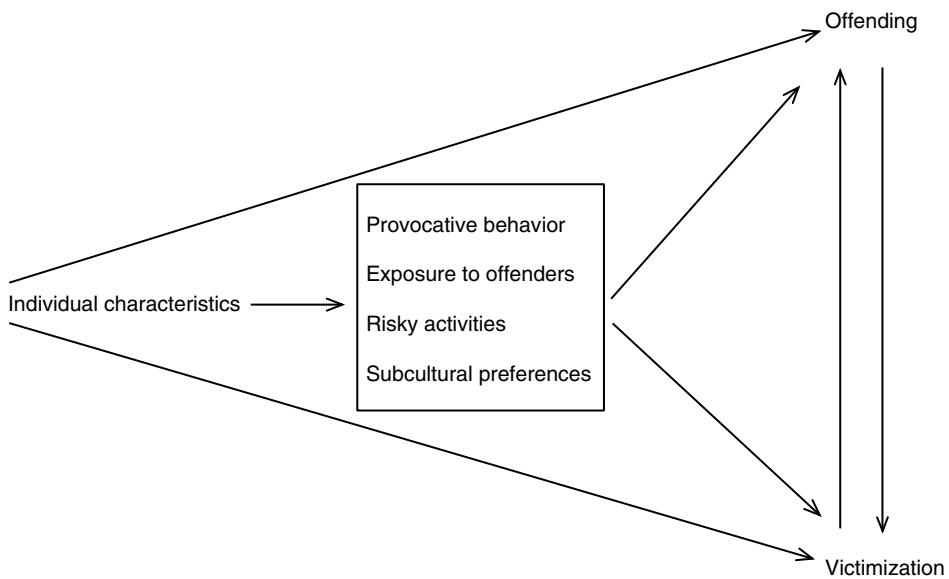
Figure 3.1   Conceptual diagram of the victim-offender overlap. *Source*: Berg, Mark T., Eric A. Stewart, Christopher Schreck and Ronald L. Simons. 2012. "The victim-offender overlap in context. Examining the role of neighborhood street culture." *Criminology, 50*: 359–390.

Future Research

Since the publication of Wolfgang's (1958) foundational study several decades ago scientific research on the victim-offender overlap has developed along several lines. As a result, far more is currently known about the etiology of the overlap in comparison to decades earlier. Still, as noted previously, much remains to be learned about the nature of this phenomenon. In the paragraphs below we describe some important gaps in the empirical research on the victim-offender overlap.

First, research is needed on the situational perspective. A key reason so little is known about the role of situational characteristics is the lack of available data. Most data sets contain a minimal amount of information on the characteristics of violent incidents and even fewer contain information on disputes that do not turn violent. As a result, researchers are unable to examine adequately whether offenders have high rates of victimization because of their own behavior during disputes. For example, researchers should examine whether offenders are more likely to be physically attacked because they fail to give accounts during disputes, they engage in verbal provocations, or because they are intoxicated. It is also important to examine if third parties behave differently during conflicts in which offenders are involved. To address these questions requires situational data on the characteristics of violent and nonviolent disputes in samples comprised of violent and nonviolent individuals.

Second, there is paucity of research on the relationship between the type of violence and victimization risk. Whether offenders are more likely to be victims of predatory violence or just dispute-related violence is an issue deserving of research attention. If the overlap is dominated by dispute related victimization, it would suggest that offenders behave in ways that escalate conflicts. One the other hand, if a large proportion of the overlap is a product of predatory victimizations, it would mean that offenders suffer higher rates of victimization because their lifestyles expose them to risky circumstances. An empirical resolution of this question is important to debates over explanations of the victim-offender overlap.

Third, relatively few longitudinal studies of the victimization-offending link exist. This is a shortcoming particularly given the advantages of longitudinal research designs over cross-sectional designs for making inferences about causality. For instance, longitudinal designs (i) permit researchers to examine within-individual change, and (ii) allow for researchers to control for unobserved heterogeneity. The latter advantage is worth emphasizing. Unobserved time-stable mechanisms may confound the link between victimization and offending. A failure to model unobserved or observed heterogeneity may contribute to omitted variable bias. If not properly modeled, these mechanisms may increase the likelihood of overestimating the actual strength of causal effects of offending and victimization, meaning that researchers will infer a causal effect when in fact one may not exist. Given that a key theoretical explanation for this phenomenon explains the role of risk heterogeneity, it is important that researchers quantify its contribution to the victim-offender overlap.

Fourth, there is a paucity of evidence regarding the effects of demographic variation on the degree of victim-offender overlap. Is the overlap stronger among African Americans or among poor people or among anyone living in impoverished neighborhoods? Is the overlap only observed in adolescence, or is it evident throughout adulthood? It may be that offending and victimization are only related during the "peak"

violence years. Currently there are few data sources are capable of analyzing the victim-offender overlap across multiple time periods.

Policy Implications

Knowing the mechanisms that produce the victim-offender overlap has potentially important implications for the control and prevention of interpersonal violence. If the victimization of offenders is reduced, it is likely that their rate of violent offending will also be reduced because there would be fewer incentives or opportunities for retaliation. Consistent with this assertion, studies find that offenders are often aware of the fact that they could substantially reduce their own risk of being assaulted, robbed, and murdered if they did not victimize others (Rosenfeld et al., 2003). Therefore, interventions that reduce the victim-offender overlap may have broader implications for reducing violent crime rates. Policymaking that attempts to curb violence requires sound knowledge about why offenders suffer higher rates of victimization.

Policymakers should design interventions that avoid conflicts and prevent conflicts from escalating into violence and sequences of retaliation. As indicated above, homicides and assaults typically occur at the end of a verbal conflict. Most conflicts do not end in aggression and most acts of aggression do not end in violence; however, sometimes they do escalate and lead to an outcome that neither participant necessarily anticipated or desired. For that reason it is also important to identify situational factors that predict which disputes escalate into violence. The verbal exchanges preceding violence and the temporal development of disputes provide an important opportunity for interventions to prevent serious outcomes. These interventions may be useful for those who counsel crime victims.

From a prevention standpoint it is also important to understand the escalation process and how to prevent disputes from reaching the point of violence. Prior research demonstrates that escalation may occur when an offender's violent behavior leads to violent retaliation; however, it is important to also examine whether *other behaviors* that offenders engage in also increase their risk of victimization. Once conflicts begin, offenders may be at greater risk of victimization because of their tendency to make threats and level insults, as well as their failure to engage in remedial actions. The role of these factors needs to be researched in order to inform prevention efforts. It may be that interventions to prevent victimization should be tailored to affect those behaviors that cause conflicts to escalate, as well as the violent conduct that occurs at the end of the conflict. Furthermore, it may be prudent to develop victimization prevention policies specifically tailored towards *violent offenders* because they exhibit the highest rates of violent victimization and are thus most at risk. Other researchers have also argued that victimization prevention programs may be most effective if they are focused on this particular group (Shaffer & Ruback, 2002, p. 1). Knowledge of why offenders are more likely to be victimized is also relevant to the prevention of victimization in the broader population.

For both substantive and practical reasons it is also important to continue to investigate why shared social contexts produce the victim offender overlap. Factors such as peer associations, common deviant lifestyles and neighborhood processes constitute a

shared social context between offenders and victims. Characteristics of a shared social context may influence whether third parties serve as allies, mediators, or instigators during disputes. For instance, the role of third parties in disputes is likely to vary across peer groups (i.e., criminal associates) and social activities (i.e., bar settings). Understanding how context affects third party behavior is important for violence prevention programs that focus on changing the behavior of third parties. For example, a recent program designed to curb retaliatory violence in poor urban neighborhoods, known as Operation Ceasefire, aims to encourage disputants to adopt nonviolent means to resolve their disputes with the assistance of a third-party mediator (Skogan, Hartnett, Bump, & DuBois, 2008). Other programs similar to Ceasefire have attempted to encourage respected citizens to serve as intermediaries between disputing parties in their communities. A violence prevention program implemented in the Bronx, which relies on indigenous members of the community to negotiate nonviolent resolutions to conflicts, has reported modest success (see Kotlowitz, 2008). If successfully implemented elsewhere, such strategies may lead to a reduction in the rate of retaliatory violence, leading to a decline in the victim-offender overlap, particularly in disadvantaged urban areas (Berg & Loeber, 2011).

In short, a number of questions remain unresolved about the linkage between offending and victimization – the answers to which may help to unpack the etiology of this phenomenon. Additional research on the social processes that generate the victim-offender overlap will enrich our understanding of the phenomenon and ultimately advance the development of violence theories as well as violence prevention policies.

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4

The Complex Dynamics of Victimization

Understanding Differential Vulnerability without Blaming the Victim

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A perpetrator lurks in a mall parking lot scanning for a "mark" – a victim who he (90% of robbers are male) intends to rob. Just as it is likely that this perpetrator has engaged in other forms of violence in other contexts, there is a good chance that the person he eventually picks will have a prior history of victimization. What is it about the environment the robber has chosen or the characteristics of his victim that leads him to revictimize someone?

Understanding the dynamics of victimization and why multiple victimizations are common for many people will be the focus of this chapter. We will describe a conceptual framework for the possible patterns of interconnection among victimizations and other violence, discuss ways to acknowledge interconnections among victimization without blaming the victim, and explain the various mechanisms that are thought to produce these interconnections. We will close with a few implications of these interconnections for research and clinical work. Before we begin, we would like to offer a note of caution in understanding these patterns. The interconnections among all forms of violence are strong and reliable, but they do not describe every person who has experienced violence. Some incidents of violence are isolated events.

Types of Interconnections

Psychologists and other social scientists are famous for their jargon, and a great many terms have been developed to refer to patterns of interconnection (for a review see Hamby & Grych, 2013). Although many phenomena need new terms in order to promote precise definitions, the use of multiple terms for a single concept is a barrier to scientific progress and scientific communication. We have developed an internally consistent

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set of terms to designate multiple patterns of co-occurrence that can be used to describe victimization as well as perpetration, used with adults as well as children, and applied to all major forms of violence across the lifespan (Hamby & Grych, 2013). Like Finkelhor, Ormrod, and Turner (2007), we use the prefix "poly" to refer to the co-occurrence of different forms of violence. For example, a child bullied at school and abused at home is experiencing polyvictimization. This emphasis on the importance of experiencing different forms of violence is also seen in work on concepts such as "multitype maltreatment" (Higgins & McCabe, 2001). We use "re" or "repeat" for the occurrence of the same type of violence over time. "Revictimization" refers to repeated experiencing of one victimization type (such as multiple incidents of physical abuse). To draw a sharper contrast with these patterns, the prefix "mono," as in "monovictimization," can indicate an isolated incident. Polyperpetration, reperpetration, and monoperpetration are the parallel terms for committing aggression. Finally, we use the term "perpetrator-victim" to refer to anyone who has been involved in violence in both roles, which includes commonly studied patterns such as bully victims, delinquent victims, and mutual intimate-partner violence, but can also include other combinations of perpetration and victimization in the life of a single individual. Understanding the dynamics of victimization requires also understanding that some victims are involved in violence in multiple roles.

The Extent of Polyvictimization and Revictimization

Results from national surveys indicate that there is significant overlap across all major victimization categories, including physical assault, sexual victimization, maltreatment, property crime, and exposure to violence (Finkelhor, Turner, Ormrod, & Hamby, 2005, 2009; Hamby & Grych, 2013). For example, a child who is abused in the home is more likely to be bullied at school, and to witness violence in their neighborhood. In the National Survey of Children's Exposure to Violence, the strongest link was between physical victimization and sexual victimization. The risk of sexual victimization was 620% higher for youth who had sustained at least one physical assault. For most types of violence, the experience of sustaining one form of victimization is associated with a doubling or tripling of the risk of any other form of victimization (Finkelhor, Turner, et al., 2009). These sorts of interconnections affect adults too (Hamby, Grych, & Banyard, 2015). For example, a nationally representative survey of Latina women found that nearly 2/3 (63%) of victimized women reported more than one type of victimization (Cuevas, Sabina, & Picard, 2010). Although revictimization can involve many types of violence, repeated sexual victimization has received the most attention (Noll & Grych, 2011). Females who were sexually abused in childhood are two to three times more likely to be sexually assaulted in adulthood, compared to women with no childhood sexual abuse history (Barnes, Noll, Putnam, & Trickett, 2009).

Involvement in Violence as Both Victim and Perpetrator

Understanding the dynamics of victimization requires recognizing that victimization can also be linked to perpetration. This type of co-occurrence has been most frequently examined in the fields of delinquency, bullying, and intimate partner violence (Lauritsen, Sampson, & Laub, 1991; Salmivalli & Nieminen, 2002; Whitaker, Haileyesus, Swahn, & Saltzman, 2007). The intergenerational transmission of

violence, which involves childhood victims of family violence growing up to be violent adults, is another link between victimization and perpetration.

Although this pattern exists, not all victims go on to be perpetrators. Among samples of batterers or child abusers, most report abuse in their families of origin (e.g., Murphy, Meyer, & O'Leary, 1993). However, looked at from the other point of view – the number of victimized children – only a minority go on to become perpetrators themselves (Widom, 1989). As with most concepts in psychology, few patterns apply to all people.

Understanding Dynamics versus Blaming the Victim

Discussing the dynamics of victimization is challenging because it can be perceived as victim blaming. As we discuss below, research has established that some of the long-term effects of child maltreatment, exposure to violence, and other forms of victimization act as risk factors for further victimization (e.g., emotional dysregulation, insecure attachment). However, acknowledging that there are behavioral, cognitive, and emotional processes that increase individuals' vulnerability for later victimization is not the same as blaming them for being victimized. Attribution of blame hinges on the intentionality of an action: to be held responsible for an act, the person must freely choose the behavior and intend it to result in the outcome that ultimately occurs (Hart, 1968; Shaver, 1985). A person who is beaten or raped is the victim of an act of violence, not its author, and responsibility for the violent act can lie only with the perpetrator. Victims also are blamed at times for doing something to invite the violence or not doing enough to avoid it, but this does not meet the standard for attributing blame for the violent act either. Many factors, both personal and environmental, typically play a role in creating a situation that ends in violence – i.e., they are contributory causes – but they do not result in moral or legal culpability. So, if blaming victims of violence fails tests based on logic and reason, why is this belief so common?

We believe that there are three primary forces at work. First, the tendency to blame victims is strong in American and other wealthy, individualistic cultures where "just world" beliefs are common (Lerner, 1980). Those who hold these beliefs tend to think that people get the life they deserve and consequently must have done something to cause the bad things that happened to them. Contrast this belief to more fatalistic cultures or to settings where poverty or war teaches almost everyone that sometimes bad things – very bad things – happen to good and innocent people. Further, people tend to systematically underestimate the influence of situational factors in relation to intrapersonal ones. This is such a common phenomenon in American and other individualistic cultures that it has been referred to as the "fundamental attribution error" (Ross, 1977). Famously, people also are much more likely to make this error about others than they are about themselves – the so-called "actor-observer bias" (Jones & Nisbett, 1971). When explaining one's own actions, the full context of the circumstances and the many situational demands that shape behavior become more apparent. The fundamental attribution error, actor-observer bias, and just-world beliefs are well known social psychological processes that affect many attributions and can be powerful sources of victim-blaming tendencies. Awareness of these common cognitive biases, however, can help reduce them.

Second, American culture places a high premium on risk reduction and sometimes values extreme steps to minimize risk even if they come with only marginal increases in safety, at best. For example, interest in homeschooling jumps after school shootings (Chen, 2012), presumably because schools are viewed as dangerous places and the avoidance of danger is prioritized over children's educational and social needs. This "better safe than sorry" attitude may well reflect more deeply held desires to seek control in the face of uncontrollable threats and to protect ourselves and our loved ones from danger. Despite the fact – or perhaps, *because* of the fact – that many acts of violence are unpredictable, the belief remains strong that victims could or should know when their behavior increases their vulnerability to violence and consequently are to blame if they did not do enough to stop or avoid it. This kind of thinking is reflected in a court decision regarding the 1993 World Trade Center bombing: a jury assigned only 32% of the blame to the terrorists who actually planted and blew up the bomb while ascribing 68% of the blame to the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey because their security was perceived to be negligent (Bublick, 2009).

Third, gender attitudes may often play a role in attributing blame to the victims of violence, especially sexual violence. The idea that some women "ask for" sexual assault by the way they dress or act remains perversely prevalent and reflects persistent beliefs about male privilege, sexuality, and gender stereotypes. This tangle of beliefs is so pervasive that it is woven into the functioning of the legal institutions charged with investigating and prosecuting sexual violence; research has long shown that victim characteristics – not perpetrator characteristics or details of the assault – have undue influence on the handling of cases and few sexual assaults are ever prosecuted (Alderden & Ullman, 2012). A closely related set of perceptions that can lead to victim blaming is the belief that perpetrators are not in control of their actions, whereas victims are or should be in control. However, the belief that perpetrators are not in control is false. Perpetrators of all types of violence tend to carefully choose the time and place for their offenses. Individuals who would never lash out at their bosses or their mothers, for example, may be all too willing to attack their children. Evidence also is accumulating that in most cases date rape reflects a pattern of ongoing sexual predation rather than a lack of impulse control in the moment. For example, one study identified 120 rapists who were responsible for more than 1200 rapes, an average of more than 10 per perpetrator (Lisak & Miller, 2002). Many perpetrators are experienced recidivists who perpetrate in a variety of situations against numerous targets.

For many professionals who are invested in reducing violence through research, intervention, and public policy, the prevalence of victim blaming in the United States raises the concern that identifying or addressing individual risk factors for victimization will promote further victim blaming. This fear is understandable but unfortunate because it can prevent research that could help potential victims exert greater control over their safety. Existing data clearly indicate that victimization is not randomly distributed (e.g., Card, 2011; Messman-Moore & Long, 2003), and increasing knowledge about the sources of vulnerabilities across individuals is critical for crafting effective prevention and intervention programs to reduce polyvictimization and interrupt cycles of poly- and revictimization.

A victim-sensitive approach to research on victimization is well accepted in criminology, which uses the metaphor of "hardening the target" to identify ways

that people can reduce their risk of being victimized. For example, using outdoor lights can reduce home burglaries, and walking in pairs can reduce the risk of mugging. This perspective also recognizes that no amount of "hardening" can prevent all violence and does not hold mugging victims responsible for being mugged if they happened to be alone at the time, or victims of burglaries if they did not use enough wattage.

A question that arises with the examination of risks associated with victimization is how to balance the costs and difficulty of particular steps in proportion to the benefits they offer. Digging a moat around one's home might reduce the risk of a home invasion but is unlikely to be worth the investment. Speaking more psychologically, rebuffing all overtures for friendship and intimacy might reduce victimization risk too, but is unlikely to be worth the psychological costs. In fact, some of the characteristics that make individuals more vulnerable to violence also represent esteemed values, attempts to meet legitimate social and personal goals, or psychological defenses that were adaptive for coping in other contexts. For example, Nurius et al. (2000) have shown that, in certain circumstances, women who prioritize relationship maintenance over conflict may be at greater risk of sexual victimization. This does not mean that relationship maintenance skills are bad; in most situations, keeping relationships intact and social interactions pleasant is advantageous, not dangerous. It is perpetrators' actions that intentionally harm another human being that are blameworthy, not victims' behavior or judgment. Guidance on the appropriate amount of investment to make in "hardening" ourselves from violence is sorely lacking. Hamby (2014) has recently offered one approach to this question, using multiple criteria decision making framework as a guide for weighing costs and benefits in cases of domestic violence, including costs and benefits that are not easily reduced to dollars and cents. Of course, no amount of planning or hardening will make one completely safe from violence. Many violent acts are unpredictable, especially many stranger-perpetrated acts, and their victims suffer simply because they were in the wrong place at the wrong time.

Better specification of the vulnerabilities to victimization is one important step toward helping individuals avoid revictimization and polyvictimization. Most research on the causes of violence has focused on perpetration, not victimization, and most research on victimization has focused on social address markers such as race, income, or gender, which can identify group differences but do not explain how these differences come about. Studying psychological characteristics can provide insights about large individual differences in frequency and type of victimization even among groups of people with similar sociodemographic characteristics, such as majority culture (European American), middle class American women. Psychological characteristics are also important for prevention and intervention, because they are more readily malleable than risk factors such as race, gender, socio-economic class, and community of residence. Although we believe the field would benefit from more attention to systemic changes that can affect the risk of violence for large vulnerable groups, such as children living in poverty, systemic interventions can also be informed by an understanding of how some individuals, even in these highly vulnerable groups, sustain less violence over time and across settings than others. We have recently synthesized this literature elsewhere (Hamby & Grych, 2013), and here we focus more specifically on what our existing knowledge about the causes of violence, despite the emphasis on causes of perpetration, can tell us about the dynamics of polyvictimization and revictimization.

Connections versus Mechanisms

Several conceptual frameworks emphasize prior violence exposure as a causal mechanism. These include models such as the "spillover hypothesis," "intergenerational cycle of violence," and the concept of "boosts," or event dependence, which is one of two main mechanisms in the boosts and "flags" model (Baron, Straus, & Jaffee, 2006; Tseloni & Pease, 2003; Widom, 1989). A prior history of violence is probably the single most commonly mentioned risk factor for later victimization (Hamby & Koss, 2003). Many of these concepts, however, focus more on the interrelatedness of violent experiences and less on how past experiences are carried by an individual into future situations or how one act of violence can create immediate risks of future violence. A comprehensive theory of violence needs to go beyond simple documenting of associations to understanding why the interconnections occur.

As we will discuss in more detail below, causal models of violence need not necessarily invoke long-lasting psychological processes but rather can often be explained by acute situational vulnerabilities. When polyvictimization and revictimization occurs across situations or over time, however, more complex causal mechanisms are needed. Something about the experience of victimization or perpetration changes a child or an adult in ways that are carried into future settings and future relationships, and causal models need to be able to specify how past experiences influence future events. Several such theories have been developed, as we describe in more detail below, and they indicate that linkages among forms of violence are typically mediated by various cognitive, emotional, physiological and social processes. These processes may directly increase the likelihood of engaging in violent behavior or increase the likelihood that a person encounters situations in which violence is more likely to occur.

We have integrated research on factors associated with vulnerability to victimization, theoretical models of aggression (usually focused on perpetration), and models of development into the Resilience Portfolio model of risk and resilience (Grych, Hamby, & Banyard, 2015). This model identifies a number of factors as important mechanisms of victimization risk, including proximal situational factors and a variety of more distal, long-acting factors. Distal factors include characteristics of the individual but also characteristics of broader levels of the social ecology, including families, relationships and communities. We elaborate briefly on these various causal mechanisms below.

Proximal Causes of Polyvictimization and Revictimization

It is perhaps easiest to see how situational factors can increase the risk of multiple forms of victimization or lead to incidents involving both perpetration and victimization for a single individual. These are typically proximal causes, or those that are present just before or during the victimization. Aspects of the situations in which violence occurs can have powerful effects on behavior and on co-occurrence of different forms of violence.

Victimization as a Proximal Cause of Further Victimization

One salient factor is the occurrence of violence itself. Sometimes multiple types of violence co-occur because one act of violence creates opportunities for other acts to occur or other perpetrators to become involved. For example, an injured or unconscious

victim of assault could be robbed, and gang rapes often involve one male incapacitating a victim followed by other males sexually assaulting her. Perpetration and victimization can co-occur in the same situation when the initial target of aggression fights back. This can happen when aggression escalates between intimate partners and explains why gang members and criminals often experience greater victimization and exposure to violence than the rest of the population. On a broader social level, wars, riots, and ethnic strife can lead to multiple forms of perpetration, victimization, and witnessed violence by creating environments where violence is so pervasive that it is hard for anyone to escape it.

Other Temporary Situational Factors

Other situational factors also can increase the risk that multiple types of violence may occur. For example, alcohol and drug use can increase perpetration, particularly in those more prone to aggression, by elevating physiological arousal, reducing behavioral inhibition, and impairing judgment. Substance use is also a risk for victimization as it can reduce one's ability to identify risky situations and protect oneself from potential attacks (Kilpatrick, Acierno, Resnick, Saunders, & Best, 1997). Aversive circumstances that produce irritability, frustration, rejection and other negative mood states also increase the risk of diverse forms of violence (Berkowitz, 1989; Bushman & Huesmann, 2010). These can include environmental conditions such as temperature and crowding (DeWall, Anderson, & Bushman, 2011; Sampson & Lauritsen, 1993). The ready availability of weapons, alcohol, and drugs can both increase the level of threat and danger present in an environment and affect how individuals respond to perceived threats. To the extent that neither perpetrators nor victims (nor perpetrator-victims) can escape these conditions these situational factors can explain the risks of polyvictimization and revictimization as well as they explain perpetration.

The Blurry Lines between Proximal and Distal Effects

Sometimes dangerous circumstances are infrequent. A person who seldom goes out may just happen to be at a bar or a sports match when a brawl breaks out, for example. Other times they are unpredictable, such as terrorist attacks and random shootings. To the extent that there are consistencies in the kinds of situations that people encounter, however, these proximal causes start to develop into patterns and tendencies that contribute to the risk of experiencing multiple forms of violence. The recognition that some people habitually place themselves in risky situations is the basis of routine activities theory (Wittebrood & Nieuwbeerta, 2000). Certain types of activities, such as frequently going to bars at night, will likely bring individuals into contact with more perpetrators or potential perpetrators and are associated with higher victimization risk (Sampson & Lauritsen, 1993).

Social and economic factors can also result in repeated exposure to settings in which violence is more likely to occur (Sampson & Lauritsen, 1993). For example, low-income individuals often live in more dangerous neighborhoods where crime is more likely to occur. As can be seen from these examples, direct exposure to risky situations can be caused by pre-existing tendencies (habitual versus occasional drinker) and chronic social conditions, blurring the line between proximal and distal effects.

As circumstances turn into habits, these factors also blur the lines between situational factors and psychological characteristics.

Distal Causes of Polyvictimization and Revictimization

Numerous experiences, including but hardly limited to violence, can produce cognitive, emotional, biological, relational, or other processes that create persistent increases in the risk of violence. Distal causes are those factors that have an impact over longer periods of time, sometimes even decades. Most often, these processes have been identified as precursors to perpetration. In the cognitive domain, for example, being raised in a community or family that promotes rigid ideas about honor and identity can produce cognitive schemas regarding self-worth or social status that lead to violence. Graham and colleagues' work on violence in bars indicates that issues of honor, identity, and "saving face" were the most common precursors to violent acts (Graham et al., 2013). Malamuth's well known confluence model identifies hostile and denigrating attitudes towards women and impersonal and callous attitudes towards sex as two of the main risk factors for perpetrating sexual aggression, even though the content of these cognitions is not specific to violence (Malamuth, Heavey, & Linz, 1996). Certain key processes probably influence many different situations and can contribute to multiple forms of violence. For example, denigrating attitudes towards women can increase the risk of both physical intimate partner violence and sexual violence. Thus, these indirect factors also contribute to the co-occurrence among forms of violence.

Theoretical work has focused on explaining distal effects and the disturbing findings that conditions even from early childhood can create ongoing conditions of risk and vulnerability across the lifespan (e.g., Felitti et al., 1998). Our framework (Hamby & Grych, 2013) integrates common personal and situational factors identified in prior theoretical work on violence. We have found particularly useful models that emphasize the ways that the interaction of personal and situational characteristics lead to aggressive behavior, especially the general aggression model (GAM; Anderson & Bushman, 2002) and the I³ model (Finkel, 2007, 2008). Other models have been proposed that also can shed light on different types of causal processes. Most of these models have focused more on perpetration than victimization. In this chapter we will consider how these models might also be able to inform victimization.

The Relationship Context

The relationship context refers to the type of relationship in which violence occurs (parent-child, peer, intimate partner) and its status (how close or committed the relationship is). Different types of relationships involve different levels of commitment, are meant to fulfill different needs, and differ in the costs associated with decisions about termination or escape (Hamby & Grych, 2013). It is well established that some relationship characteristics are associated with greater perpetration, including high levels of closeness and high levels of conflict (Bentley, Galliher, & Ferguson, 2007; Halpern, Oslak, Young, Martin, & Kupper, 2001; O'Keefe, 1997; O'Keefe & Treister, 1998). Relationships can increase the risk of multiple victimizations because they can provide power and access for perpetrators. Relationships can confer power through

role authority that can provide a perpetrator with advantages that are just as important as the ability to physically overwhelm a victim. Parents, bosses, teachers, and religious leaders are examples of roles that come with authority that can be misused. Many relationships, ranging from family relationships to classmates to comrades in arms, confer frequent if not daily or near-constant access. Minor children living with parents, schoolchildren, and soldiers have limited choices about their relationships and with whom they spend much of their day. It is commonly perceived that intimate partners have more choices but the financial, social, and legal costs of terminating intimate relationships can present formidable obstacles (Hamby, 2014). Many people with other vulnerabilities, which can include everything from physical disabilities to undocumented immigrant status, also may have fewer relationship choices. For example, some people with physical disabilities may not be able to live alone and some people without documentation may not be able to turn to authorities for help without risking deportation.

Much in the same way that poverty or chronic substance abuse can create enduring vulnerabilities, some relationships and the difficulties of disentangling from some relationships can create long-lasting vulnerability to victimization. Many of these relationships are supposed to meet legitimate and nearly universal social needs. When close relationships do not function as they are intended, some individuals will find themselves at high risk of revictimization and polyvictimization. Polyvictimization can occur, for example, when dysfunctional families do not sufficiently monitor their children's safety, making them more vulnerable to victimization at school or in the community (Finkelhor, Ormrod, Turner, & Holt, 2009). Obligatory proximity to a dysfunctional family, classroom, or workplace can also explain links between perpetration and victimization.

Biological Factors

Genetic and biological factors are now widely recognized to be linked to perpetration (Miles & Carey, 1997; Moffitt, 2005), but biological factors can also inform victimization risk. Biological factors can explain distal connections among forms of violence and victimization without victim blaming, because they show how the experiences of past violence can be carried into future settings and future relationships without the victim's awareness or conscious control. Biological processes are not static; they change over time, interact in complex ways with the environment, respond to a variety of therapeutic techniques, and, for a host of reasons that are not fully understood, manifest themselves in different ways in different people. It is important to avoid simplistic formulas or assume that everyone with similar experiences had similar physiological responses. Biological processes represent one of the few domains in which similar processes have been identified to account for victimization and perpetration and thus can also explain links between perpetration and victimization (Hamby & Grych, 2013).

One such process is dysregulation in the biological stress response, which can undermine adaptive responses to events and interactions, especially those that lead to high physiological arousal (e.g., Susman, 2006). The behavioral manifestation of this process may be in the form of poor emotion and self-regulation in threatening or stressful situations, which could increase the likelihood not only of perpetration but also victimization. Research on child maltreatment and exposure to violence suggests that they may have common effects on the functioning of the human stress response

(Cicchetti & Rogosch, 2001; Saltzman, Holden, & Holahan, 2005), which involves the sympathetic and parasympathetic nervous systems, neurotransmitters, and the hypothalamic-pituitary-adrenal (HPA) axis (De Bellis, 2001; Watts-English, Fortson, Gibler, Hooper, & De Bellis, 2006). When exposed to chronic or repeated stress, this system may fail to return to baseline and become dysregulated when the individuals are faced with later stressors (Susman, 2006). Noll and Grych (2011) developed a model of sexual revictimization that centers on this process. They proposed that sexual abuse in childhood leads to hyperarousal of the HPA axis, which in turn dysregulates the cognitive, physiological, and emotional processes needed to engage in effective responses to sexual threats. Over time, the stress response becomes attenuated, impairing individuals' ability to mobilize assertive resistance behavior. The effects of early childhood neglect can also affect brain development in long-lasting ways (Kendall-Tackett, 2000). The physiological effects of early victimization are probably even more widespread than current research has shown, however. The resulting dysregulation and impaired stress responses can increase risk of other types of exposure to violence in childhood and to perpetration of violence as well as victimization (Roberts, McLaughlin, Conron, & Koenen, 2011).

Cognitive Processes

Cognitive theorists have identified several cognitive processes that are associated with violence, especially perpetration. We have described these and their role in the interconnections among forms of violence in detail elsewhere (Hamby & Grych, 2013) and review their proposed role in perpetration briefly here. Social learning theory has been the dominant psychological theory applied to the perpetration of interpersonal violence, and the mechanisms that it proposes are primarily cognitive. Social learning theory proposes that children learn to be aggressive by observing powerful and valued individuals (such as parents and peers) engage in aggression, particularly if the child sees that the aggressive behavior is reinforced (Bandura, 1986). Exposure to violence (as a victim or witness) is proposed to lead to beliefs that violence is normative, justifiable, and effective, and these beliefs in turn increase the likelihood of aggression toward others. Documented associations between aggressive beliefs and violent perpetration in several relationship contexts support the existence of this kind of modeling of others' behavior (e.g., Foshee, Bauman, & Linder, 1999; Kinsfogel & Grych, 2004).

Social learning theory focuses on how violence changes witnesses in ways that can beget later violence and the cognitive mechanisms by which this takes place, and it has been expanded and elaborated by other theorists. Huesmann (1998) emphasized the role of schemas and scripts in guiding behavior. More complex than beliefs, schemas are organized "clusters" of information, attitudes, and expectations regarding situations; scripts are similar but include a general likely sequence of events (much like a movie script). Internal working models, a construct rooted in attachment theory, share many features with schemas (see Bretherton & Munholland, 1999). Like schemas, working models are mental representations built from experience, but have broader relevance for understanding how individuals view the self and others in close relationships. For example, individuals with secure attachment styles have positive images of themselves as loveable and others as trustworthy and responsive. In contrast, those with insecure attachment view the self as inadequate or unlovable and others as unreliable, indifferent, or rejecting (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991).

Diverse forms of perpetration, including child abuse, exposure to family violence, teen dating violence, and adult intimate partner violence can disrupt the formation of secure attachments. Attachment insecurity, which can manifest in adults as exaggerated fears of abandonment or irrational jealousy, in turn has been linked to both perpetration and victimization in a variety of different relationship contexts (Grych & Kinsfogel, 2010).

Dodge and colleagues' social information processing model (e.g., Crick & Dodge, 1994) adds to the understanding of cognition's role in aggression by describing cognitive processes proposed to occur during aggressive interactions. According to social information processing, aggressive children tend to encode ambiguous social cues as threatening, attribute hostile intent to others, more easily access aggressive responses and view aggressive responses more positively. This model was developed to understand aggressive peer interactions in childhood, but can be applied to interpersonal violence more generally (DeWall et al., 2011). Information processing offers another theoretical mechanism for explaining how early exposure to abuse and violence leads to later aggressive behavior. For example, children who were physically abused may develop the belief that other people often engage in hurtful behavior, and subsequently are more likely than nonabused children to perceive ambiguous behavior as threatening and view others as intending to cause them harm when no threat is actually apparent.

Cognition and Victimization Victimization, unlike aggressive behavior, is not intentional or desired. We certainly do not want to imply that people "think wrong" about violent experiences, but considering whether there are cognitive factors that elevate vulnerability to violence is important for understanding the risk of polyvictimization and revictimization. In the search for factors that are carried from one violent incident to another, the influence of cognitions warrants consideration. One could hypothesize that memories of past victimization would make people especially avoidant of future victimization. Hypervigilance and hyperavoidant behavior are common sequelae of victimization. Nonetheless, high rates of polyvictimization and revictimization are also common, suggesting vigilance and avoidance are not the whole picture.

Not all cognitive frameworks seem equally likely candidates for illuminating polyvictimization and revictimization. Social learning theory is by far the most widely cited cognitive model, but its relevance for victimization is unclear. In the classic social learning framework, a child can become aggressive because they see a powerful figure get reinforced for acting aggressively (Bandura, 1973). Victimization is not "reinforced" in the witnessed incident and in some studies (perhaps most notably the famous Bobo doll in Bandura's original studies), the target is not even a person. One could argue that whatever behavior immediately preceded the victimization is punished and thus the same experiences that increase aggression might lead to avoidance of potentially victimizing situations. This does not appear to be the case, however. Exposure to violence increases both the risk of later perpetration and victimization.

Schemas, internal working models, or similar formulations appear to hold more promise for explaining how early exposure to violence can increase the risk of later victimization. For example, a person who believes that violence is normative in relationships may view aggressive behavior as a cost of being in an intimate relationship and be less likely to see it as a significant problem that needs to change (Heise, 1998). Self-representations also may be related to victimization. For example, children who

are bullied tend to report lower self-efficacy for assertive behavior and to believe that seeking help from teachers will make their situation worse rather than better (Camodeca & Goossens, 2005; Egan & Perry, 1998). Consequently, they may be perceived by others as an "easy target" because they are unlikely to defend themselves or do something that will lead to negative consequences for the aggressor. In the domain of sexual violence, it has been proposed that cognitive appraisals and emotions influence women's behavioral responses to attempted sexual assault (Nurius & Norris, 1996). Nurius and colleagues have shown that several types of cognitions, including the desire to preserve the relationship and concerns about being judged negatively by the male, predicted how assertively women responded to attempted sexual assaults (Macy, Nurius, & Norris, 2006; Nurius, Norris, Macy, & Huang, 2004).

Emotional Processes

Emotions are an important and understudied component of situations and relationships. Interpersonal relationships are a primary context for meeting essential human needs for affiliation, self-esteem, and nurturance. Threats to these needs can generate powerful emotional responses. As with cognition, more theoretical attention has been given to the association of emotion and aggression. Anger is usually conceptualized as a natural (i.e., unlearned) response to the perception that someone or something is blocking an important goal, threatening one's wellbeing, or violating a valued moral principle (Stein & Levine, 1987; Stein & Liwag, 1997). Research shows that the tendency to experience and express high levels of anger consistently predicts perpetration in adult (Norlander & Eckhardt, 2005; O'Leary, Slep, & O'Leary, 2007) and adolescent intimate relationships (Kinsfogel & Grych, 2004; Wolfe, Wekerle, Reitzel-Jaffe, & Lefebvre, 1998). Threats to the self or important goals can elicit other emotions as well (e.g., fear) and may give rise to responses other than aggression; thus, the relations between emotions and the perpetration of violence can be complex. Emotional expression is also a function of individuals' capacity to regulate affect. Individuals with emotion regulation problems are more likely to become upset and act on aggressive impulses in a variety of interpersonal situations (Feiring, Deblinger, Hoch-Espada, & Haworth, 2002; Fosco, DeBoard, & Grych, 2007; Stuewig & McCloskey, 2005). Emotion regulation capacities undoubtedly have a biological basis, but experience can affect them as well. For example, child maltreatment and exposure to interparental aggression are associated with poor emotion regulation (Davies & Cummings, 1998; Fosco & Grych, 2008; Gratz, Paulson, Jakupcak, & Tull, 2009; Maughan & Cicchetti, 2002).

Emotion and Victimization Emotion constructs have received less theoretical attention in models of victimization. The sexual victimization model developed by Nurius and Norris (1996) described above is one exception. Consistent with the idea that aggression can be an adaptive response to threat, they found that women experiencing anger during attempted sexual assaults were more likely to engage in assertive behavior (Nurius et al., 2004). High levels of fear, in contrast, could be immobilizing and interfere with effective behavioral responses. Recently, Jouriles and colleagues (2014), using a virtual reality design, have shown that previously victimized women express less annoyance and anger to unwanted sexual advances than nonvictimized women. Emotional numbing is one well documented consequence of victimization

(Kerig, Bennett, Thompson, & Becker, 2012). This is another consequence of prior victimization that can be carried into many future settings and may leave individuals vulnerable because they may recognize fewer emotional cues in those around them. For example, a longitudinal study of youth showed that psychological distress was associated with increased risk of later victimization, even when controlling for prior victimization (Cuevas, Finkelhor, Clifford, Ormrod, & Turner, 2010). Kerig and colleagues have shown that emotional numbing can increase risk for later perpetration as well, helping to elucidate the links between victimization and perpetration.

Self-Regulation

Emotion regulation reflects one facet of self-regulation, which can be defined as management of behavior in the service of a goal. Self-regulation involves maintaining an adaptive level of arousal, modulating affect, and inhibiting impulses that interfere with goal-directed behavior. These processes are hypothesized to have their basis in neuropsychological processes involved in executive functioning. Self-regulation has had a prominent role in theories of perpetration. Self-control theory (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990) identifies the lack of inhibition of aggressive impulses as a key factor in violent crime (for a meta-analytic review see Pratt & Cullen, 2000). The inverse of self-control, impulsivity, is associated with aggressive and violent behavior (e.g., Frick & Hare, 2001). Self-regulation is the centerpiece of the I³ model. Finkel and colleagues showed that adults could better inhibit aggressive impulses during conflict when they exhibited higher levels of dispositional self-control, were not under time pressure to respond, and received training designed to bolster self-regulation (Finkel, DeWall, Slotter, Oaten, & Foshee, 2009). Thus, although self-regulatory capacity has trait-like characteristics that evidence stability from childhood through adolescence (Hay & Forrest, 2006), it also varies across situations. Whereas consistently poor self-regulation can help explain co-occurrence of perpetration across relationships, even characteristically strong self-regulatory skills can be undermined under certain conditions.

Self-Regulation and Victimization   Self-regulation has received much less attention in research on victimization, but some research shows that women with a victimization history may have more difficulties engaging in goal-directed behavior when upset (Walsh, DiLillo, & Messman-Moore, 2012), suggesting one possible contribution to polyvictimization and revictimization. Lack of knowledge about social conventions for displaying sadness was associated with peer victimization and poor emotional regulation was associated with the bully-victim pattern in another study (Garner & Hinton, 2010). A variety of forms of impulse control and emotional competence may be associated with victimization risk.

Research Implications

The high rate of polyvictimization, the extensive interconnections of perpetration and victimization of all types, and the similar dynamics across most forms of violence call for a more integrated approach to research. It is essential that research on polyvictimization and revictimization conscientiously avoid tendencies towards

Box 4.1 Steps to avoid victim blaming for research, prevention, and intervention on polyvictimization

1 Be aware of cognitive biases that can lead to overattribution of dispositional versus situational characteristics, including the fundamental attribution error, just-world beliefs, and actor-observer biases. Know that in most individualistic cultures we do a better job of understanding the context of our own actions than those of others and make a conscious effort to avoid these biases.
2 Be sure to fully assess situational factors.
3 Be sure to fully assess relationship, financial, legal, and institutional constraints that affect how well any one individual can minimize their risk of victimization.
4 Recognize that many factors that can increase victimization risk also represent legitimate social and psychological needs. For example, the need for intimacy and the establishment of close relationships could increase the risk of violence compared to a more socially isolated person but that does not mean that social isolation is, on balance, better than having close relationships.
5 Recognize that some factors that increase risk of victimization are fairly static and immutable personal characteristics such as gender and race.

victim blaming. Box 4.1 presents some guidelines for research, prevention and intervention. A co-occurrence framework also points to several new areas of study, including more research on types of interconnection. An effort to identify which are the most important dynamics leading to polyvictimization and revictimization and what factors explain why one form occurs versus another are needed. This is needed at the theoretical level too. A comprehensive model of interpersonal violence needs to explain why one type of violence occurs rather than another, and common processes are insufficient for doing so. Intentionally or not, however, most research and theory have so far primarily identified factors, ranging from poverty to dysregulation of the stress response, which can be applied to almost every form of victimization. To date, there has also been a considerable focus on how violence begets violence and research needs to give more attention to the role of other factors in creating risks and vulnerabilities for polyvictimization and revictimization. Widening the range of risk factors that are studied could be beneficial, especially broadening to outer levels of the social ecology, such as family, peer and community factors. Regarding community factors, for example, there have been few studies beyond the groundbreaking work on collective efficacy (Sampson, Raudenbush, & Earls, 1997), but many other characteristics of communities could be studied, such as the availability of services for youth. Although longitudinal research is challenging, even "microlongitudinal" studies that use daily diaries or other methods of experience sampling could improve our understanding of cause and effect, which is so essential especially for teasing out antecedents and consequences of victimization and perpetrator-victim cycles.

Prevention and Intervention Implications

The dynamics contributing to the interconnections among forms of victimization call for a more integrated approach to services of all kinds. Probably the most important implication for prevention and intervention is that there needs to be much more attention to the links among victimization. For prevention, prevention programs should do more to incorporate coping with prior victimization and trauma into prevention curricula. Prevention programming often assumes, albeit usually implicitly, that no one in the program has been victimized. Most likely the opposite is true. By the time youth reach middle school or high school, when many prevention programs are delivered, it is likely that a majority will have been exposed to peer violence, family violence, or community violence. Regrettably, many will have already been exposed to all three. Teaching young people how to cope with victimization could be an important piece of breaking cycles of polyvictimization and revictimization. Many prevention programs only address a single topic, such as bullying or sexual violence, but many of these risks co-occur and a more integrated approach could be more effective and also more efficient.

Regarding intervention, more widespread implementation of principles associated with trauma-informed care (or what we prefer to call "victimization-informed care" – Hamby & Grych, 2013) are called for. Too many of our services, notably but not limited to the criminal justice and emergency health care systems, are organized around the idea that violence occurs in rare and isolated incidents. Others, such as domestic violence shelters and rape crisis centers, focus on just one type of violence. This is not even close to the patterns of violence that are found in the real world. For intervention, the ultimate goal of promoting safety for all could be better advanced by conducting broader assessments of violence at all system entry points, instead of the focus on specific presenting problems and narrow mandates that are still common in many institutional settings, including child protection services, domestic violence advocacy programs, health care, law enforcement, and other settings. Finally, understanding these dynamics also calls attention to the need for providers and advocates of all types to avoid the fundamental attribution error and to make sure that assessments of victims fully take into account situational aspects. There is some evidence that conscious awareness of these biases can reduce them and that should be more formally incorporated into the training of those who work with victims.

Conclusion

Victims are not responsible for the violent acts of other people. However, other people's bad behavior is a fact of life that most of us will have to deal with at one point or another (Hamby, 2014). The high rates of polyvictimization and revictimization are strong evidence that victimization is not randomly or evenly distributed among the population, but that some people experience chronic elevated vulnerability to violence across settings and across relationships. A large body of research indicates that there are numerous mechanisms that contribute to the risk of polyvictimization and revictimization. The Resilience Portfolio Model (Grych et al., 2015) identifies a range of causal factors, including situational, individual, family and community factors, that operate to increase individuals' vulnerability and also increase protection and well-being.

Working to reduce these factors and thereby reducing chronic vulnerability and increasing resilience is an avenue worth exploring in the ongoing quest to reduce the incidence of interpersonal violence.

It is still a priority to address the reasons that some people are also at chronic elevated risk of perpetration, over time, across settings, and across relationships. In the campaign to reduce violence, however, we should not hesitate to try every possible solution. The challenge is to craft ways to discuss chronic vulnerability without blaming victims for other people's violent behavior or describing their polyvictimization and revictimization in terms that seem to imply victims have failed in some way to respond appropriately. Instead, we can focus on interrupting the cascade of adversities that befall too many people in families, neighborhoods, and communities.

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5

Social Construction of Violence

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The constructionist stance invites us to appreciate that everything we know is a social product, that all our words, concepts, and ideas were created and passed along by people at various times and places (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Holstein & Gubrium, 2008). Constructionism calls into question our ordinarily taken-for-granted understandings of the world. Thus, scholars who write about violence are likely to assume that their audience understands what violence *is*, or they may argue that the definition of violence needs to be expanded, so as to encompass previously overlooked activities that *should be* understood as violent. Such arguments assume that violence can be recognized as an objective phenomenon, something that can be clearly distinguished from all that is not violence. In contrast, constructionists are likely to focus on exactly what other analysts take for granted, and ask how and why particular conceptions of violence arose and gained acceptance; they examine the subjective processes by which the idea of violence is created and transformed.

This chapter begins by describing recent constructions of violence, particularly in the United States. Doubtless violence has been defined very differently at other times and in other places. But even within one country during a relatively short span of time, we can discover shifting, even competing constructions of violence. Examining some relatively recent examples can give a sense of what the constructionist perspective can add to our understanding of violence.

The Old Violence

In June, 1968, in the aftermath of the assassinations of Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., and Senator Robert F. Kennedy, President Lyndon Johnson appointed the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence (1970 – hereafter the Violence Commission). LBJ liked to appoint commissions to study knotty social problems; he had earlier established blue-ribbon bodies to assess the criminal justice system, investigate the series of ghetto riots that had produced five consecutive "long, hot summers," and determine an appropriate policy regarding pornography. The Violence

Commission was headed by Milton Eisenhower, the younger brother of the former president and a distinguished figure in his own right who had served as president of three major universities; its members included leading figures from Congress, prominent judges and attorneys (one of these was the Commission's lone female member), the Archbishop of New York, the psychiatrist W. Walter Menninger, and the longshoreman/philosopher Eric Hoffer.

The Commission's book-length report, *To establish justice, to insure domestic tranquility*, was accompanied by seven additional volumes of Task Force Reports, as well as five Special Investigative Reports. Social scientists wrote a large share of this material, and several of these volumes were reprinted as mass-market paperbacks. The Commission's work would inspire periodic updates (Curtis, 1985; Milton S. Eisenhower Foundation, 1999). However, in retrospect, these reports may be most remarkable for the topics they did *not* address. Today's readers may consider the Commission's efforts surprisingly narrow and dated.

The Violence Commission's various reports reflected the concerns of the times. In addition to the King and Kennedy assassinations, which led directly to LBJ's decision to appoint the Commission, the 1960s featured hundreds of ghetto riots, as well as murdered civil-rights workers, protests that led to violence, domestic terrorism, charges of police brutality, and politicians denouncing crime in the streets. It was a decade when White Citizens' Councils, the Weathermen, and the Black Panthers appeared on the national stage. Not surprisingly, the Commission's emphasis was on violence in the public sphere – forms of violence that were either overtly political, or could be understood as rooted in intergroup conflict or failures of the political system "to insure domestic tranquility." When the Commission touched upon crime, it tended to lump together "violent crime" (i.e., the FBI's four violent Index Crimes: homicide, rape, robbery, and assault). Its discussions of youth emphasized rebellion and protest, although the Commission also worried about violence in the media (particularly television entertainment programs), and about the availability of guns.

We can think of the Violence Commission's reports as important documents in the construction of what we might call the *old violence*. While incidents of the old violence of course involved particular acts between particular individuals, they were understood as having macrosociological causes and consequences. The old violence was seen as a set of public problems; it had political ramifications, it concerned intergroup relations, governmental legitimacy, protest, rebellion, assassination, and other big issues. Anyone comparing the contents of the Commission's reports and those of this volume will be struck by how little they overlap.

Most chapters in this handbook reflect constructions of the *new violence*. For the most part, the new violence occurs outside the public arena, in more private spaces – in homes, schools, or workplaces. Its scale is smaller; rather than being understood in terms of conflicts between groups engaged in political strife, the new violence is viewed as rooted in interpersonal dynamics. The old violence largely involved adult males competing against one another for dominance, whereas the targets of the new violence are often women, children, or others seen as especially vulnerable. The Violence Commission made much of America's violent history, marked by Indian wars, lynching, vigilantism, and labor strife. If those even older forms of violence had largely vanished, they had been supplanted by ghetto riots, campus protests, and other conflicts of the 1960s. Yet today, the Commission's concerns now seem dated

themselves, as our attention has shifted to sexual violence, domestic violence, school violence, workplace violence, and other forms of new violence.

Recognizing that our understandings of and concerns about violence have shifted dramatically in recent decades forces us to think about processes of social construction. How and why do definitions of violence change? What accounts for the transition from the old to the new violence?

Constructing the New Violence

Understanding how concerns about violence have shifted from worrying about the politicized old violence studied by the Commission, to today's concentration on forms of interpersonal new violence requires understanding the processes by which social problems, such as particular forms of violence, come to public attention. Sociologists of social problems imagine a sort of social problems marketplace in which people compete to arouse concern about different topics (Best, 2013; Hilgartner & Bosk, 1988). Someone who tries to draw attention to some troubling condition is said to be making a claim, and those who engage in such activities are claimsmakers (Spector & Kitsuse, 1977). The many causes being promoted in this marketplace cannot all attract public attention; some claims will not succeed.

In any society, some people occupy positions that give them advantages in the social problems marketplace; they are better able to get their claims heard by others. In Puritan New England, for instance, the claims of Protestant ministers were considered authoritative. Today, other voices have become important. This section considers the roles of four types of claimsmakers – activists, experts, the media, and officials – in constructing various forms of the new violence. When these four cooperate, they can reinforce each other's efforts, so that what may begin as a few individuals trying to draw attention to a neglected topic may lead to a well established social problem (Best, 1999).

Activists

Even as the Violence Commission carried out its work in 1968–70, other developments were transforming the ways Americans would talk about social issues. While calls for increased rights for women and homosexuals had lengthy histories, these were the years when the women's liberation and gay liberation movements began to receive national attention. The women's movement, in particular, sought to move beyond conceptions of the old violence.

Sexual violence and domestic violence were among the first issues that advocates of women's liberation denounced. Rape – a topic that had received only minimal attention from the Violence Commission – assumed a prominent place in the new movement's rhetoric (Rose, 1977; Dunn, 2010). A key early document was Susan Brownmiller's best selling *Against our will: Men, women and rape* (1975). Brownmiller argued that rape was a major yet neglected social problem, that it was far more common than imagined because it often went unreported, that the legal system was more effective at persecuting rape victims than it was at prosecuting rapists, and that rape, in fact, occupied a central place in a patriarchal culture: "[Rape] is nothing more or less than a conscious process of intimidation by which *all men* keep *all women* in a

state of fear" (Brownmiller, 1975, p. 5 – emphasis in original). Rape made a particularly good issue: however ineffective enforcement of laws against rape may have been, rape was generally regarded as a serious crime, and no one was willing to speak in favor of it. Over time, discussions of rape experienced *domain expansion* (Best, 1990), as claimsmakers stretched rape's definitional boundaries to encompass date rape, acquaintance rape, and marital rape. Activists pushed to link rape to even more activities by devising more general labels, such as sexual assault and sexual violence. Thus, by 1988, an analyst could argue that sexual violence included flashing and "touching assaults by relatively young boys" (Kelly, 1988, p. 68). Such broad definitions made activists, rather than those directly affected, the arbiters of sexual violence, as suggested by the title of one widely read book – *I never called it rape* (Warshaw, 1988).

The successful campaign against rape also enabled advocates to link other issues to rape, through *piggybacking* (Loseke, 2003). Thus, some feminists campaigned against pornography (thereby challenging the findings of another of LBJ's blue-ribbon commissions, which had concluded that pornography led to minimal social harms) by insisting that exposure to pornography fostered rape, and that employing women in pornography was itself a form of sexual violence (Downs, 1989). By the end of the 1970s, the term child sexual abuse also had become established, so that the issue of child molestation – previously typified in terms of inappropriate touching by socially troubled adults – was now presented as an often terrible crime of violence that threatened society's most innocent, most vulnerable members (Weisberg, 1984; Whittier, 2009). During the following decade, the campaign against satanic ritual abuse – often typified by tales of ceremonial sexual abuse – attracted considerable attention (Richardson, Best, & Bromley, 1991). Activists continued to identify new forms of sexual violence.

A second broad antiviolence campaign promoted by early women's rights activists focused on what was initially called wife abuse (a term that itself piggybacked on the increasingly influential campaign against child abuse) (Nelson, 1984). Activists argued that husbands battering their wives resembled rape, in that it was a widespread problem that had been largely ignored by both the media and the criminal justice system (Dunn, 2010; Tierney, 1982). They called for reforms, including policies that would encourage police to make arrests when investigating domestic disputes, tougher penalties for offenders, and the establishment of shelters for women fleeing violence.

Like women's rights activists, gay rights activists made violence an issue. They argued that violence against gays and lesbians was underreported and not treated seriously by the criminal justice system. Initially, local activists sought to collect data on the extent of gaybashing in their cities in an effort to put pressure on police to better protect the victims of these incidents (Jenness & Broad, 1997; Jenness & Grattet, 2001). By the mid-1980s, gay and lesbian activists formed an alliance with activists representing ethnic and religious minorities around the issue of hate crimes. Gay and lesbian activists quickly assumed leading roles in the campaign against hate crimes, because it served their larger political purposes: even political opponents who opposed granting gay rights on moral grounds found it difficult to oppose laws protecting gays and lesbians from predatory violent assaults. Gay activists, who had long argued that they represented a minority group akin to established racial and religious minorities, could argue that criminal violence against homosexuals was analogous to crimes attacking members of other minorities. These claims were ratified when the Hate Crime Statistics Act of 1989 became the first federal law to include homosexuals in a list of minorities that might be victims of exploitation.

When activists led the campaigns to draw attention to sexual assault, domestic violence, and hate crimes, their efforts were well publicized and led to new laws and other policy changes. These constructions also served as a template for other activists who might want to promote claims about other sorts of violence. Constructions of the various forms of new violence often centered on the victims of violence, whereas earlier concerns about the old violence had tended to focus on those who committed acts of violence. There emerged an ideology of victimization, a set of familiar propositions that could be used to generate concerns about still other problems. These included the ideas that: (i) the form of victimization being identified is widespread; (ii) it is consequential; (iii) it is unambiguous (i.e., the roles of victim and victimizer are clearcut); (iv) it often goes unrecognized; (v) victims must be helped to recognize their own victimization; and (vi) claims of victimization should not be challenged (Best, 1999). These propositions offered a sort of recipe that could be used to construct claims about new forms of victimization; these familiar ideas could be applied to a host of topics, including most forms of the new violence.

Activists could adopt the rhetoric of victimization to recast familiar social problems in new terms, so that a problem's violent aspects became a focus for attention. Driving while drunk had long been viewed as a traffic problem, but the efforts of Mothers Against Drunk Driving emphasized victimization, so that drunk drivers were now portrayed as committing a serious crime, one that all too often had lethal consequences (Reinarman, 1988). Emphasizing victimization invited melodramatic claims that characterized social problems in terms of innocent victims menaced by predatory victimizers. Activists who drew attention to the new violence emphasized harms, the ways victims – often ordinary people in the course of their ordinary routines at home, at school, at work, or on the street – could become targets of terrible violence. These were emotional arguments built around the suffering of sympathetic figures. No wonder activists had success making these claims.

Experts

Activists do not originate all claims about new social issues. In many cases, experts play key roles in bringing attention to topics; with so-called scholar-activists, the boundaries between activism and expertise may become blurred (Gilbert, 1997). Just as LBJ's Violence Commission relied on the views of lawyers and social scientists to understand the old violence, experts often played prominent roles in constructing the new violence, by providing authoritative interpretations of the nature, extent, dynamics, and causes of particular forms of violence (Loseke & Cahill, 1984).

Universities and colleges provide platforms for expertise by fostering research and encouraging publication that brings researchers' findings to broader audiences. In recent decades, most institutions of higher education have raised their standards for promotion and tenure, so that more professors are expected to publish more; this in turn has created a demand for more publication venues, which has led to a dramatic growth in the number of scholarly and professional journals (Best, 2003). Many of these journals are devoted to specialized topics; they become forums where researchers interested in particular subjects can report their findings. As an emerging focus for scholarly research, the new violence offered subjects for more than a dozen specialized, English-language journals, with titles such as *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* (founded in 1986), *Journal of School Violence* (2002), and *Psychology of Violence* (2010). The very

presence of these journals guaranteed a demand for research papers about violence that could fill their pages. Moreover, because their editors and readers shared an interest in aspects of the new violence – and often shared theoretical, methodological, or ideological assumptions – prospective authors could anticipate that their work was more likely to be welcomed than to be subjected to unsympathetic critiques.

Another means of institutionalizing research on violence within academia was the establishment of research centers affiliated with universities, such as the Center for Research on Violence Against Women (University of Kentucky), the Institute on Domestic Violence and Sexual Assault (University of Texas), or the Center for Study and Prevention of Violence (University of Colorado). Consider one of the oldest of these research centers – the University of New Hampshire's Family Research Laboratory (FRL). Founded in 1975, the FRL brought millions of dollars in external funding to its university. It describes its research agenda as encompassing "*all* aspects of the family, violence and abuse, including: physical abuse of children, corporal punishment of children, sexual abuse of children, physical abuse of spouses, dating violence, abuse of the elderly, intrafamily homicide, rape and marital rape, violence between siblings, peer victimization of children, pornography, [and] missing and abducted children," adding that: "Another hallmark of the FRL is the diverse types of studies its staff members have undertaken: national surveys, local surveys, in-depth interviews, secondary analysis of data, content analysis, longitudinal panel designs, analyses of official statistics, state-to-state correlations, [and] meta-analyses" (Family Research Laboratory, 2012). In turn, the research conducted at the FRL led to the publication of hundreds of monographs, journal articles, chapters, reports, and other scholarly works.

It is important to appreciate how research on one aspect of the new violence could inspire studies on collateral topics. For instance, early research in the 1970s on rape, child abuse, and wife abuse/domestic battering laid a conceptual and methodological foundation for later work on violence and abuse within other sorts of relationships, such as elder abuse (Baumann, 1989), sibling abuse (Weihe, 1990), dating violence (Pirog-Good & Stets, 1989), and violence between gay and lesbian partners (Island & Letellier, 1991; Renzetti, 1992). Even as research branched out into collateral analyses, there were efforts to synthesize parallel lines of thought through the adoption of broader analytic categories, such as intimate partner violence, family violence, and domestic violence, which sought to encompass the various sorts of relationships that might become violent.

Current events could also encourage lines of academic research. Terrible crimes might lead commentators to devise colorful names to characterize new crime problems, and this in turn could encourage researchers to study the dynamics of such new forms of violence as freeway violence (Best, 1991), wilding (Welch, Price & Yankey, 2002), stalking (Lowney & Best, 1995), carjacking (Cherbonneau & Copes, 2003); school shootings (Burns & Crawford, 1999), or workplace violence (Burns, 2001). When experts commented on newsworthy events, what they had to say often attracted media attention, solidifying their importance as claimsmakers.

Sociologists played leading roles in much of this research, such as the work conducted at the FRL, but studies of the new violence also flourished in other disciplines. Within criminology, victimology became a more prominent specialty. Women's studies programs, established on many campuses during the 1970s, routinely offered courses on sexual violence and domestic violence. Social work and other helping professions

found it easy to adopt new claims about victimization, child protection, and family problems into their research, teaching, and practice. Schools of education addressed school violence, bullying, and other risks faced by children. The 1980s saw a growth in peace and conflict studies; while the peace movement's primary concern was the threat of nuclear war, it was easy to argue that studying conflict might require understanding interpersonal violence. Historians, who had traced the histories of lynching, race riots, and other forms of the old violence, turned their attention to forms of the new violence. In other words, scholars in many disciplines were able to develop many lines of research that reflected growing concerns about the new violence.

Other experts operated outside academia. Medicalization – the process of interpreting social problems using a medical model – became commonplace during the second half of the twentieth century (Conrad, 2007). For instance, the modern movement against child abuse began with a report by pediatric radiologists about what they termed the battered child syndrome (Pfohl, 1977). As the twenty-first century began, medical authorities were increasingly likely to invoke biomedicalized interpretations of social problems that relied on brain scans, genetic markers, and other biologically based indicators (Clarke et al., 2003). Many forms of the new violence were described using such medical terminology: the diagnosis of post-traumatic stress disorder (originally devised to describe some veterans' reactions to combat) was applied to victims of rape (and many other forms of violence) (Fassin & Rechtman, 2009); victims of domestic violence were said to experience battered woman (later battered person) syndrome (Downs, 1996); and other terms bid for attention – youth violence syndrome, mean world syndrome, and the like. Medicalized labels might be promoted by people who were not medical professionals, as in the case of 12-step movements, but other new terms represented efforts by various sort of medical experts. In particular, public health professionals campaigned to define violence as a public health problem on the grounds that reductions in infant and childhood morality from disease meant that violence now accounted for a larger share of deaths and serious injuries among the young (Winett, 1998).

Parallel developments occurred as professions outside academia responded to concerns about the legal issues related to the new violence. Law reviews featured analyses of legal issues surrounding the various forms of new violence. Educators worried, not just about violence occurring at school but about addressing the needs of students who came from homes or neighborhoods marked by violence. Religious leaders sought to help their followers understand violence and devise ways to respond to it. Claims about workplace violence attracted the attention of businesses. Most of these professions had books, professional associations and journals, workshops and conferences, and other means for helping their members understand what their profession might do to better address problems of violence, so that both inside and outside academia, experts promoted concerns regarding the new violence.

Media

At any given time, there are many claims calling attention to different social problems; these form a social problems marketplace (Hilgartner & Bosk, 1988). These claims compete for notice and support and, as the principal means by which claims can be relayed to a broad audience, the media play a key role in disseminating claims. Media offer a forum where activists and experts can make their cases.

Around 1970, when claims about the new violence began to attract considerable media coverage, the media landscape was very different from what it would become. Among the most visible news venues were newspapers, the three major weekly news-magazines, and the half-hour evening news broadcasts on the ABC, CBS, and NBC television networks; all of these would experience declining audiences in the coming decades. There were two key developments. The first was the spread of cable television, which meant that most viewers, instead of being forced to choose from a handful of broadcast channels, would have dozens, even hundreds of choices; these included channels dedicated to 24-hour news coverage, as well as countless talk shows and other programs that devoted at least some time to social issues. The second was the rise of the Internet; as access to computers spread, and with the emergence of effective search engines, it became much easier to make and find claims via web sites and blogs. In 1970, it was difficult to get one's claims picked up and presented to a national audience via the few available communication channels. Today, it is much easier to gain access to a forum that might reach a large audience, but there are so many competing messages in so many different venues, it remains hard to get one's claims noticed.

Still, claims about the new violence often succeeded in attracting media attention. Because it involves dramatic conflict, violence has traditionally been a focus for news coverage, and claims about the new violence often adopted imagery that verged on the melodramatic: vulnerable people being menaced by violence at home, school, or in the workplace (Berns, 2004). These images could be translated into compelling news coverage. Moreover, a breaking news story about a terrible incident, such as the killings at Columbine High School, could be linked to other, similar cases, and thereby treated as an instance of larger problem, such as school shootings. In some cases, the media could turn to activists and experts who were already making claims about some form of new violence, but in other cases, such as concern about freeway violence or stalking, media coverage might originate claims about a form of violence, and bring the issue to public attention (Best, 1991; Lowney & Best, 1995). However, news coverage is necessarily fleeting; the news media could identify a new form of violence, even name the problem, but unless that attention attracted activists or experts who might assume ownership of the cause (as when the battered women's adopted stalking as an important element in domestic violence), an issue might quickly fade (as in the case of freeway shootings) (Gusfield, 1981).

The media's role in constructing social problems extends beyond news coverage, into popular culture. *The Phil Donahue Show* began national syndication in 1970; its success established to the formula for talk shows that concentrated on social issues, particularly those that concerned women and families. These shows offered a forum well suited to discussions of many forms of the new violence. In a typical episode devoted to one of these topics, guests included both victims who had experienced violence and experts – often psychologists – who presented medicalized interpretations of violence and victimization (Lowney, 1999). The dynamics of the new violence, so often typified in terms of threats to women and children, could fit all manner of other popular cultural formulas, so that new-violence plots appeared in a host of genres – films and made-for-TV movies, mainstream and genre fiction, TV dramas and comedies, and so on. Thus, media not only covered claims about the new violence as news; they also used them as the basis for entertainment. For the media, people making claims offer information that can be used as a basis for news coverage or

entertainment, while activists and experts use the media to relay their claims to broader audiences. These are mutually beneficial relationships.

Officials

Government provides a fourth set of actors who promoted claims about the new violence. Officials can play a variety of roles in constructing social problems. First, they make policy. Many activists who draw attention to social problems call for some sort of new policy, such as the passage of new laws that address their claims. Policymaking may occur at a national level (as when the US Congress passed the Hate Crime Statistics Act in 1990 or the Violence Against Women Act in 1994), but it may also take place in state legislatures (e.g., virtually all states passed laws criminalizing hate crimes and stalking), or at local levels (in the form of local ordinances) (Jenness & Grattet, 2001). New policies related to the new violence included: laws making some form of violence a crime (e.g., state stalking laws often criminalized behavior not covered by previous laws) or increasing the penalties for some existing offenses (e.g., most hate-crime laws assign tougher penalties for existing crimes, such as assault, when they are motivated by some sort of bias); funds to support data collection (e.g., requiring the FBI to begin counting hate crimes) or research regarding forms of violence (earmarking funds for research grants to study domestic violence or other forms of the new violence); funds for agencies that provide victim services (e.g., rape crisis centers or battered women's shelters), education, or prevention programs, and so on. In short, there were many ways in which officials could launch new policies that might address aspects of the new violence.

Although activists, experts, and the media often bring attention to new social issues and thereby prod officials to take action, officials can also take the lead in drawing attention to a new social issue. For instance, the US Children's Bureau set out to draw attention to the mistreatment of children by funding the initial research that identified the battered child syndrome, which in turn led into the broader concept of child abuse (Nelson, 1984). In many cases, campaigns against social problems involve long histories of claimsmaking by activists, experts, the media, and officials, and it can be difficult to specify exactly which claims deserve credit for launching an issue. But once an issue has begun to attract attention, officials can help keep it from fading away. Several federal agencies began collecting data and publishing reports that sought to document to extent of particular forms of violence, such as the annual National Crime Victimization Survey conducted by the Bureau of Justice Statistics, or the biennial School Survey on Crime and Safety gathered by the National Center for Education Statistics. In addition, federal agencies provided an important source for funds that could support further research on all sorts of problems judged important, and they could try to guide policymaking in the states, e.g., the National Institute of Justice offered suggestions for a model antistalking statute. Such official efforts complemented claims by activists, experts, and the media. Well established social problems typically involve collaboration between all four sorts of claimsmakers (Best, 1999).

In addition to devising new policies, officials are often occupied carrying the policies out, conducting social problems work. This often involves reconstructing the problem. Police who have been instructed to deal with domestic disputes in new ways, like staff members working in a women's shelter, may find that the people they encounter – whether offenders or victims – may not view their own actions in the

same way that policymakers understood the social problems they hoped to address. For instance, clients in shelters for domestic violence victims often do not think of themselves in those terms, and staff members may find it necessary to educate them, to convince them that their idiosyncratic view of their circumstances is inadequate, that their lives are instances of a patterned form of violence (Loseke, 1992).

Often, official policies can themselves redefine the dominant constructions of a problem by giving control of social problems work to a particular group. Thus, the early women's movement's campaigns against rape and battering viewed those forms of violence as products of patriarchal dominance, and when activists called for the establishment of rape crisis centers and shelters for battered women, they envisioned services where victims could be helped to understand their oppression in gendered terms. But the policies that actually created those agencies often specified that they were to be staffed by qualified professionals, such as social workers, who were trained to interpret violence in terms of theories of family dynamics rooted in psychology, rather than feminist theory (Matthews, 1994; Tierney, 1982). The activists who had campaigned for these services were, then, often disappointed in the forms they took.

Social problems workers may seek to expand their authority and influence by becoming claimsmakers. For instance, the media played a central role in raising public awareness about stalking (which, in its earliest formulations, emphasized that stalking was particularly likely to victimize celebrities); however, battered women's shelters quickly assumed ownership of the stalking problem by redefining stalking as a frequent, often lethal outcome of a failed relationship. The image of the stalker shifted from a deranged fan obsessed with a celebrity to a probably violent ex-husband or ex-boyfriend. In many states, the leading advocates for passage of laws criminalizing stalking were representatives of women's shelters, who considered existing laws ineffective in protecting women once they left the shelter. Note that, in promoting antistalking laws, these officials gave new importance to the issue of domestic violence, and increased their own influence (Dunn, 2002; Lowney & Best, 1995). Thus, officials could help shape constructions of the new violence in many ways.

Understanding Social Construction

What made the new violence new was not that it involved types of violent activities that had not existed previously. In fact, the people who campaigned to draw attention to these various forms of violence often argued that these were problems with very long histories, even that they could be found in all societies across time and space. Rather, it was the attention these topics received that was new; previously neglected, they were now public issues. But how can we explain the shift of these issues from the shadows into the limelight? How and why did the new violence supplant the old violence?

It may be tempting to treat these developments as inevitable, as the product of growing enlightenment. That is, we might assume that once people were aware of the new violence, they of course considered it a social problem. But this begs the question: how did they arrive at this awareness?

This is what a social constructionist perspective offers students of violence. Understanding violence as a social construction forces us to inspect matters that we

might otherwise take for granted. For example, 40 years after the women's liberation movement began speaking out about the importance of rape, it is easy for us to view rape as a major form of violence. But just a couple of years earlier, the several volumes of reports generated by the Violence Commission barely mentioned rape. Although the second chapter in the Commission's main report was titled "Violent Crime: Homicide, Assault, Rape, Robbery," it paid little attention to rape. That chapter contained a heading that stated: "Unlike robbery, the other violent crimes of homicide, assault, and rape tend to be acts of passion among intimates and acquaintances." Under that heading appeared what seems to have been the report's single sentence devoted to rape: "Rape is more likely to be perpetrated by a stranger (slightly over half of the cases), usually in the home or other indoor location (about two-thirds of the time)" (National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, 1970, p. 22).

In retrospect, the Commission's treatment of rape seems, if not dismissive, at least cursory. But rape was at least mentioned. Most forms of the new violence – including other sorts of sexual violence, the various forms of domestic violence, and attacks on homosexuals – were ignored by the Commission; terms like post-traumatic stress disorder, hate crimes, and stalking had yet to be coined. Those who worked with the Commission were concerned with the old violence, and they embodied an earlier era. It is startling to realize that only one of the Commission's 13 members was a woman, as was only one of the 23 people who directed the various supplementary reports. No one on the Commission was expected to speak in behalf of children, battered women, gays and lesbians, or the victims of drunk drivers. It is unthinkable that a blue-ribbon commission appointed by the president to consider the problems of violence at the beginning of the twenty-first century would not include representatives for many of these causes. That transition – from a distinguished national commission not seeing the need to give much thought to rape and the other forms of the new violence, to it now being unthinkable that such a body would not highlight those issues – lays bare the importance of social construction.

Our common sense tells us not just that there is a real world but that the terms we use to classify it are objectively correct. Constuctionists do not dispute the former notion but they call the latter into question (Berger &. Luckmann, 1966). They argue that we learn our terms, our language from other people, and our culture gives us a taken-for-granted sense of the world. So long as we remain among those who share our worldview, it is easy to equate our understandings with what is objectively true. But this comfortable stance can be called into question. When we travel, we may find ourselves among people who view the world differently, and experience the discomfort of culture shock. Or, when we look backward across time, we may be forced to realize that ideas – about, say, violence – change, so that how people view the world at one time may be different from what they think at another. And, of course, we may also find ourselves in disputes with people who share most, but not all of our ideas, as when feminists debate whether pornography is or is not a cause of sexual violence. All of these become occasions when taken-for-granted assumptions face challenges, when the importance of the means by which we generate and share our conceptions – the process of social construction – becomes apparent.

In this chapter, I've chosen to tell a historical story. It begins with the publication of the Violence Commission's report in 1970, and suggests that that report reflected a particular set of assumptions about the nature of violence – a construction of what

I've called the old violence. But even as the Commission was presenting one vision of the nature of violence in America, there were new voices beginning to be heard, voices that would soon draw attention to other topics. The women's liberation and gay liberation movements would make rape, domestic battering, and gaybashing central to their campaigns. If the Commission viewed the old violence as a macrolevel problem, in which assassination and riots threatened societal stability, these activists seemed focused on microlevel events, such as violence within a household. Yet these activists understood these events as having larger significance; the slogan "the personal is political" implied that insuring domestic tranquility required protecting the vulnerable from violence in their homes, at their schools and workplaces, and on the streets.

The ultimate success of these new-violence claims should not be taken for granted. Changing public understandings of violence – inventing new categories of violence, convincing people that these were important problems, persuading the media to get involved in these issues, campaigning to promote new policies – was not inevitable; rather, it was a considerable accomplishment. It involved work by social activists, by experts, by the media, or by officials. Not all campaigns were successful. Even issues that became the focus of intense media coverage, such as freeway violence in 1987 or wilding in 1989, could prove short lived. The most successful efforts to promote social problems developed into mutually beneficial alliances among activists, experts, the media, and officials, so that some problems became well established, familiar, taken for granted.

Consider the contemporary standing of rape and other forms of sexual violence. Activists continue to organize against rape: cities hold Take Back the Night marches, while colleges require entering students to attend workshops and host Sexual Assault Awareness Month. Countless researchers continue to apply for grants to fund studies of sexual assault, and place their work in specialized journals such as *Violence Against Women*, the *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, and *Violence and Victims*. Sexual violence continues to be featured in both the news media (for instance, a reporter at a Seattle weekly won a 2012 Pulitzer Prize for a story about rape survivor; over the years other stories about sexual assault have received Pulitzers or other honors), and it is a theme in much popular culture, ranging from serious novels (*Rape: A love story* by Joyce Carol Oates) to popular fiction (*The lovely bones* by Alice Sebold) to exploitation movies about rape and revenge (such as *I spit on your grave*). And officials continue to address sexual violence through policies to support victims, fund researchers, and so on. Sexual assault occupies a far more prominent place in contemporary culture that it did when the first claimsmakers complained that it was a neglected issue.

In short, we should not take our contemporary conceptions of violence – its nature, causes, prevalence, and so on – for granted. These conceptions are an accomplishment, the results of a process of social construction, in which people successfully made claims that drew attention to the various forms of the new violence. Just as the Violence Commission's report presented a particular characterization of the old violence, so, roughly 40 years later, do the chapters in this handbook construct a new violence. Ours is a society with an active social problems marketplace, and we can anticipate that – 40 years from now – conceptions of violence will have shifted, to reflect the efforts of future claimsmakers.

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6

Consequences and Sequelae of Violence and Victimization

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If a single message can be taken from our current understanding of interpersonal violence and victimization, it is that these experiences are almost invariably associated with harm. However, there is considerable heterogeneity in the ways in which this harm is manifested. In this chapter, we survey the existing literature and summarize current understanding of mental and physical health outcomes associated with exposure to interpersonal violence. We first discuss associations between victimization and mental health, then associations with problematic substance use, followed by discussion of a range of physical health effects. Because victimization may intersect with other vulnerabilities such as minority status, we also discuss consequences of violence exposure for disadvantaged groups. Finally, we include recommendations for future research.

Victimization and Mental Health

Significant evidence has accrued over recent decades linking victimization experiences with poorer mental health, negative behavior patterns, and increased psychopathology. A systematic review of 14 earlier reviews examining the correlates of child sexual abuse found consistent small-to-medium effect sizes for a number of psychological problems, suggesting that such abuse may represent a nonspecific risk factor for development of a range of mental health problems (Maniglio, 2009). Recently, these data were supported by one of the most methodologically rigorous studies of child sexual abuse sequelae to date. Trickett, Noll, and Putnam (2011) followed females ages 6 to 16 over a 23-year period, taking cross-sectional measurements at multiple time points and comparing those who had been sexually abused at the initial assessment to a nonabused control group. The study indicated a host of psychological, physical, and behavioral problems were more prevalent in the abused group than among controls. Below, we draw from the existing literature to address specific mental health problems

most frequently found to relate to victimization; these include depression and anxiety, post-traumatic stress, disordered eating behaviors, and suicide risk.

Depression and Anxiety

A strong body of research links abuse and victimization experiences with increased symptoms of depression and anxiety. Depression and anxiety symptoms can emerge at any point in the lifespan of an abused individual, from childhood to adulthood. Several cross-sectional studies have demonstrated a significant relationship between childhood abuse and depressive symptoms (e.g., Cutajar et al., 2010; Easton, 2014; Easton, Renner & O'Leary, 2013; Tietjen et al., 2010).

Robust associations also have been found between adult victimization and depressive and anxiety symptoms. In a meta-analysis of 37 studies spanning 30 years, Beydoun, Beydoun, Kaufman, Lo, and Zonderman (2012) found that women who experienced intimate partner violence (IPV) were two to three times more likely to meet criteria for Major Depressive Disorder compared with those who did not experience IPV. Another systematic review conducted by Garcia-Moreno and colleagues (2013) in association with the World Health Organization examined 155 studies from 81 countries to assess the effects of IPV and non-partner violence on women. Findings indicated that the odds of experiencing depression were nearly doubled among victimized women. Finally, longitudinal research provides evidence for a temporal connection between victimization and later depression and anxiety. Zlotnick, Johnson, and Kohn (2006) collected data in multiple waves via the National Survey of Families and Households (n = 3104); these authors found that physical IPV predicted increases in women's depressive symptoms over time relative to symptoms among nonabused controls.

Some research suggests gender differences in the rates of anxiety and depressive symptoms among men and women who have a history of IPV (Romito & Grassi, 2007). A study conducted by Schneider and colleagues (2009) found that in a nationally representative sample of 6233 men and women entering substance use treatment, both men and women who have experienced IPV have greater odds of reporting anxiety, depression, psychosis, suicidal ideation, and lifetime or recent suicide attempts than men and women who did not report intimate partner victimization. Similarly, Coker et al. (2002) analyzed survey data from over 6700 women and 7100 men and found that IPV, and particularly psychological IPV, predicted currently reported depression symptoms in both genders (Coker et al., 2002). However, when sexual victimization alone is considered, large-sample survey data suggests that women may experience increased depression and general distress compared with men, although both report reduced quality of life compared with those who without sexual assault histories (Choudhary et al., 2008).Recently, researchers have examined various potential intervening variables that might contribute to the emergence of depression following victimization. These variables have included victimization-specific factors such as abuse duration (Bonomi et al., 2006), severity (i.e., force, multiple perpetrators, sexual penetration) (Cutajar et al., 2010; Easton, 2014; Lau & Kristensen, 2010; Zinzow et al., 2010), and contextual factors such as level of social support (Mburia-Mwalili et al., 2010). Further research is needed to gain a more complete understanding of these variables, but it is clear at this point that depression and anxiety are closely linked with experiences of victimization across the lifespan.

Post-traumatic Stress

The fifth edition of the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (*DSM-5*) defines a traumatic stressor as exposure to actual or threatened death, serious injury, or sexual violence (American Psychiatric Association, 2013). Thus, it is not surprising to find elevated prevalence of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) among those who have survived interpersonal violence. Indeed, PTSD symptoms and diagnoses are prominent correlates of childhood abuse (Krause et al., 2008, Littleton & Ullman, 2013; Maniglio, 2009; Najdowski & Ullman, 2009; Trickett et al., 2011), IPV (Bonomi et al., 2006), and adult nonpartner victimization (Hedtke et al., 2008; Walsh et al., 2012; Zinzow et al., 2010). In addition, there is some evidence to suggest differences in the development of PTSD in response to experiences of interpersonal violence as compared to traumatic accidents or natural disasters. Santiago et al. (2013) conducted a systematic review of longitudinal studies of PTSD to explore PTSD trajectories based on intentional (e.g., threatened or actual death, sexual violence, or serious injury) and non-intentional (e.g., natural disaster, accident) traumatic experiences. Findings from this study indicate that while individuals with exposure to non-intentional trauma have higher median prevalence of PTSD at one month post-event, PTSD increased over time after experiencing an intentional traumatic event (Santiago et al., 2013).

While there is a clear link between victimization and PTSD in the general population as a whole, victimized women experience PSTD at much higher rates than victimized men (Breslau, 2009). Several studies have explored factors related to these disparate rates of PTSD in males and females, resulting in two potential explanations for these findings. One perspective cites prospective and cross-sectional evidence indicating that women's experiences of significantly higher rate of sexual victimization (Pereda, Guilera, Forns, & Gomez-Benito, 2009a, b; Walker et al., 2004), more severe victimization (Cho & Wilke, 2010; Krause et al., 2008), and higher rates of revictimization across the lifespan as key to the increased rates of PTSD among women (Cortina & Kubiak, 2006; Koenen & Widom, 2009). In contrast, another group of researchers utilize epidemiological and prospective data to suggest that the higher rates of sexual trauma and prior trauma history of women are in fact not predictive of PTSD, but rather that increased vulnerability to PTSD among women, is mediated by higher trait anxiety, depression, and neuroticism (Breslau, 2009; Kessler et al., 1994; Stein, Walker & Ford, 2000). While further research is needed to elucidate the causal factors undergirding gender differences in victimization-related PTSD, it is likely that a combination of gender-specific factors and social factors occur in tandem to create this noted gender disparity.

It is important to note that, to date, the majority of studies exploring PTSD have conceptualized the disorder with diagnostic criteria published in versions three and four of the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (*DSM-III; DSM-IV*). Changes in the diagnostic criteria over time typically have resulted in decreased prevalence rates for lifetime PTSD, with one study using a Canadian epidemiologic sample finding that prevalence decreased from an initial lifetime rate of 13.4% using *DSM-III* diagnostic criteria to 9.2% using *DSM-IV* diagnostic criteria (Van Ameringen, Mancini, & Patterson, 2011). With the release of the fifth edition of the DSM in, 2013 and revised diagnostic criteria for PTSD, research applying the new diagnostic criteria is beginning to emerge in the literature. Initial evidence suggests that

population prevalence estimates of PTSD based on *DSM-5* criteria may be similar or somewhat lower than those based on *DSM-IV* criteria (Calhoun et al., 2012; Kilpatrick et al., 2013).

Suicide and Self-Injury

Individuals reporting histories of child and adult victimization also tend to report higher rates of suicidal thoughts, self-injury, and attempted suicide compared to those without such histories. A systematic review of 37 studies using a variety of methods and samples to examine the relationship between IPV and suicidal thoughts or behaviors found that with only one exception, there was a significant association between intimate partner violence and these factors (McLaughlin, O'Carroll, & O'Connor, 2012). Analyses of data from the World Health Organization multi-country study of violence against women suggest that women exposed to interpersonal violence exhibit doubled-to-quadrupled odds of suicidal thoughts and behaviors relative to nonexposed women (Devries et al., 2011; Ellsberg et al., 2008). A comparative study of male and female university students in Italy indicated similar increases in suicidal ideation and attempts among those men and women abused in their families of origin; however, women demonstrated a disproportionate increase in suicidality associated with IPV relative to men (Romito & Grassi, 2007). In contrast, Schneider and colleagues (2009) found that while both men and women with histories of IPV are at increased risk for lifetime suicide attempts or suicidal ideation, men reported higher rates of suicide attempts in the past year than their female counterparts. Further, a study of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender youth who had experienced victimization found that transgender youth had the highest rate of lifetime suicide attempts and suicide attempts in the past year (52.4%; 19%), surpassing prevalence rates of both females (33.6%; 10.3%) and males (25%; 1%; Mustanski & Liu, 2013). This suggests that type of violence may interact with gender, gender conformity, and sexual orientation to moderate risk for suicide following victimization. However, based on the current literature, the relationship between gender, victimization, and suicidality has yet to be fully understood.

Eating Disorders

Disordered eating represents another way in which the mental health sequelae of victimization may manifest. Some studies that have included assessments of disordered eating – such as fear of fatness, bingeing, self-induced vomiting, use of laxatives, excessive exercise, or restricted eating – have indicated greater frequencies of such thoughts and behaviors among individuals with victimization histories (Messman-Moore & Garrigus, 2007). Yet, not all studies examining eating disordered behavior have identified significant associations with experiences of interpersonal violence (e.g., Cutajar et al., 2010), suggesting that further research is needed to clarify the mechanisms connecting victimization and eating disorders. Similar to PTSD and suicide risk after IPV, disordered eating behaviors appear to occur at higher rates in victimized women compared to victimized men (Romito & Grassi, 2007). However, it is important to note that despite possible moderation by gender, the relationship between eating disorders and victimization in men – in particular, bisexual and gay men – has been well documented. Feldman and Meyer (2007), in a study of 193

Black, White, and Latino gay and bisexual males, found that men who had experienced childhood sexual abuse were significantly more likely to have an eating disorder than men who did not experience childhood sexual abuse.

While it can be confidently ascertained from the current literature that the experience of victimization is likely detrimental to mental health, this overarching relationship is complicated by a number of intervening factors. In particular, gender and sexual orientation appear to be important factors in both the type of victimization experienced and its mental health effects. A significant gap in the current body of research is the mental health effects that male victims of abuse and violence experience, which has been much less researched than the effects of victimization among women. This, in addition to continued exploration of the mechanisms by which victimization exerts negative effects on mental health, remains a fruitful avenue for future research.

Victimization and Substance Abuse

In addition to the mental health difficulties described above, evidence links both child and adult experiences of victimization with substance use and substance use disorders. A study in Mexico utilizing diagnostic interviews with over 3000 male and female adolescents yielded significant associations between substance use and both child physical abuse and family violence (Benjet et al., 2011). A prospective study of female survivors of child sexual abuse indicated that problem drinking was predicted by previous victimization (Najdowski & Ullman, 2009). Furthermore, when the authors examined the relationships among child sexual abuse, subsequent revictimization, PTSD symptoms, and problem drinking; these researchers found that the key factors in the emergence of problem drinking were child sexual abuse and revictimization (Najdowski & Ullman, 2009).

Next, the World Health Organization's systematic review of studies of violence against women identified 10 longitudinal studies that explored the relationship between alcohol use and IPV victimization. The review yielded an estimate of a two-fold increase in odds for women exposed to partner or nonpartner violence to have an alcohol use disorder (Garcia-Moreno et al., 2013). Similarly, in a large longitudinal study including over 4000 women, Hedtke and colleagues (2008) found that lifetime history of violence exposure (i.e., physical assault, sexual assault, or witnessing injury/violent death) was associated with an increased risk of substance use problems, which increased with the number of violent revictimization events occurring over a two-year period (Hedtke et al., 2008). With respect to victimization and substance use among men, there is more limited research to examine, but some evidence suggests that men tend to react to sexual victimization by engaging in alcohol use to a greater extent than women (Romito & Grassi, 2007; Tewksbury, 2007).

A few studies have examined alcohol and drug use as a mediating variable between victimization episodes. Lutz-Zois, Roecker Phelps, and Reichle (2011) examined a multiple mediation model of revictimization among college women and found that alcohol problems and mistrust represented the only significant mediators of the relationship between child sexual abuse and adult revictimization. Testa, Hoffman, and Livingston (2010) similarly found that alcohol use mediated the relationship between adolescent sexual abuse and subsequent college victimization in women.

In sum, current evidence suggests that the relationship between substance use and victimization is complex and bidirectional, with substance use serving as a possible coping strategy for abuse sequelae that also increases the likelihood of subsequent victimization and other mental health problems. Similar to studies of victimization and mental health, there is a notable dearth of research examining substance use in men who have experienced victimization.

Victimization and Physical Health

In addition to the extensive negative mental health outcomes described above, victimization may have wide-ranging effects on physical health, including direct injuries and associated disability; neurochemical, gastrointestinal, and cardiopulmonary effects; and effects on reproductive, urological, and maternal or neonatal health. Beyond these effects, victimization appears to heighten vulnerability to revictimization.

Direct Injury and Disability

The most salient physical health consequences of violence involve direct injuries and associated pain or disability. For instance, Coker and associates (2000) note that injuries obtained through repeated physical assault from intimate partners may include headaches, chronic pain, broken bones, seizures, auditory and visual issues, and arthritis. Similarly, victims of childhood maltreatment may experience negative physical effects such as failure to thrive, brain injury, and attention deficits (National Research Council, 1993). Walker and associates (1999) conducted a study to examine the association between childhood maltreatment and adverse health outcomes. They surveyed 1225 randomly selected women participating in a Seattle-based health maintenance organization, comparing women with histories of childhood maltreatment to women with no such history. Women who experienced childhood maltreatment had greater physical disability, more physical health symptoms, lower perceptions of their own overall health, and engaged in more health risk behaviors than women who were not victims of childhood maltreatment (Walker et al., 1999).

More recent large-scale studies have provided further evidence of health risks for individuals who experience childhood abuse. Dube, Cook and Edwards (2010) examined risks of smoking, obesity, and general fair/poor health among a large sample (N = 5378) who participated in a Texas telephone survey about health access and health behaviors. Approximately 27% reported some form of childhood abuse. The odds of obesity increased 50% for those individuals reporting childhood abuse. The adjusted odds ratios for smoking and fair/poor health were also significantly higher for individuals with child abuse compared to individuals who reported no adversity.

Research studies examining gender differences in injury and disability among victimized men and women are currently rare; however, Coker et al.'s (2002) study examining the effects of IPV indicated that physical and psychological IPV were significantly related to direct injury experiences for both men and women. With respect to self-reported overall health and health behaviors, Choudhary, Coben and Bossarte (2008) found that women who reported sexual victimization prior to the previous year more frequently reported poor health status and more recently victimized women reported increased binge drinking, whereas men victimized in the past year reported

increased smoking compared with non-victimized controls. Additional research is clearly indicated to elucidate gender differences and temporal relationships between victimization and physical health.

Neurochemical, Gastrointestinal, and Cardiopulmonary Effects

Some physical health correlates of victimization involve neurochemical, gastrointestinal, or cardiopulmonary systems, indicating that the human stress response may play a role in etiology of health outcomes associated with violent victimization. For instance, Coker and colleagues have suggested numerous health consequences of intimate partner violence, including respiratory, circulatory, and nervous system disorders such as asthma, emphysema, circulatory disease, heart problems, nerve damage, and chronic back or joint pain (Coker, Smith, & Fadden, 2005; Coker et al., 2000, 2002). Of note, when controlling for physical IPV, effects of psychological IPV on chronic disease conditions were observed for women, but not for male IPV victims. Gastrointestinal health effects of intimate partner violence may include ulcers, indigestion, diarrhea, constipation, spastic colon, chronic pelvic pain, and urogenital infections (Coker et al., 2000).

Survivors of sexual violence may experience similar neurologic and cardiopulmonary symptoms including fibromyalgia (Walker et al., 1999), chronic back and facial pain, chest pain, shortness of breath, insomnia and fatigue, heart palpitations, cardiac arrhythmia (Golding, 1994), angina, hypertension (Coker et al., 2000), choking sensation (McCauley et al., 1995), and asthma (Kimerling & Calhoun, 1994). Female survivors of sexual violence have been found to have an assortment of gastrointestinal symptoms including nausea, vomiting, diarrhea, bloatedness, and abdominal pain, with one random survey of women in Los Angeles finding that women who had been sexually assaulted exhibited these symptoms twice as often as women who had not had violence exposure (Golding, 1994). Furthermore, Becker and colleagues (2010) conducted a population-based cross-sectional survey to explore the relationship between irritable bowel syndrome (IBS) and interpersonal violence. Women who experienced childhood sexual violence or physical intimate partner violence were twice as likely to be diagnosed with IBS, and women experiencing sexual intimate partner violence were three times as likely to be diagnosed with IBS relative to women who did not experience any violence exposure.

A 2013 report released by the Verizon Foundation indicates that women who experience domestic and sexual violence are significantly more likely to suffer from chronic health conditions than those who did not experience violence. Conducted by a professional research firm, the survey of 1005 women ages 21 and older found that 88% of women who experienced sexual violence and 81% of women who experience domestic violence suffered from chronic conditions, compared to 62% of women who did not experience such violence. Health problems included diabetes, reflux, lower back pain, cervical pain, headaches, difficulty sleeping, irritable bowel syndrome, and mental health conditions including depression, anxiety, and post-traumatic stress disorder. Rates among women exposed to violence were sometimes twice as high for particular conditions (Verizon Foundation, 2013).

Heim et al. (2000) conducted a prospective controlled study of 49 women age 18–45 to determine the relationship between childhood maltreatment and physiological response to stress, including levels of Adrenocorticotropic hormone (ACTH),

cortisol, and heart rate. The women were recruited into four groups: women with no history of psychiatric disorder or childhood maltreatment, women who were sexually or physically abused during childhood and were presently experiencing a major depression, women physically and sexually abused as a child but no depression, and women with depression but no childhood maltreatment. Blood samples and heart rate were taken following the administration of a standardized psychosocial stress protocol. Women who were abused in early childhood, with or without depression, had higher levels of ACTH, cortisol, and higher heart rates post-stressor exposure than women who had not experienced early childhood abuse. These findings suggest that vulnerability to health problems in individuals who experience violence may be affected at the most basic level by differences in their responses to stress.

Finally, although there are comparatively limited studies focused on the consequences of interpersonal violence for males, Tewksbury (2007) reviewed existing studies that included physical and mental health outcomes for male victims of sexual violence and noted the following physical health outcomes: poorer health status; greater physical injury (than female victims of sexual assault given the greater likelihood of the use of physical force and/or weapons), and somatic symptoms such as headaches, nausea, ulcers, and colitis.

Effects on Sexual, Reproductive and Maternal/Neonatal Health

Substantial research has linked victimization of all types to negative reproductive and sexual health outcomes. One mechanism through which this may occur is via increased sexual risk behavior among victims, which may in turn stem from factors such as the psychological distress associated with sexual violence (Campbell & Lewandowski, 1997) or reproductive coercion by relationship partners (American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists, 2013; Miller et al., 2011). Researchers have also suggested that female survivors of sexual violence may be at increased risk for sexually transmitted diseases through behaviors such as transactional sex, sex with multiple partners, sex while intoxicated, sex without a condom (Johnson, Cunningham-Williams, & Cottler, 2003), or being in a relationship with a partner who engages in high-risk behavior (El-Bassel et al., 1998).

Women who experience partner violence may also be at increased risk of STDs due to reduced immune responses. Garcia-Linares and associates (2004), utilized saliva samples and structured interviews to collect data in Spain from 182 women. Findings suggest victimization negatively impacted women's immune response for Herpes Simplex 1, with physically abused women less likely to have an immune response than psychologically abused women.

A cross-sectional study of 309 women receiving services at health clinics investigated association of violence across the lifespan with incidence of STDs. Women who reported experiencing childhood sexual abuse (32%), intimate partner violence (31%), or both (45%) were more likely than nonabused women to have ever been diagnosed with a STD. Women who had contracted an STD in their current relationship were more likely to be younger, to have reported being abused within the past 12 months, and to be living with, not married to their partner (Williams, Larsen, & McCloskey, 2010). In a randomized clinical trial of 1590 predominantly urban, African American and Latina women recruited for an HIV/STD intervention, women who had experienced intimate partner violence in past or current relationships reported greater

inconsistency in condom use, having sex with high-risk partners, and were more likely to currently have an STD than those who did not experience violence (Wu et al., 2003). Men with a history of sexual violence are also more likely to report having had a sexually transmitted disease (deVisser et al., 2003).

Sexual risk behavior also appears to be associated with experiences of childhood maltreatment. Lansford and associates (2007) analyzed data from the Child Development Project, a prospective, multisite study of child development. The study followed a community-based sample of 574 children from age 5 to 21. Along with significant negative outcomes in education and employment, Lansford and colleagues (2007) found that girls physically abused in the first five years of life were more likely to become parents as teens and to have been impregnated in the past year out of wedlock. Additionally, while the effect for teen parenthood was found for physically abused boys as well, the effect was significantly greater for girls than boys.

These reproductive health outcomes are consistent with findings from Noll, Trickett, and Putnam (2003) who conducted a ten-year prospective study to assess the relationship between childhood sexual abuse and sexual preoccupation, pregnancy rate, age of first birth, sexual risk behavior, and birth control use. Participants (n = 84) were females referred by child protective services between the ages of 6 and 16 who had abuse experiences within the previous six months. A nonabused geographically and demographically matched comparison group (n = 82) was selected from the community. Participants who were sexually abused were more preoccupied with sex, had intercourse at a significantly earlier age than the comparison group, were younger at the birth of their first child, and were more likely to have given birth while a teenager.

Other research demonstrates a diverse array of reproductive or sexual health correlates of victimization. Golding (1996) analyzed data from the Los Angeles and North Carolina sites of the Epidemiologic Catchment Area Study, a multisite project that used probability sampling. Golding found that women who had a history of sexual violence (n = 362) were more likely to report painful menstruation and intercourse, excessive menstrual bleeding, menstrual irregularity, genital burning, and/or absence of sexual pleasure than women who had not experienced sexual violence. Women who were assaulted by a stranger had the highest prevalence of reproductive symptoms. Women assaulted by their husband had the highest prevalence of lack of sexual pleasure, while women who had been coerced reported the highest prevalence of genital burning. Further, a 2009 study with women with and without child sexual abuse histories suggested that women with such histories showed smaller decreases in cortisol during sexual arousal and less physiological sexual arousal as compared to controls (Relleni et al., 2009), again suggesting experiences of violence may affect basic biological processes involved in sexual health and behavior.

Violent victimization has particularly marked effects on maternal, fetal, and neonatal health. Physical health correlates of intimate partner violence during and before pregnancy include delayed prenatal care (Dietz et al., 1997), preterm labor, first and second trimester bleeding, placenta abruption, uterine contractions, edema (Silverman Decker, Reed, & Raj, 2006), and low gestational weight gain (Moraes, Amorim, & Reichenheim, 2006). A large population based study assessing maternal and neonatal morbidity used data from 118,579 women participating in the Pregnancy Risk Assessment Monitoring System (PRAMS) in 26 US states (Silverman et al., 2006). Findings indicate that women who reported abuse during pregnancy were at a greater risk for urinary tract infections, kidney infections, high blood pressure, edema, vaginal

bleeding, dehydration, nausea, preterm labor, and giving birth to a child that required intensive care at birth (Silverman et al., 2006). Alhusen et al. (2013) conducted a prospective, longitudinal study of pregnant women (n = 167) and their neonates receiving care at three urban clinics that serve predominantly low-income, minority women. Controlling for socio-demographic variables and substance use, neonates of mothers who experienced intimate partner violence during pregnancy were five times more likely to have adverse neonatal outcomes and four times more likely to be small for gestational age (Alhusen et al., 2013).

Abuse during and post-pregnancy continues to impact an infant's physical health beyond initial adverse outcomes at birth. Huth-Bocks, Levendosky, and Bogat (2002) examined the impact of intimate partner violence on maternal and infant health. The sample consisted of 202 pregnant women who were participating in a larger study examining domestic violence risk and protective factors. At two months of age, infants of mothers who had been abused during pregnancy had significantly more health problems than infants of mothers who had not been abused, were more likely to have been hospitalized, had more outpatient doctor visits, and were more likely to have been to the emergency room. Burke, Lee, and O'Campo (2008) utilized data from the Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing study and found that any type of maternal abuse at baseline and follow up increased the likelihood that at 1 year of age infants would have less than excellent general health.

Other research suggests that the endocrine response associated with stress may lead to physical morbidity for mother and fetus during pregnancy. Stress associated with intimate partner violence during pregnancy may cause preterm labor through its relationship with hypothalamic-pituitary-adrenal production, which causes constricted blood flow impacting both fetal development and muscle motility in the uterus (Austin & Leader, 2000). Mixed findings in studies on the impact of abuse during pregnancy indicate the need for additional research on the pathways between abuse during pregnancy and pregnancy outcomes (Pallitto, Campbell, & O'Campo, 2005).

Overall, trauma exposure has undeniable health consequences that often extend from the primary traumatic event across the life course. Primary traumatic events or stressors, in particular early childhood stressors, are frequently associated with stress proliferation: the tendency of stressors to generate secondary stressors that, in turn, exacerbate primary stressor effects and permeate multiple life domains (Pearlin, 1999, 2005). These acute, varied, and chronic stressors appear to create fluctuations in physiologic and metabolic systems, which disrupt homeostasis and impact the allostatic load, increasing organ and tissue susceptibility to disease (McEwen & Stellar, 1993), ultimately influencing an individual's general physical health.

Revictimization

Finally, it is critical to explicitly discuss revictimization as a health risk – that is, survivors of violence often experience assault later in life. For instance, victims of childhood maltreatment are three to five times more likely to experience adulthood victimization than individuals who did not experience such maltreatment (Maker, Kemmelmeier, & Peterson, 1998). Desai and colleagues (2002) note that both female and male survivors of childhood maltreatment are at higher risk for victimization as adults than individuals who did not experience childhood maltreatment. As adults, female survivors of childhood maltreatment are more likely to be physically abused by

an intimate perpetrator and more likely to be sexually abused by a non-intimate perpetrator while male survivors are more likely to be physically or sexually victimized by a non-intimate perpetrator (Desai et al., 2002). Such revictimization may increase likelihood of negative health outcomes. Using data from the National Violence Against Women Survey, Thompson and associates (2002) found that women who experienced both sexual and physical abuse as a child were more likely to have health problems in adulthood than women who have only experienced one form of victimization or no victimization at all. Similarly, individuals with revictimization experiences also experience negative psychological health outcomes such as PTSD, substance use, and depression at greater rates than initial victimization or single victimization experiences (Hedke et al., 2008).

Recent prospective research has begun to shed light on possible mechanisms for revictimization. Using mixed qualitative and quantitative methods, Miller et al. (2011) examined possible mechanisms for nonpartner sexual assault revictimization among a sample of 144 female college students who experienced sexual assault during adolescence but did not disclose the assault. Qualitative analysis revealed that a consistent theme regarding reasons for failing to disclose the assault was the perception of stigma related to disclosure; further, this stigma-threat-motivated nondisclosure was found to predict revictimization during a 4-month follow-up period.

Next, a recent systematic review of 15 prospective studies conducted by Kuijpers, van der Knaap, and Lodewijks (2011) examined the empirical support for the models for female IPV revictimization proposed by Foa et al. (2000), which center on partner violence factors (i.e., severity and frequency of prior IPV experiences), psychological difficulties, and resilience as primary predictors of revictimization. Their review of indicated that there is clear evidence that the severity and frequency of past IPV experiences is linked to an increased risk for subsequent IPV experiences. However, the data on psychological variables is mixed (i.e., PTSD predicts IPV revictimization but other psychopathology, such as depression, does not), and there is insufficient prospective research on resilience to determine its role in revictimization, although it is a promising area for future research (Kuijpers et al., 2011). A subsequent study by Kuijpers, van der Knaap, and Winkel (2012) provided evidence for a complex interaction between PTSD, IPV perpetration, and revictimization. Their prospective study following over 150 help-seeking women with IPV experiences in the prior two years suggested that PTSD re-experiencing symptoms predicted physical and psychological IPV revictimization, and this relationship was partially mediated by victim-perpetrated psychological IPV. This suggests that some women who experience PTSD re-experiencing symptoms may be at risk for inflicting psychological IPV on others and being revictimized as a result (Kuijpers et al., 2012).

Research examining between-group differences in the mechanisms for revictimization remains in its early stages, but existing research provides some insight in ways in which factors such as gender and ethnicity may interact with prior victimization to predict revictimization experiences. Widom, Czaja, and Dutton (2008) explored vulnerability for revicitimization by gender, race, and maltreatment type in a sample of 896 individuals who had experienced childhood physical and sexual abuse and neglect. Findings indicated an overall increased risk for revictimization among individuals experiencing or witnessing interpersonal violence regardless of gender and ethnicity; however, several notable differences between groups were noted. With regard to gender, abuse and neglect were found to be related to increased risk of sexual revictimization in

both men and women, but the effect was stronger among men. Regarding ethnicity, there was a significant interaction indicating that abused and/or neglected White, non-Hispanic individuals were more likely to experience attempted forced sex compared to controls of similar ethnicity, where there was no such effect among non-White and Hispanic individuals. (Widom, Czaja, & Dutton, 2008). Findings from these studies and others underscore the overarching relationship between violence and subsequent victimization experiences while beginning to illustrate the complex interplay of factors that may increase individual susceptibility to future victimization.

Consequences for Disadvantaged Groups

Increasingly, researchers have investigated the possibility of distinct effects of victimization on ethnic and sexual minorities who are systematically disadvantaged in society. Bonomi, Anderson, Cannon, Slesnick, and Rodriguez (2009) found that though lifetime prevalence rates were similar between Latina and non-Latina women in the United States, IPV-exposed Latina women reported poorer overall mental and emotional health functioning than non-Latina women who had experienced IPV (Bonomi et al., 2009). Littleton and Ullman (2013) examined a group of European American and African American women in the United States and found that rape occurring in adolescence and adulthood predicted PTSD symptoms in the European-American sample, but not in the African American sample. The authors surmised that given the significantly higher rates of child sexual abuse found in the African American sample, it is likely that PTSD in this group might be attributed to the cumulative effects of polyvictimization, rather than the effects of a single type of victimization (i.e., adolescent/adult rape), as may have been the case more often with European American women (Littleton & Ullman, 2013).

Research examining the effects of victimization on sexual minorities is limited, but results suggest effects equal to or greater than those observed in the general population. Research comparing the prevalence of victimization among heterosexual and sexual minority samples has found a similar prevalence in IPV (Blosnich & Bossarte, 2009) and a greater prevalence of child and adult sexual victimization (Hughes et al., 2010) among sexual minority groups. Cross-sectional studies comparing heterosexual women with bisexual and lesbian women found that sexual minority women were more likely to be sexually assaulted as children and adults than heterosexual women, these abuse events were more severe, and that revictimization was more prevalent in victimized minority women. These findings indicate that sexual minority women may represent a group at higher risk within an already vulnerable population (Balsam et al., 2011; Martin et al., 2011). Further, adolescence may represent a particularly vulnerable time for sexual- and gender identity-minority individuals, who may experience peer victimization related to their minority status. A recent systematic review including 39 methodologically diverse studies from 12 countries found that peer victimization, including relational aggression, significantly related to poorer mental health outcomes among sexual- and gender-identity minority adolescents. Additionally, the few studies that provided comparisons between sexual minority and heterosexual adolescents indicated worse outcomes for minority individuals when experiencing similar types of victimization as their heterosexual counterparts (Collier, van Beusekom, Bos, & Sandfort, 2013).

Existing data on the effects of victimization within minority groups suggests that members of ethnic and sexual minority groups in the United States experience similar or greater frequency of victimization, often with more severe consequences, than do their majority-group counterparts. However, current research in these areas largely represent nascent efforts and require replication and extension with more robust methodologies to allow for a more precise understanding of the dynamics and interacting relationships among ethnicity, sexuality, and other factors that may influence the consequences of violence. This is addressed in greater detail in subsequent chapters of this text.

Conclusions

Research over the past several decades have removed any doubt that victimization is a significant public health issue, regardless of when it occurs during the lifetime. Recent research has been beneficial in gaining a more nuanced understanding of the effects of victimization, which can be summarized into a few major points and areas for future research. First, while violence and victimization are not unique to any one economic, ethnic, or cultural group, they do not affect all groups equally. In particular, women generally appear to suffer more frequent, more severe, and more damaging consequences than do men. Additionally, there is mounting evidence to suggest that disadvantaged ethnic, socioeconomic, and sexual minority groups experience disproportionate effects from victimization. At least some portion of this discrepancy appears to be mediated by a social reaction to victimization that minimizes or stigmatizes these experiences for members of these groups, reducing access to support and treatment via shame and nondisclosure of abuse (Miller et al., 2011; Stevens et al., 2013). Future research in this area will benefit from continued investigation of group-specific characteristics and the mechanisms that underlie discrepancies in the effects of abuse for different groups.

Second, although different types of abuse are analyzed separately in many cases for the purpose of research, it is clear that the reality of human victimization is a much more complex process. The mental and physical health effects of one abuse event appear to set the occasion for vulnerability to further victimization through a number of mediating variables including personal factors (e.g., gender, age, attributional style, social reaction), familial factors (e.g., parental history of abuse, family stress), and abuse-specific factors (e.g., severity, duration) (Yancey & Hansen, 2010), which can lead to a vicious cycle of polyvictimization and revictimization. Further, individuals who are victimized may become perpetrators of violence themselves, increasing the risk for perpetuating an ongoing, intergenerational cycle of abuse (Kuijpers et al., 2012; Zurbriggen, Gobin & Freyd, 2010). Future research could identify specific risk factors that interact with victimization to increase the likelihood of revictimization and perpetration and develop interventions designed specifically to target those who are most vulnerable.

Finally, there are several methodological areas in which future research can improve our knowledge of victimization outcomes. The assessment of abuse and victimization has most frequently occurred through a binary assessment (i.e., the participant either does or does not endorse the victimization event). In light of research supporting mediating factors such as abuse severity in the prediction of outcomes, the binary

assessment method has been suggested to result in a loss in explanatory power that could be gained by using a more complex, ecologically valid assessment that integrates these factors. This notion has been supported by recent research (Loeb et al., 2011), and represents a potentially productive area for more informative research examining the sequelae of victimization. Further, many studies of abuse survivors have not utilized matched control groups, did not control for possible confounding variables (e.g., family environment, other nonvictimization traumatic events), and have utilized inadequate sampling, making it difficult to interpret results (Maniglio, 2009). As future research improves on these shortcomings, a clearer picture of the outcomes of violence and victimization can be gained.

Evidence gathered over the past several decades has consistently supported the notion of deleterious effects of victimization. However, there is still much to be learned about this area. Current research has identified the nature of victimization as a significant public health problem and has begun to outline the specific ways in which violence can result in negative mental and physical health effects across the lifespan. Essential tasks in the decades to come include examining the cumulative impact of polyvictimization, differential effects of victimization for specific groups of individuals, developing policies for prevention and reduction of victimization, and tailoring evidence-based interventions to specific contexts and needs.

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Part Two

General Violence

Homicide

Its Prevalence, Correlates, and Situational Contexts

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Introduction

Homicide involves the killing of one by another. These killings take various forms and occur in a wide array of social contexts. Some killings are considered noncriminal homicides (e.g., excusable killings because the offender suffers from a mental disease or impairment; justifiable killings in self-defense) and other acts of lethal violence are defined as criminal homicides (e.g., killings done with malice and premeditation). The social context of homicide also exhibits wide variability over time and place, including killings in domestic disputes, extrajudicial executions, street-level gang attacks and other interpersonal disputes, workplace homicides, and instrumental acts of lethal violence during the commission of other felonies (e.g., robbery-homicides). The particular profiles of the offenders, victims, and the situational elements of homicide are also context specific in many cases.

The goal of the current chapter is to describe what we know about homicide, its prevalence, correlates and causes, situational elements, and its prevention. After addressing some definitional issues and data sources for studying homicide, the chapter examines the following topics: (i) international and national patterns in the prevalence of homicide, (ii) the major factors associated with the offender, victim, and offense elements of US homicides, (iii) the motivations and situational dynamics underlying homicide, and (iv) the major types of homicide situations. Each of these topics about homicide is addressed below.

Definitional Issues and Data Sources for Studying Homicide

It is impossible to make meaningful statements about the prevalence, nature, and prevention of homicide without clear and consistent definitions of the key term "homicide." Unfortunately, depending upon the particular research focus and data source, multiple definitions of homicide have been used in studies of lethal violence.

The most comprehensive data source for identifying crossnational patterns in homicide involves the International Homicide Statistics (IHS) compiled by the United Nation's Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC). Drawing from national, regional, and international sources, the IHS data are restricted to incidents of intentional homicides, defined as "unlawful deaths purposefully inflicted on a person by another person" (UNODC, 2012). These data derive from both criminal justice sources (e.g., law enforcement records of crime incidents) and public health agencies (e.g., World Health Organization [WHO] data on deaths by cause). A total of 207 countries and territories are covered in these IHS data for 2011.

As a basis for international comparisons of homicide rates, the UNODC-IHS data have been praised for their use of multiple data sources (see Marshall & Block, 2004). However, the validity of absolute and relative comparisons of the homicide rates of different countries derived from these United Nation's data is problematic because of several basic limitations in the data. First, definitions of intentional killings differ across countries (e.g., countries vary in the extent to which lethal acts of physician-assisted deaths, other mercy killings, "honor" killings, extrajudicial executions during periods of civil strife, infanticides, genocides, and other forms of state-sponsored lethal violence are included in their counts of intentional homicides). Second, countries also vary widely in the public reporting of crime incidents *and* their recording by law enforcement agencies. These differences in reporting and recording of homicides are also likely to have changed over time and vary by a country's level of economic development and political stability. Given these basic sources of discrepancies in counting homicides across countries, serious caution is warranted in any crossnational comparisons of homicide rates that derive from IHS data.

The most widely used data source on the prevalence and nature of US homicides involves the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports (UCR) and its Supplementary Homicide Reports (SHR). Homicides in the UCR/SHR data represent cases of murder and non-negligent manslaughters that are known to the police. SHR data provide information on offender, victim, and situational attributes that underlie these homicide incidents. However, as a comprehensive basis for substantive inferences about US homicides, the UCR/SHR data are also limited in several ways. First, some criminal homicides are unknown to the police for various reasons (e.g., misclassified as "missing persons" because no body has been found; deaths that are incorrectly ruled as accidental). Second, claims about the dominant motivations and circumstances of homicides and the particular attributes of the offender (e.g., gender, race, age, victim-offender relationship) are limited by large amounts of missing data in nearly half of US homicides recorded in the SHR data (see Fox, 2004; Regoeczi & Miethe, 2003). Due to these problems, UCR and SHR data may not provide a totally accurate picture of the nature and prevalence of US homicides.

An alternative source for estimating the prevalence of US homicides involves national mortality data compiled by the Center for Disease Control's (CDC) National Vital Statistics System (NVSS). NVSS data provide annual summaries of the number of deaths attributed to homicides (i.e., "injuries inflicted by another person with intent to injure or kill, by any means"), deaths from legal interventions (i.e., killings by law enforcement officials in the course of their legal actions), and legal executions. As a primary source for studying homicide and its correlates, however, these national mortality files can be inadequate because they lack data on the offender's attributes and provide only limited information on the situational elements surrounding these

deaths (e.g., the type of lethal weapon is recorded, but NVSS files do not contain data on the homicide's motive or circumstances).

The Prevalence of Homicide

International and national data from various sources are widely used to estimate the prevalence of homicide over time and place. While appropriate caution should be exercised in interpreting these trends (due to the data limitations discussed above), what we know about crossnational differences in homicide rates from the available empirical data are summarized below.

Based on United Nation's data (UNODC-IHS, 2010), homicide rates involving intentional killings exhibit wide variability across countries (see Figure 7.1). The five countries with the highest homicide rates in 2008 are Honduras (61.3 per 100,000), Jamaica (59.5), Cote d'Ivoire (56.9), Venezuela (52.0), and El Salvador (51.9). In contrast, countries with the highest human development (i.e., highest levels of life expectancy, literacy rates, standard of living) often have the lowest rates of homicide. Among these most developed countries, the homicide rate is highest in the United States (4.6 per 100,000 in 2010). Homicide rates are far lower in other developed countries, including Canada (1.8 per 100,000), Australia (1.2), Germany (.9), and Japan (.5).

Homicides rates in the United States have varied widely over the last sixty years (see Figure 7.2). Based on the FBI's UCR data, homicide rates climbed sharply from the 1960s to mid-1970s, declined briefly in the early 1980s and then generally increased until the early 1990s, decreased sharply until the start of the twenty-first century, remained relatively low and stable between 2000 and 2006, and declined again over the next four years.

Several explanations have been proposed to account for these changes in US homicide rates over time. The dominant explanations for these trends, especially the rise in US homicide rates in the 1960s, include the following:
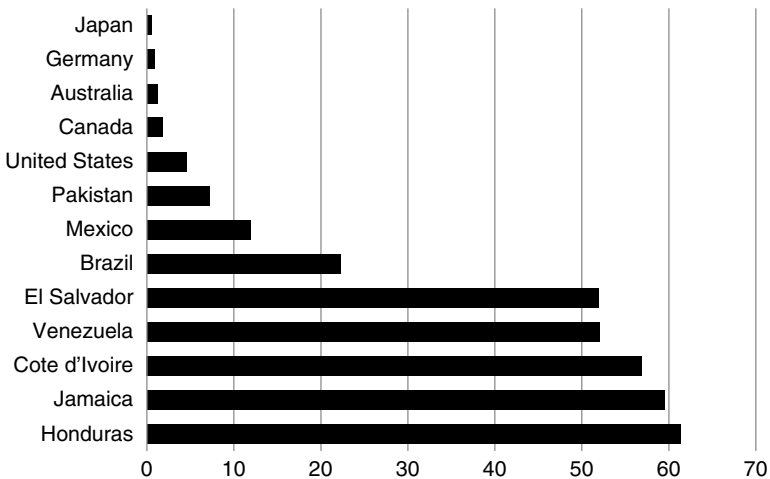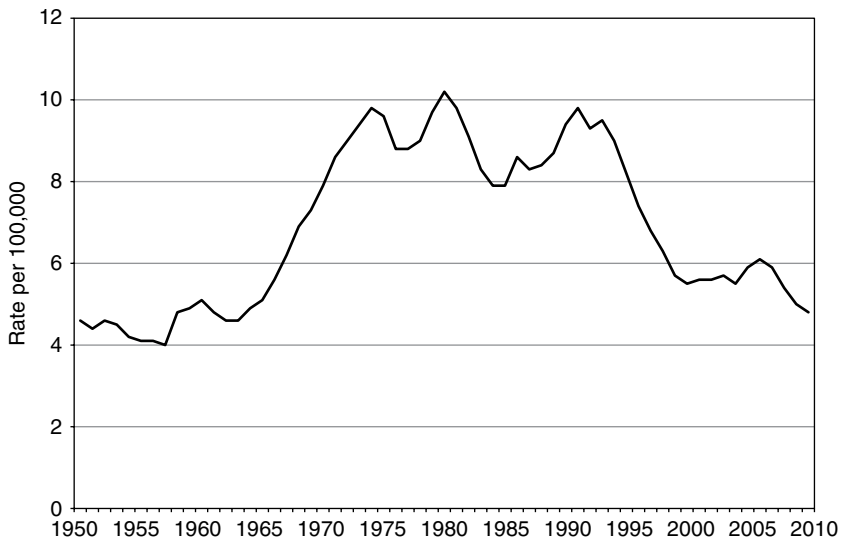

Figure 7.1   Homicide rates, selected countries. *Source*: UNODC-HIS (2008).

Figure 7.2   United States homicide rates *Source*: © 2008 Pearson Education, Inc. All rights reserved.

- Under the "legitimation of violence hypothesis" (Archer & Gartner, 1984), war legitimizes violence and these pro-violence values in wartime are carried over to postwar periods. Across American history, this theory is consistent with the sharp increases in the US homicide rates after World War II, the Korean War, and during and after the Vietnam War. It is also consistent with the rates of homicide in other countries over time.
- Changes in the US homicide rates over time have also been linked to changes in the relative size of the 18–24 year old age cohort. This age group has the highest rate of offending and its relative size compared to other age groups contributes to a higher volume of homicide and other crimes. For example, the rise in homicide rates in the 1960s has been attributed to the "baby boom" after World War II – the baby boom is the idea that a disproportionately large number of births occurred in the years immediately after this war and their children became 18–24 year olds in the 1960s.
- Based on the theory of relative deprivation, changes in homicide rates are associated with changes in business cycles (see LaFree, 1998; Short, 1997). This theory suggests that higher homicide rates occur in periods of growing economic prosperity because conditions are improving for some groups but not for others. The groups that are left behind in this growing prosperity (i.e., the young, poor, and others who are socially disadvantaged) become frustrated and angry because conditions are improving for everyone else except them. This state of relative deprivation, in turn, leads these groups to engage in various criminal acts of frustration and displaced aggression (like murders and assaults) or profit-motivated violent and property crimes (like robbery and burglary). The precipitous rise in homicide rates through the 1960s (a period in which economic conditions were improving for most people but not all of them) is consistent with the basic principles of the theory of relative deprivation.
- According to criminal opportunity theories (see Cohen & Felson, 1979; Miethe & Meier, 1986), changes in the routine activities and lifestyles of Americans are crimi-nogenic factors that explain temporal changes in homicide and other crime rates over

time. From this perspective, changes in people's routine activities/lifestyles have increased criminal opportunities because it has made them more visible/accessible, more attractive, and less protected from predatory criminals. The most influential social changes that affect crime rates include increases in the amount of time people spend in risky public activities away from the protection of their homes, a rise in the proportion of people living alone (i.e., single-person households) that offers less social guardianship or protection for them, and increases in the production of portable and expensive consumer goods (e.g., expensive watches, jewelry, ATM/bank cards, cell phones, iPods and other electronic equipment) that make people and their property more attractive targets for acts of predatory violence (see Miethe, 2012).

- Increased gang activity and drug trafficking in central cities (e.g., New York, Los Angeles, Chicago) have been considered major contributory factors in the rise in US homicides in the 1960s and 1970s (Miethe, McCorkle, & Listwan, 2006). In addition, the rise in lethal and nonlethal violence in these major cities and others between the mid-1980s and early 1990s has also been strongly linked to illicit drug activities surrounding the crack cocaine epidemic in this time period (Baumer et al., 1998; Blumstein, 1995; Martinez, Rosenfeld & Mares, 2008). Patterns of violence in large cities strongly influence the national trends because homicides occur disproportionately in large urban areas.

Social Correlates of Homicide

The nature and risks of homicide vary widely across geographical locations, offender attributes, victim characteristics, and the offense and situational elements that underlie these crimes. These social correlates of US homicides are summarized below.

Geographical Differences

Homicide rates in the United States and elsewhere exhibit enormous variability over geographical regions and the degree of urbanization. Homicides are often concentrated in large urban areas and particular locations within these major metropolitan areas.

Based on the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2010), US homicide rates are substantially higher in the South than other regions of the country (e.g., 5.6 per 100,000 in Southern states versus 2.9 per 100,000 in the Northeast). Slightly less than half (44%) of all US homicides known to the police in 2010 occurred in the South. Both structural and cultural factors have been used to explain the higher rates of homicide in the South throughout American history (e.g., higher rates of economic inequality, racial inequality, cultural histories of violence).

Homicide rates are also associated with the level of urbanization in geographical areas. In particular, US homicide rates are over three times higher for cities with populations over 250,000 compared to geographical areas with populations less than 100,000. The national homicide rate in 2010 was 4.8 per 100,000, but rates are substantially larger in some US cities. For example, the five US cities with the highest homicide rates in 2010 are New Orleans (49.1 per 100,000), St. Louis (40.5), Baltimore (34.8), Detroit (34.5), and Newark (32.1). Among the three largest US cities, the homicide rate in 2010 is highest in Chicago (15.2), followed by Los Angeles (7.6) and New York (6.4). The number of homicides has decreased

dramatically in these large cities over the last two decades, but this drop has been especially apparent in New York, with the number of homicides falling from 2245 in 1990 to 536 in 2010.

Within any large metropolitan areas, it is important to note that homicides are concentrated within particular geographical locations (Harries, 1997). The following socio-demographic characteristics are often found in these high risk areas for homicide: high unemployment, rapid population turnover, overcrowding and housing decay, racial segregation, high ethnic diversity, substandard schools, high rates of single parent households, and high income inequality (see Hannon, 2005; Krivo, Peterson, & Kuhl, 2009). According to social disorganization theory (Shaw & McKay, 1942), these social factors are related to higher crime rates because they are indicative of low economic opportunity, a diversity of values and language, and low supervision of youth.

Offender Profile in Homicide

Persons arrested for homicide are not typically a random cross-section of the US population. Instead, compared to their distribution in the general population, persons arrested for homicide are disproportionately male, young (under 25), African American, and poor (see Miethe, 2012; Miethe & Regoeczi, 2004). The nature and level of their prior criminal history is also somewhat distinct from the general population and other types of offenders. Patterns of change and stability in this offender profile over time, and some explanations for why these particular attributes are related to these risks of homicide offending, are summarized below.

Based on UCR arrest data, males represent about 89% of homicide arrestees in 2010 and this gender difference has not changed appreciably over the last 50 years. While the use of police data may seriously undercount some types of homicides by women, for example, infanticide, self-defense killings, justifiable homicide, mercy killings (assisted suicides), the greater propensity for violence by males is also supported in self-report and victimization studies. Higher rates of males' participation in interpersonal violence have been attributed to gender differences in the externalization/internalization of aggression (which explains the higher suicide rates among females), biological factors (e.g., testosterone), and the use of aggression as a means of enhancing one's status and masculine identity (Miethe, McCorkle, & Listwan, 2006).

Persons under 25 years old accounted for almost one half of US homicide arrestees in 2010, About 38% of these arrestees were between 18 and 24 years old, and 9% were juveniles under 18. Over the last 50 years, the proportion of homicides involving teenagers and young adults has increased over time. For example, only about one-fourth (26%) of homicide arrestees were between 18 and 24 years old in 1960, compared to 38% of homicide arrestees in 2010. Explanations for the high risks of homicide among young adults focus on such factors as low self-control, high impulsivity, and the weakened bonds and attachments to social institutions (e.g., family, schools, religion) that typify the tumultuous years of late adolescence and young adulthood (see Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990; Hirschi, 1969).

African Americans represent about 12% of the US population, but they account for about one half (49%) of all homicide arrestees in 2010 (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2010). The magnitude of these racial differences in homicide arrests has remained remarkably similar over the last 50 years. The disproportionate

representation of African Americans among arrestees for violent crimes in general has been attributed to a variety of factors, including (i) greater police patrolling in minority communities and selective arrests of Blacks within these areas, (ii) greater economic disadvantage in minority communities that generates feelings of alienation, despair and frustration, (iii) racial differences in the internalization and externalization of aggression, and (iv) the historical legacy of slavery and racism that restricts the opportunity for African Americans to achieve justice and resolve conflict through legitimate means (Miethe, 2012).

National UCR data do not contain information on the economic status or social class of persons arrested for any crime. However, the economic status of the typical homicide offenders can be inferred from several additional data sources. First, local police departments often collect information on "calls for service" and arrests for geographical areas (e.g., police beats/precincts, census tracts). The "hot spots" for violent crime in these local jurisdictions are often located within lower income neighborhoods. Second, the higher proportion of homicide offenders among the poor and disadvantaged is also supported by the fact that the vast majority of criminal defendants for felony charges are indigent (i.e., persons with insufficient economic resources to hire their own attorney). Third, presentence investigation reports (PSI) conducted to determine the appropriate punishment for convicted offenders often reveal the economic marginality of many of these offenders. The particular causal mechanisms that increases the propensity of lower class individuals to commit violent crimes may involve the frustration and despair associated with economic marginality and the adverse effects of lower income on prenatal and infant health problems, higher impulsivity and developmental disabilities associated with poor nutrition and health care, and poor school performance and limited economic opportunities that are linked to these other factors (Loeber et al., 2005; Miethe & Regoeczi, 2004).

Systematic national data on the family histories and criminal backgrounds of homicide offenders and other violent criminals is limited. However, several studies indicate that violent offenders often have a family history of abuse and neglect (see Loeber et al., 2005). In terms of their criminal histories, persons arrested for murder and other violent crimes generally have less extensive criminal records than other offenders and they do not typically specialize in violent offenses (see Miethe, Olson, & Mitchell, 2006). Murderers also do not exhibit a consistent pattern of escalation from nonviolent to violent offenses. Instead, their criminal records are extremely diverse – many have no prior violent arrest history, some start their criminal careers with a minor property offending and move back and forth between these minor offenses and serious violent crimes, and a small number of them have persistent and chronic (i.e., long term) history of involvement in acts of violence (see Trojan & Salfati, 2011).

Victim Characteristics

Homicide is an intragroup phenomenon in which its victims and offenders are often similar in their socio-demographic profiles. The social profile of homicide victims that derives from analyses of the FBI's Supplementary Homicide Reports (SHR) is summarized below.

According to SHR data for 2010, more than three-fourths (78%) of homicide victims are males and the remaining 22% are females. Males are the typical victim of both homicides by other males and those committed by female offenders.

Slightly more than half (50.4%) of the victims of homicide are Black, 49% are white, with the remaining 1% consisting of "other races" (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2010). The vast majority of homicides are intraracial (i.e., within the same race). In fact, intraracial killings account for over 90% of homicides involving friends or acquaintances and about three-fourths (73%) of homicides by strangers (Cooper & Smith, 2011).

Similar to their distribution among homicide offenders, more than one-third (35%) of homicide victims are under 25 years old. The vast majority of homicide victims and offenders are also in the same general age group – i.e., juveniles typically kill other juveniles and adults kill other adults of a similar age (see Miethe & Regoeczi, 2004). The major exceptions to this "age homogeneity" pattern involve child homicides (i.e., killings of infants and preteen children) in which the killer is typically a parent, and robbery homicides in which younger offenders may kill older victims in street muggings and robberies of convenience stores.

The similarity of the victims and offenders of homicide is also suggested by the nature of the victim-offender relationship that often surrounds these crimes. SHR data for 2010 indicate that of those homicides in which the victim-offender relationship could be determined, about 33% of homicide victims and offenders involved family members or intimate partners (e.g., boy/girlfriends) and an additional 45% involved acquaintances (e.g., acquaintances, friends, neighbors, co-workers). The remaining 22% of homicides involved strangers. The fact that over three-fourths of homicides involve primary group members and acquaintances provides additional support for the idea that homicide is an intragroup phenomenon involving homogenous victim-offender populations (see Sampson & Lauritsen, 1990; Singer, 1981).

Another aspect of the victim's profile in homicide involves the concept of victim precipitation. Victim precipitated homicides are killings in which the victim is the first person to resort to physical force that ultimately leads to their death (Wolfgang, 1958). Estimates of victim precipitation in homicide range from about 20% to over 50% (Miethe, 1985). The fact that the vast majority of homicides are voluntary manslaughters (i.e., killings done in the heat of passion and under victim provocation) also suggests that victim precipitation is a common feature of most criminal homicides. In addition, a justifiable homicide that is done in self-defense is the classic example of a victim-precipitated homicide. When both types of homicides are added together, victim precipitation is found to be a major etiological factor in homicides.

Offense and Situational Elements

According to criminal opportunity theories, there are three necessary conditions for the occurrence of homicide: (i) an offender, (ii) a victim, and (iii) a situational context for the crime (Miethe & Regoeczi, 2004). Elements of the situational context include aspects of the physical setting (e.g., the dangerousness of particular places and times), offense attributes (e.g., weapon use, co-offenders, alcohol/drug use), and the nature of interpersonal dynamics between the parties that increase the likelihood of these criminal acts.

The most dangerous location for US homicides is the physical space in and around the victim's home. The higher risks of violent victimization in this location is due to several factors, including the fact that (i) people spend more time at their home than any other location, (ii) most violent offenders victimize family members and other known parties (e.g., acquaintances, friends, neighbors) who live with or near them, and (iii) the closed physical structure of homes and norms of privacy (e.g., "minding

one's own business") often prevents outsiders from early intervention in domestic disputes before they escalate into murders (Miethe & Deibert, 2007).

The primary "hot spots" for lethal and nonlethal violence by strangers include areas surrounding the following public locations: bars, other entertainment establishments, parking lots, and subway/bus stops (see Sherman, Gartin, & Buerger, 1989). The dangerousness of these public places is due primarily to (i) one's visibility and accessibility to strangers in these locations, (ii) the greater likelihood of victims being alone [in areas like parking lots and bus stops], and (iii) the consumption of alcohol in bars and other entertainment establishments which may weaken inhibitions and impede judgment (Miethe, 2012). While tragic incidents of lethal violence on school campuses (e.g., the mass murders at Columbine High School and Virginia Tech) increase public concerns about school security, most schools are relatively safe locations and they are not usually considered risky places for lethal violence.

Risks of homicide victimization are not uniform over time. Instead, these risks vary dramatically over different hours of the day, days of the week, and seasons of the year. The nature of these dangerous times and explanations for them include the following:

- Night-time hours (6 p.m. to 6 a.m.) are far more dangerous than daytime hours (6 a.m. to 6 p.m.). The lower risks of homicide victimization in daytime hours is due in part to the greater constraints/regulations imposed by either work or school schedules. In contrast, both offenders and victims are less restrained in hours after work/school, freeing them up to participate in public leisure activities that may expose them to risky/dangerous situations or returning them to home environments that are physically abusive (Miethe, 2012). For lethal assaults by strangers, the darkness of night may facilitate the likelihood of criminal behavior because it provides greater anonymity to offenders and decreases their risk of getting caught due to the lower number of potential witnesses in nighttime hours.
- Weekends (especially Friday and Saturday nights) are more dangerous than weekdays. For most people, weekends are less regulated by work/school schedules and there is more discretionary time on these days to engage in public leisure activities. Under routine activity/lifestyle theories of victimization (Cohen & Felson, 1979; Hindelang, Goffredson, & Garofalo, 1978), people's increased risks of violent victimization on weekends are attributable to their greater exposure to risky/dangerous situations outside the home (e.g., going out at nighttime, drinking/partying on weekends).
- Summer months have higher rates of violent crime than other seasons of the year. Explanations for this seasonality effect include (i) the higher levels of public leisure activity in summer months and (ii) the adverse effects of heat and crowding on human behavior – that is, both heat and crowding increase irritability in all animals; frustration/irritability, in turn, increase the likelihood of displaced aggression toward any available target (see Cheatwood, 1988; Tennenbaum & Fink, 1994).

The presence of other offense and situational attributes may also increase the risks of lethal violence. These enabling and facilitating factors associated with homicide include the type of weapon used, the presence of co-offenders and multiple victims, and whether substance abuse (i.e., alcohol or drug use) was involved.

The vast majority of US homicides involve firearms as the lethal weapon, usually a handgun. Over the last century, firearms have been the lethal weapon in anywhere between 60% and 75% of US homicides each year. In 2010, 68% of the homicides

known to the police were committed with a firearm, 13% involved knives or cutting instruments, and the remaining 19% involved personal weapons (e.g., hands, fists, feet) and other objects/methods (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2010). Gang-related homicides had the highest concentration of gun homicides (e.g., 92% of these homicides in 2008 involved firearms) (Cooper & Smith, 2011).

Most US homicides involve one offender and one victim. About 10% of homicide situations involve multiple victims and about one-fifth (21%) involve multiple offenders (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2010). When multiple offenders are involved in physical assaults, they often occur in the context of youth violence or in acts of vigilante justice and hate crimes. The group context for these violent acts is often explained by theories about social facilitation and adverse consequence of group pressure. Under these explanations, the presence of co-offenders facilitates or encourages violence because these other people provide both subtle and direct pressure on individuals to commit violent assaults to "man up" and/or affirm their masculine identify. In the relatively rare situation of homicides involving multiple victims, the offender is often a male family member (who kills his wife and kids) or a disgruntled employee (who kills co-workers in his workplace). Although cases of multiple victim/offender violence receive the most media attention, the empirical reality is that the typical homicide involves only one victim and offender.

Criminological research has found that drug and alcohol use is a major situational factor in violent crime. National estimates are that about one-half of the persons in prison for murder or assaults were under the influence of alcohol, drugs, or both at the time of their offense (see Mumola, 1999; Miethe, McCorkle and Listwan, 2006). Case studies of homicide incidents also reveal high rates of alcohol use among the victims of lethal violence. The criminogenic impact of alcohol on violent behavior is due to its adverse influence on cognitive reasoning and the weakening of social inhibitions.

Over the last two decades, illicit drug and alcohol have also been linked to criminal violence in several additional ways. First, the sellers and buyers of illicit drugs (especially crack cocaine in the late 1980s) compete with other drug distributors and violence is a primary means of reducing this competition. Second, drug sellers have been violently attacked by buyers who are trying to steal their drug supplies or cash to support their own drug habits. Third, the group context of street-level drug and alcohol usage in many metropolitan areas (coupled with the reduced inhibitions associated with drug/alcohol abuse) are the types of situational contexts in which a trivial comment or personal affront may quickly escalate into violence (Miethe, McCorkle & Listwan, 2006).

Motives for Homicide

Homicides are criminal events that are characterized by a dynamic interplay between its victims and offenders in time and space. Particular elements of the situational context both enable and constrain the likelihood that interpersonal encounters will result in a violent act. The homicide's motive and circumstances are primary factors in these interpersonal dynamics and account for the different situational contexts for criminal homicides.

Previous research indicates that homicides are motivated by a wide variety of instrumental (i.e., goal directed) and expressive (i.e., spontaneous, impulsive) factors. Many offenders commit these acts in the course of sudden disputes and arguments

(e.g., affronts to one's masculine identity, arguments about infidelity, money and/or drugs) and others commit these offenses as calculated acts for profit or to avoid detection from other criminal activity (see Decker, 1996; Miethe & Regoeczi, 2004). The FBI's Supplementary Homicide Reports classify motive based on the circumstances surrounding the homicide. Because the offender and specific context of the killing is often unknown, nearly half of SHR incidents have missing data on the homicide's specific motive or circumstance (e.g., 47% of SHR cases in 2010 are missing this information). However, among incidents in which this information could be determined, the most common circumstances in homicide involve various types of arguments (56%), robberies (13%), juvenile gang killings (11%), and narcotic drug activities (8%).

In cases of homicide that emerge from interpersonal disputes and arguments, previous studies have examined the situational dynamics underlying these violent incidents that ultimately escalate into homicides. Many of these homicides are described as confrontational homicides or "character contests" that are initiated by a rather trivial altercation that is perceived as an affront to one's identify, status, and/or masculinity (see Deibert & Miethe, 2003; Luckenbill, 1977; Polk, 1994).

Types of Homicide Situations

Homicide situations are defined by the convergence of particular offender, victim, and offense elements in time and space (Miethe & Regoeczi, 2004). The basic features of homicides that occur within the situational contexts of domestic violence (i.e., the killing of family members and intimate partners), personal and commercial robberies, juvenile gang killings, illegal drug activity, and among chronic violent offenders are described below.

Lethal Acts of Domestic Violence

Lethal violence among intimate partners and family members represent a prevalent situational context for US homicides. Based on national data (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2010), about one-third of homicides occur within the context of domestic violence, involving either intimate partners or family members. Among these killings, the most likely homicide victim is the wife/ex-wife (25%) or girlfriend (20%), followed by son (11%), daughter (8%), father (6%), boyfriend (5%), husband/ex-husband (5%), mother (4%), siblings (4%), and other family members (12%).

Much has been written about intimate partner violence, its causes, and situational elements (e.g., Browne, 1987; Coker et al., 2000; Pinto et al., 2010). Previous studies of killings among intimate partners reveal that the motivations, precipitating circumstances, situational dynamics, and legal outcomes of these homicides are often qualitatively distinct based on the gender of the offender. Male sexual jealousy and control are the primary motivations of men who kill female intimate partners (Block & Block, 2012; Campbell, 1992; Campbell et al., 2003; Wilson & Daly, 1992). The risk of women being killed by an intimate partner is highest when they are attempting to leave or have recently ended the relationship (Campbell et al., 2003; Wilson & Daly, 1992). Even though financial motives may underlie some male-perpetrated intimate partner homicides (e.g., a husband kills his wife to collect on a life insurance policy; an ex-wife is killed to stop the alimony payments), this type of instrumental motive is

far less common than the jealousy and desire to control that often precipitate males' lethal attacks on their intimate partners.

Of the offender and situational elements in male-perpetrated acts of intimate partner homicides, the two most dominant attributes involve a previous history of domestic abuse and the role of alcohol as a contributory factor. In terms of their violent histories, previous research indicates that acts of intimate partner violence are rarely isolated events. Instead, most male offenders of intimate partner violence have extensive histories of domestic violence, including multiple acts of victimization against the ultimate target of their lethal violence (Campbell, 1992). Alcohol's contributory role in acts of intimate partner homicides is clearly revealed in police narrative accounts and court testimony on these lethal incidents (see Langan & Dawson, 1995; Miethe & Regoeczi, 2004).

When women kill their intimate partners, alcohol use and prior history of abuse by their male partner are also major contributory factor in the events leading up to the homicide. However, many of these female-perpetrated homicides are committed in response to the use of physical violence by the victim. The magnitude, seriousness, and immediacy of the lethal reaction to the male victim's physical provocation is often sufficient for these cases to be legally classified as justifiable homicides (see Langan & Dawson, 2005).

Robbery-Motivated Homicides

Homicides that occur in the context of robbery take several forms. Most of these killings involve street robberies (i.e., personal muggings) and killings during commercial or institutional robberies (e.g., convenience stores, banks). Killings in the course of stealing of automobiles with force (i.e., carjackings) are a less common situational context for robbery homicides.

In the case of lethal street muggings, the ultimate motive may not necessarily involve financial gain and the killing may not have been totally planned or expected. Instead, many incidents of lethal street muggings may begin as verbal confrontations that escalate into deadly attacks and the taking of the victim's possessions in the aftermath of the attack. Monetary returns, feelings of power and control, and "cheap thrills" are some of the reasons offered by street muggers for their crimes (Jacobs & Wright, 1999; Wright & Decker, 1997). Interviews with these offenders and the analysis of robbery incidents also indicate that many street muggers employ various strategies to make initial contact with their victims, control the situation, and subdue the victim so that lethal violence is unnecessary to complete the theft (Luckenbill, 1981; Wright & Decker, 1997). However, in other cases, the physical assault and killing of the robbery victim is totally gratuitous and unnecessary for the commission of the robbery or maintaining the offender's anonymity.

Compared to street muggers, planning and calculation appears to be more common in cases of commercial or institutional robberies (MacDonald, 1975; Miethe, McCorkle, & Listwan, 2006). However, the modus operandi and situational factors associated with bank robbery and other institutional robberies vary widely based on whether the offender is an amateur or professional (Weisel, 2007). For most institutional robberies, the amateur offender typically works alone, but the professional robber often works in teams and establishes a particular division of labor among co-offenders prior to the robbery. Both personal and institutional robberies turn

deadly because of the offender's predispositions toward violence or the operation of specific situational factors (e.g., victim resistance, sudden movements by employees, unexpected noises) that may immediately invoke a violent reaction.

Juvenile Gang Violence

Based on the SHR data for 2010, an estimated 11% of homicides are suspected to have occurred within the context of youth gang activity. The use of SHR data for estimating the prevalence of gang-related homicide has been seriously questioned because of definitional ambiguity across jurisdictions in how these crimes are classified and counted in police reports (see Maxson, Curry, & Howell, 2002). Unfortunately, SHR data are the most comprehensive national information on the prevalence of youth gang killings in the United States.

Similar to other situational contexts for interpersonal violence, homicides involving juvenile gang members are motivated by both instrumental and expressive motivations. Battles over "turf" and control over illegal street-level activities are contributory factors in many youth gang homicides, but feelings of disrespect and threats to masculinity are often the precipitating factors of these violent interactions (see Anderson, 1999; Fagan & Wilkinson, 1998; Sanders, 1994). The availability of firearms (especially handguns) and the presence of co-offenders that may serve to enhance the escalation of violence are major situational factors associated with youth gang homicides.

Drug-Related Homicides

Most drug-related homicides are linked to drug dealing (i.e., the buying or selling of illegal drugs) rather than the use of narcotics per se. An estimated 8% of the US homicides in 2010 were linked to narcotic drug activities. The common situational contexts for these drug-related killings involved disputes over drug transactions, the ripe-off of drug distributors, and the elimination of rival drug dealers. Predatory violence to support drug addictions is another circumstantial element of these homicides.

The prevalence of US homicides associated with narcotic drug activities varies widely over time and place. From the mid-1980s to mid-1990s, drug-related activity associated with crack cocaine was a major social problem in lower income neighborhoods within many large US cities. For some cities (like Miami, New York, and Washington DC), crack-related homicides represented a dominant situational context for lethal violence. The subsequent reductions and general abatement of the crack cocaine "epidemic" since this time period is often identified as a major factor associated with the substantial drop in US homicide rates over the last two decades.

Chronic Violent Offenders

Longitudinal studies reveal that a large proportion of all violent crimes are committed by a relatively small number of offenders (see Tolan & Gorman-Smith, 1998; Tracy & Kempf-Leonard, 1996). These chronic, violent offenders have been the focus of much criminological research, especially in terms of the early identification of their developmental histories and the particular risk factors associated with these habitual violent offenders.

Previous research has identified a variety of risk factors for violent offending. Most violent offenders have multiple risk factors in their developmental histories (Howell, 1995). Hawkins et al. (2000) have grouped the risk factors of youth violence into the following categories: (i) *individual factors* (e.g. pregnancy and delivery complications, hyperactivity, early onset of violence, pro-violent beliefs and attitudes); (ii) *family factors* (e.g., parents' criminality, low levels of parental involvement and bonding, abuse/mistreatment); (iii) *school risk factors* (e.g., academic failure, low bonding to schools, truancy and dropping out); (iv) *peer-related factors* (e.g., delinquent siblings, delinquent peers, gang membership) and (v) *community risk factors* (e.g., availability of firearms; low neighborhood attachments and community organizations; extreme economic deprivation).

Research on serial killers reveals a wide array of social and behavioral histories underlying their criminal careers (see Fox & Levin, 2005; Hickey, 2010). Some of these repeat murderers have extensive histories of family disruption (e.g., raised in abusive families, marital conflict) and institutional failure (e.g., poor school performance, sporadic work histories, dishonorable military discharge), but other serial killers do not have these histories. Feelings of social isolation and low empathy are other traits found within some but not at all serial killers (Hickey, 2010).

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8

Nonfatal Violence
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This chapter describes nonfatal violence with a focus on street crime, specifically rape, sexual assault, robbery, aggravated assault, and simple assault. More than considering static violent victimization rates, it is important to examine changes in violence over time, as well as how violence varies by victim and incident characteristics. To address these important topics, this chapter begins by presenting different types of violence and the data sources used to measure violence in the United States. The chapter then presents information focused on trends in nonfatal violence from 1993 to 2011. The characteristics of victims of violence are also considered with an emphasis on gender, age, and race and Hispanic origin. Finally, the chapter concludes with a presentation of incident characteristics of violence including weapon use by offenders, injuries suffered by victims, and reporting violence to police.

Major Data Sources of Nonfatal Violence

The major sources of data on nonfatal violence in the United States are the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) and the Uniform Crime Reporting Program. This chapter uses information from each of these sources to provide a broader overview of nonfatal violence in the United States. The NCVS is a self-report survey in which interviewed persons are asked about the number and characteristics of victimizations experienced during the prior 6 months. The NCVS is administered to persons age 12 or older from a nationally representative sample of households in the United States. The NCVS collects information on nonfatal personal crimes (rape or sexual assault, robbery, aggravated assault, simple assault, and personal larceny) and household property crimes (burglary, motor vehicle theft, and other theft) both reported and not reported to police. Survey respondents provide information about

*The views expressed in this chapter are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect those of the Bureau of Justice Statistics.

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themselves (such as age, gender, race and ethnicity, marital status, education level, and income) and if they experienced a victimization. For crime victims, data are collected about each victimization incident, including information about the offender (such as age, race and ethnicity, gender, and victim-offender relationship), characteristics of the crime (including time and place of occurrence, use of weapons, nature of injury, and economic consequences), whether the crime was reported to police, reasons why the crime was or was not reported, and experiences with the criminal justice system. The UCR collects information from law enforcement agencies that voluntarily participate in the program. Law enforcement agencies submit reports to the FBI. These UCR data provide summary statistics on violent (homicide, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault) and property crime (burglary, larceny-theft, motor vehicle theft) that are known to law enforcement. The UCR provides crime counts for the United States as well as for regions and local areas.

The NCVS and UCR are complementary data sources although they are not expected to be completely comparable. Each data source measures a similar, but not identical, set of offenses using different methodologies. As measured by the FBI's UCR, violent crime includes murder and non-negligent manslaughter, forcible rape, robbery, and aggravated assault. As measured by the NCVS, violent crime includes rape, sexual assault, robbery, aggravated assault, and simple assault. Significant methodological and definitional differences exist between the NCVS and UCR. First, the NCVS generates estimates of crimes both reported and not reported to the police, while the UCR offers estimates of crimes known to and recorded by the police. Being able to offer information on the dark figure of crime, or those crimes that go unreported to law enforcement, is an advantage of the NCVS (Biderman & Reiss, 1967; Skogan, 1977; US Department of Justice, 2004). Second, the types of crimes included in NCVS and UCR crime rates differ. The UCR includes homicide, arson, and commercial crimes, while the NCVS excludes these crime types. The UCR excludes simple assaults and sexual assaults, which are included in the NCVS crime rates. Third, the NCVS data are estimates from a nationally representative sample of US households, whereas UCR data are based on the actual counts of offenses reported by law enforcement jurisdictions. Finally, the NCVS excludes crimes against children under age 12, persons in institutions (e.g., nursing homes and correctional institutions), and may exclude highly mobile populations and the homeless; however, victimizations against these persons may be included in the UCR. The NCVS offers information on the characteristics of crime and crime victims which is useful in understanding nonfatal violence. Even given these differences, both sources used together provide a more comprehensive picture of nonfatal violence.

For purposes of this chapter, nonfatal crime trends are presented based on data from 1993 to 2011. The year 1993 is selected as the starting point given that the NCVS underwent a redesign in 1992 with the changes fully implemented in 1993. At the time of the construction of this chapter, 2011 data were the most recent available.

Defining Nonfatal Violence

Although the NCVS and UCR gather data on a similar set of crimes, it is important to establish the definitions used by each system since broader definitions lead to larger estimates and narrower definitions result in smaller estimates. In general

in this chapter, nonfatal violence includes rape, sexual assault, robbery, aggravated assault, and simple assault. However, the specific crimes examined, and the specific definitions used depend upon the data source consulted. When considering the NCVS, rape is defined as the unlawful penetration of a person against the will of the victim, with use or threatened use of force, or attempting such an act. In the UCR, rape shown in this chapter was based on the definition of "The carnal knowledge of a female forcibly and against her will." Please note this UCR definition of rape excludes males as victims, and requires vaginal penetration with a penis only. Penetration elsewhere by other body parts of objects is not included. The UCR updated the rape definition following 2011 so estimates in this chapter focus only on the older definition. Sexual assault according to the NCVS includes attacks or attempted attacks generally involving unwanted sexual contact between victim and offender; these victimizations may or may not involve force and include grabbing or fondling. The UCR does not provide estimates of sexual assault. Robbery is the unlawful taking or attempted taking of property that is in the immediate possession of another, by force or threat of force, with or without a weapon, and with or without injury according to both systems. Aggravated assault is an attack or attempted attack with a weapon or an attack when serious injury results. Again, this definition is shared by both systems. And simple assault involves an attack or attempted attack without a weapon that results in either no injury or a minor injury. The UCR does not include simple assault estimates in Part I crimes and are not presented here.

Trends and Patterns in Overall and Serious Nonfatal Violence

This first section examines trends in rates of nonfatal violence and how this violence has changed over time. Rates of overall nonfatal victimizations are presented using data from the NCVS and UCR from 1993 to 2011 (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1993–2011; Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2012), and are then disaggregated by type of violence. Violent victimization as measured by the NCVS declined by about 72% between 1993 and 2011 from a rate of 79.8 per 1000 persons age 12 or older to 22.5 per 1000 (see Figure 8.1). This is a drop from about 16.8 million violent victimizations in 1993 to 5.8 million in 2011. The majority of the decline occurred in the first half of the time period in the 1990s to early 2000s. Violent victimization continued to decline from 2007 to 2010. In the most recent years, from 2010 to 2011, there was an increase in violent victimization from 19.3 per 1000 persons age 12 or older to 22.5 per 1000. This increase was primarily due to an increase in rates of assaults, as rape and sexual assault and robbery remained relatively stable. It is difficult to say if the increase between 2010 and 2011 is a single year increase or if violent crime will continue to escalate in the coming years.

Serious violent victimization, which includes rape, sexual assault, robbery, and aggravated assault (i.e., it does not include simple assault), followed a similar pattern. Serious violent victimization rates declined from 29.1 per 1000 persons age 12 or older in 1993 to 7.2 per 1000 in 2011. As with overall violent victimization, the majority of the decline in serious violent victimization occurred in the first half of the 19 year period. The rates of serious violent victimization have been relatively stable from 2007 to 2011. While it appeared that serious violence rates increased from 2010 to 2011, the change was not statistically significant.
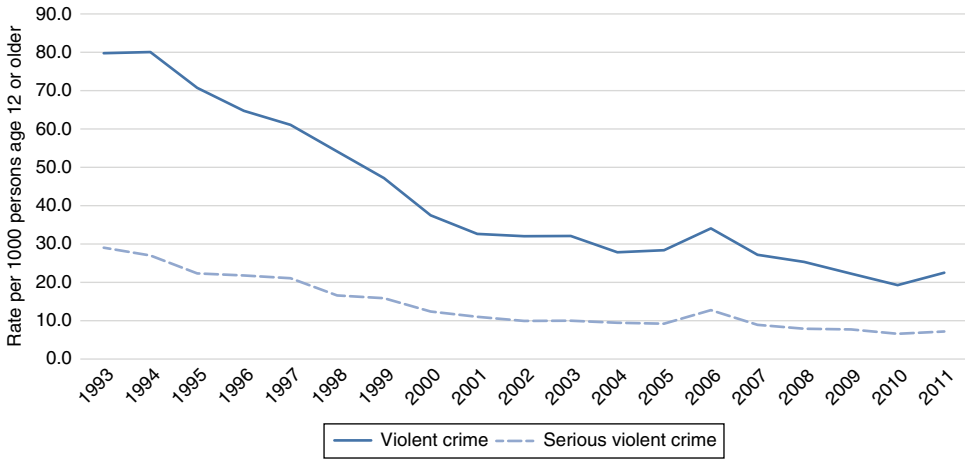
Figure 8.1 Violent and serious violent victimization, 1993–2011. *Source*: National Crime Victimization Survey, 1993–2011.
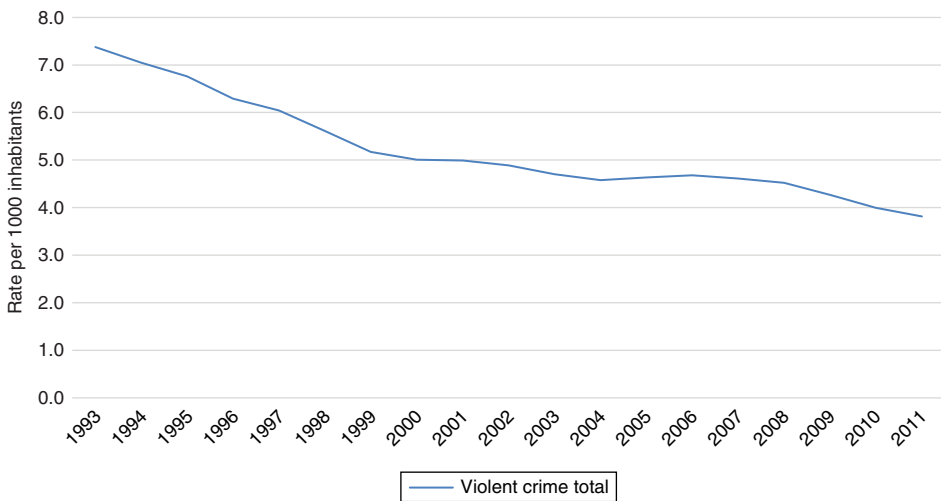
Figure 8.2 Violent crime, 1993–2001. *Source*: FBI, Uniform Crime Report Program, 1993–2011.

Like the NCVS, trends in violent crime reported to the police as measured by the UCR declined over the past 19 years. The overall trends present the same story although the measurement and crimes included in each data source differ. Recall that overall violence in the UCR includes rape, robbery and aggravated assault. From 1993 to 2011, UCR rates of violence fell from 7.5 violent victimizations per 1000 persons to 3.9 per 1000 (see Figure 8.2). The majority of the decline in UCR measured violence occurred in the beginning of the time period from 1993 to 2000. There was little change in the rate of violence from 2001 to 2008 as it remained about 5 per 1000 persons. The rate of violence reported to the police then declined to 4.3 per 1000 in 2009 and has remained at about that rate from 2010 (4.0 per 1000) to 2011 (3.9 per 1000).

Trends and Patterns in Specific Forms of Serious Violence

Rape and sexual assault victimization as measured by the NCVS declined over time with the highest rates occurring in 1993. Rape and sexual assault rates continued to decline until about 2000, and have fluctuated since then from a rate of 2.1 per 1000 to 0.8 per 1000 (see Figure 8.3). Measuring rape and sexual assault represents a challenge as it remains a very sensitive subject to discuss for many victims. The inherent difficulties in measuring sexual crimes are compounded when gathering information on them in a survey context. The NCVS rape and sexual assault estimates are generally based on relatively few sample cases, making for volatile appearing trends. Small absolute changes and fluctuations can result in large apparent swings from year to year. The NCVS survey sponsor, the Bureau of Justice Statistics, is currently conducting research to examine better ways of measuring rape and sexual assault (Catalano et al., 2013). This is an important step forward in the field for measuring this sensitive crime.

Like the sexual crimes measured in the NCVS, those measured in the UCR declined from 1993 to 2011 (see Figure 8.4). While the overall trend is the same, recall that rape is defined and measured differently in the UCR compared to the NCVS. The UCR measure of rape includes only penile/vaginal penetration crimes and excludes sexual assaults, or penetration by other body parts or objects. In contrast, the NCVS measure of rape and sexual assault includes any penetration of any body part by anything against both females and males. The UCR recently approved a change to the definition of rape and this will be a more inclusive definition similar to the one used in the NCVS (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2013). Unfortunately these data are not available to date.

Robbery victimization measured by the NCVS declined between 1993 and 2011. Specifically, rates of robbery declined from 8.3 per 1000 persons age 12 or older in 1993 to 2.2 per 1000 in 2011. The majority of the decline in robbery occurred in the 1990s, and it has been relatively flat from 2008 to 2011. A similar outcome was
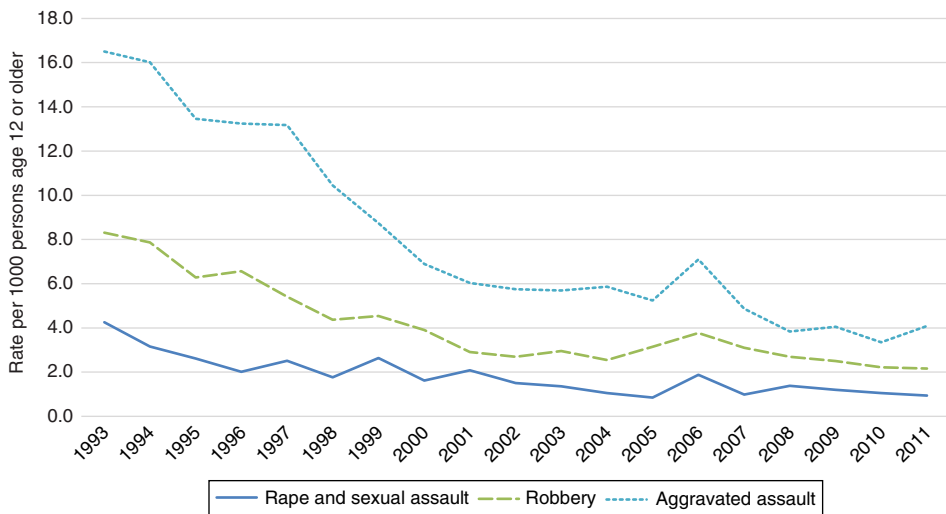
Figure 8.3 Serious violent victimization by type of crime, 1993–2011. *Source*: National Crime Victimization Survey, 1993–2011.
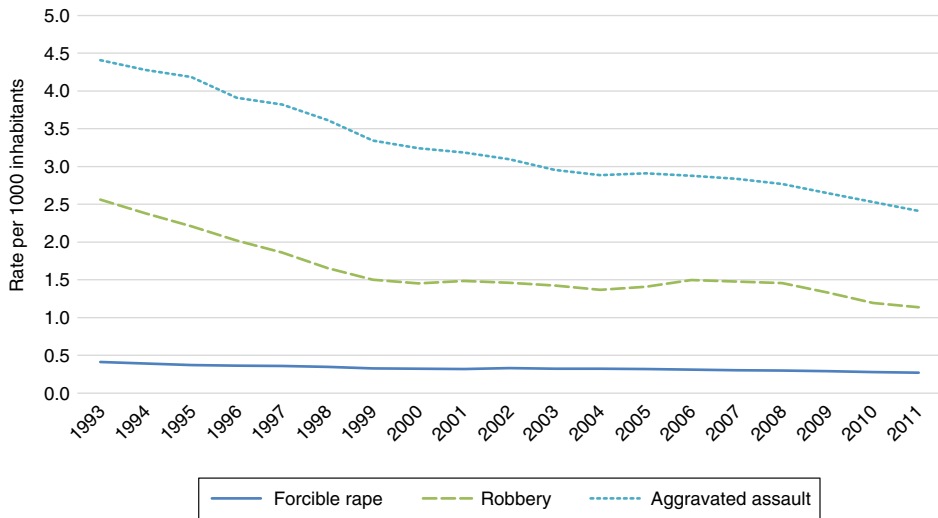
Figure 8.4 Violent crime, by crime type, 1993–2011. *Source*: FBI, Uniform Crime Report Program, 1993–2011.

identified in the UCR data: Robbery reported to the police in the UCR declined over this period with most of the decrease occurring in the earlier years. The rate of robbery reported to the police and recorded by the UCR has fluctuated from about 1.5 per 1000 persons to 1.1 since 2000.

The rate of aggravated assault in the NCVS declined from 1993 to 2011, and has remained at less than 8.0 aggravated assaults per 1000 persons age 12 or older since 1999. Aggravated assault continued to decline in the past 10 years, and saw a slight increase in the most recent year shown here from 3.4 per 1000 in 2010 to 4.1 in 2011. The rate of aggravated assaults known to the police as measured by the UCR declined by about half in the long term from 4.4 per 1000 persons in 1993 to 2.4 per 1000 in 2011. Rates of aggravated assaults remained under 3 per 1000 since 2003, and have changed only slightly in recent years. The trend in aggravated assaults has contributed most to the overall violent crime trends for those crimes known to the police.

Trends and Patterns in Simple Assault

Simple assaults as measured by the NCVS declined by about 70% between 1993 and 2011 (see Figure 8.5). During this period, the rate of simple assault fell from 50.7 per 1000 persons age 12 or older in 1993 to 15.3 per 1000 in 2011. Like shown in the overall violence trend, the majority of the drop in simple assault occurred in the first half of the period. Rates of simple assault have been less than 20 per 1000 since 2007, and dropped under 15 per 1000 in 2009 and 2010 with an increase seen from 2010 to 2011 (15.3 per 1000). As previously stated, this increase contributed most to the overall violent victimization trend, but again it is difficult to determine whether this will be a sustained increase yet or not.
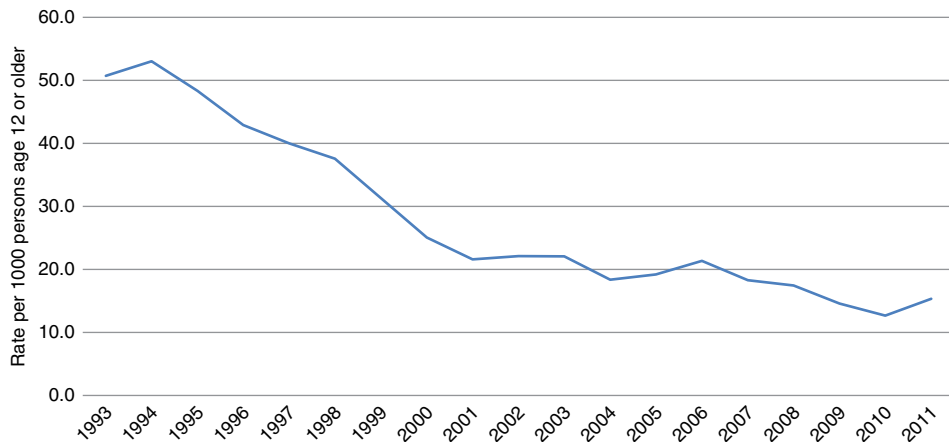
Figure 8.5 Simple assault, 1993–2011. *Source*: National Crime Victimization Survey, 1993–2011.

Composition of Nonfatal Violent Victimization

While findings shown thus far indicate that violence has declined over time, the composition of violence has not changed (see Figure 8.6). Considering only nonfatal violence measured in the NCVS, estimates indicate that the majority of violence continues to come in the form of simple assault. From 1993 to 2011, an average of 67% of overall violence is defined as simple assault. Aggravated assault makes up about 19% of all violence; and robbery (10%) and rape and sexual assault (4%) make up the remainder. Interestingly, if one looks at this by both reported and not reported violence in the NCVS, a similar pattern emerges. Simple assault continues to contribute the majority of both reported and unreported overall violence. Specifically, 60% of violence reported to the police is simple assault compared to 72% for violence not reported to the police. Similarly, aggravated assaults, robberies, and rape and sexual assaults making up similar percentages found in all violence, regardless of whether it was reported to the police or not.

A review of nonfatal violence known to the police as measured by the UCR shows that the composition of violence has remained similar over time as well (see Figure 8.7). In the UCR, the majority of violence known to the police is defined as aggravated assault. From 1993 to 2011, an average of about 63% of all violence known to the police recorded in the UCR was aggravated assault. Robbery makes up the next largest portion of UCR recorded violence (31%). Only 6% of violence recorded in the UCR is defined as forcible rape.

Victim Characteristics of Nonfatal Violence

An established finding is that nonfatal violence rates vary by victim characteristics. Victimization risk differs based on victim characteristics. Because of the nature of UCR data (i.e., lack of victim characteristics), this section focuses on the NCVS. This section of the chapter examines victimization risk by the victim's gender, age, race and Hispanic origin.
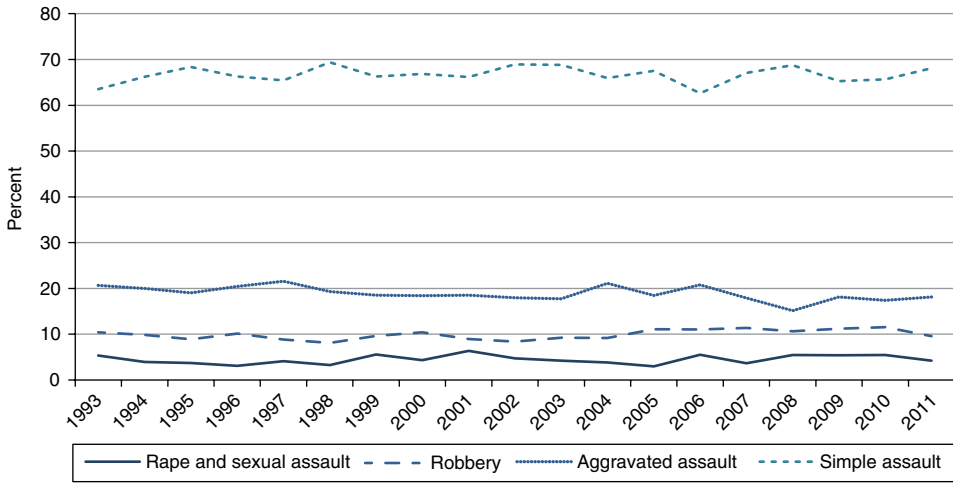
Figure 8.6 Composition of violent victimization, 1993–2011. *Source*: National Crime Victimization Survey, 1993–2011.
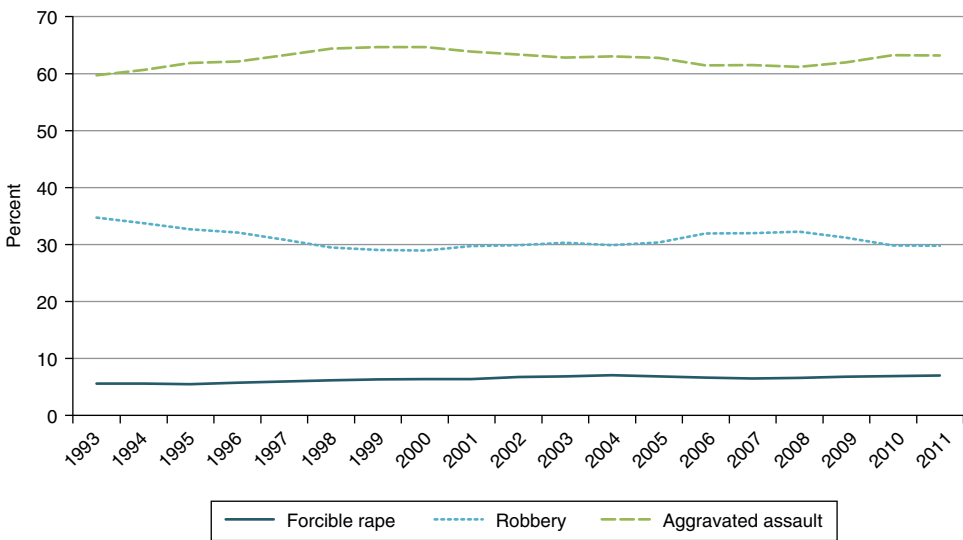
Figure 8.7 Composition of nonfatal violent crimes reported to the UCR. *Source*: FBI, Uniform Crime Report Program, 1993–2011.

Gender

Violence varies by the victim's gender. Specifically, males are characterized by higher violent victimization rates than females (Craven, 1997; Lauritsen & Heimer, 2008; Truman, 2011; Truman & Rand, 2010). This is the case for all violent crimes, with the important exception of rape and sexual assault (Truman, 2011; Truman & Rand, 2010). For example, research has historically shown that males are robbed at higher rates than females (Lauritsen & Heimer, 2008), and that females are victims of rape and sexual assault at rates higher than males. While divergent victimization risks between males and females is well established, the gender gap in victimization
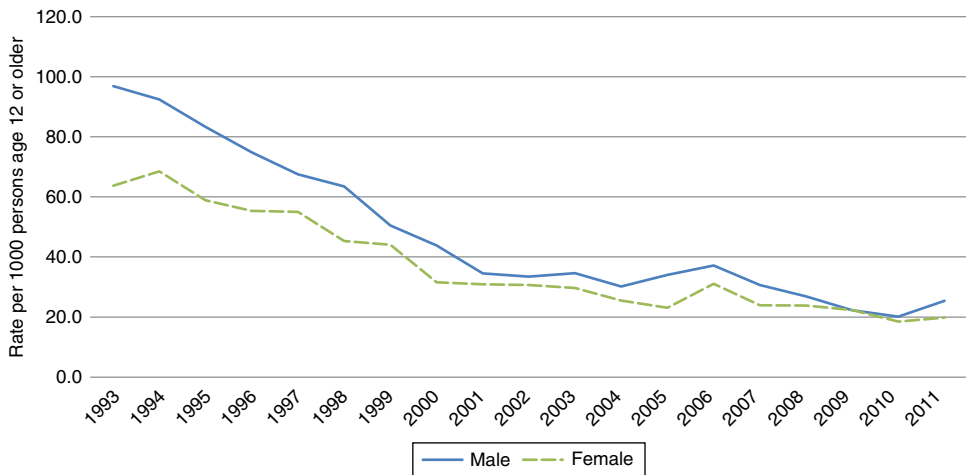
Figure 8.8   Violent victimization by sex, 1993–2011. *Source*: National Crime Victimization Survey, 1993–2011.

risk has narrowed in recent years for some crimes (Lauritsen & Heimer, 2008; Truman, 2011; Truman & Rand, 2010). The gender gaps in assaults, both aggravated and simple, have decreased over time (Lauritsen & Heimer, 2008). While males are more likely to be victims of both aggravated and simple assault than females, the difference in those rates has diminished. Research suggests that factors such as the race and Hispanic origin of the victim may influence the gender gap in victimization (Lauritsen & Heimer, 2008; Rennison & Planty, 2003; Rennison & Welchans, 2000).

The data used in this chapter demonstrates the same relationship between victimization risk and gender. The NCVS data from 1993 to 2011 show that males are characterized by a higher rate of overall violent victimization than females (see Figure 8.8). Further, these data show the rates of violent victimization for males and females converged briefly in 2009 and 2010, primarily as a result of a convergence in male and female simple assault rates (Truman, 2011). In 2011 however, males were again characterized by higher rates of overall violent victimization (25.4 per 1000) than females (19.8) (see Table 8.1).

As found in the general literature, 2011 NCVS data demonstrate that males were victims of robbery (2.7 per 1000), aggravated assault (4.8), and simple assault (17.7) at rates higher than females (1.7, 3.4, and 13.1, respectively). And as found in extant research, females were victims of rape and sexual assault (1.6 rape and sexual assaults per 1000) at rates greater than males (0.3) in 2011. These gender differences in 2011 rates stemmed from an increase in violent victimization rates of males between 2010 and 2011; whereas, there was no change in rates measured among females during the same year.

Age

Research indicates that age of victim is inversely related to violent victimization risk (Hirschi & Gottfredson, 1983; Steffensmeier & Allan, 2000; Truman, 2011; Truman & Rand, 2010). While most research focused on the relationship between age and crime

Table 8.1 Rate of violent victimization by demographic characteristics of victim (2011).

Demographic characteristic of victim

		Violent crime	Serious violent crime[a]	Rape and sexual assault	Robbery	Aggravated assault	Simple assault
	Total	22.5	7.2	0.9	2.2	4.1	15.3
Sex							
	Male	25.4	7.7	0.3[!]	2.7	4.8	17.7
	Female	19.8	6.7	1.6	1.7	3.4	13.1
Age							
	12–17	37.7	8.8	1.0[!]	3.7	4.0	28.9
	18–24	49.0	16.3	2.4	4.5	9.4	32.8
	25–34	26.5	9.5	1.0	2.8	5.8	17.0
	35–49	21.9	7.0	0.8	1.9	4.3	15.0
	50–64	13.0	4.3	0.4[!]	1.3	2.6	8.8
	65 or older	4.4	1.7	0.9[!]	0.5[!]	0.4[!]	2.8
Race/Hispanic origin							
	White[b]	21.5	6.5	0.9	1.7	3.9	15.0
	Black[b]	26.4	10.8	1.2[!]	3.5	6.1	15.6
	Hispanic	23.8	7.2	1.3	2.6	3.3	10.9
	Other[b,c]	14.3	3.4	0.1[!]	2.2[!]	1.1[!]	38.5
	Two or more races[b]	64.6	26.2	–	8.3[!]	17.8	16.7

Notes: [!]Interpret with caution. Estimate based on 10 or fewer sample cases, or coefficient of variation is greater than 50%.
[a]Includes rape or sexual assault, robbery, and aggravated assault.
[b]Excludes persons of Hispanic or Latino origin.
[c]Includes American Indian, Alaska Native, Asian, Native Hawaiian, and other Pacific Islander.
Source: Bureau of Justice Statistics, National Crime Victimization Survey, 2011.

concentrates on criminal offending, similar differences are found in criminal victimization research as well (e.g., Hirschi & Gottfredson, 1983; Laub & Sampson, 2001; Sampson & Laub, 1993). Young people tend to experience violent victimization at greater rates than older people (Truman, 2011; Truman & Rand, 2010). The age/victimization rate relationship has been stable over time (Klaus & Rennison, 2002; Steffensmeier & Streifel, 1991). One reason posited for this relationship is that as individuals transition into adulthood, their relationships with those around them change, responsibilities increase, and they develop greater bonds to society. These changes are in turn related to a decreased risk of being involved in a violent victimization (Laub & Sampson, 2001). Another possible reason for the age/victimization risk relationship is that older individuals may feel more vulnerable and fearful of crime, which prompts them to stay home removing them from many contexts in which violence occurs (LaGrange & Ferraro, 1989). Data from the NCVS support previous patterns for victimization by age and are discussed next.

Using the NCVS, violent victimization rates are greatest for persons 12 to 24 years of age (49.0 per 1000) (see Figure 8.9). In general, those age 25 to 49 experience violence at rates less than their younger counterparts, while those ages 50 or
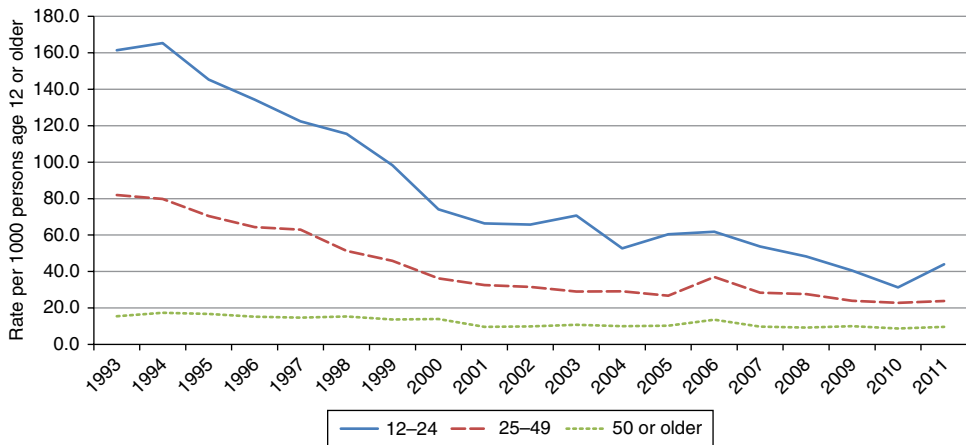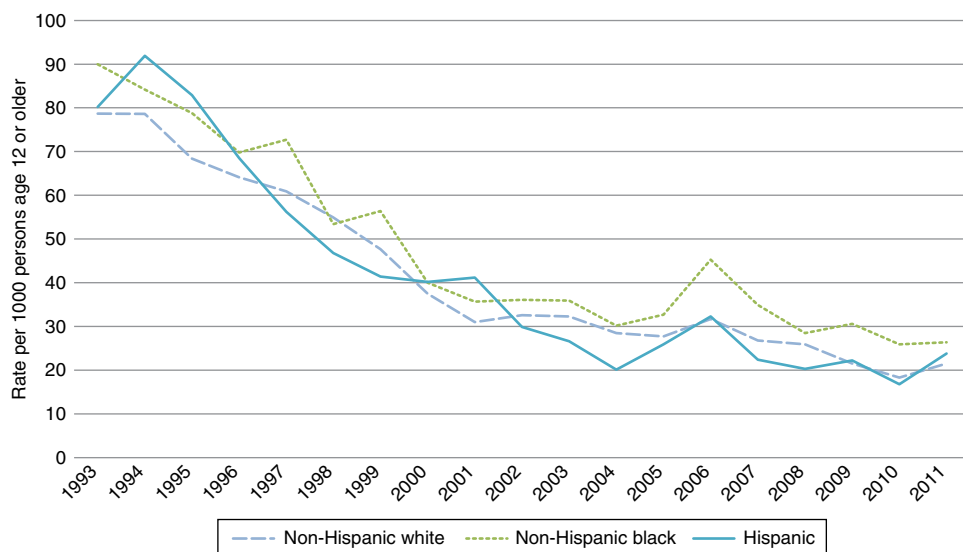
Figure 8.9 Violent victimization by age of victim, 1993–2011. *Source*: National Crime Victimization Survey, 1993–2011.

greater are characterized by the lowest rates of violent victimization. The gaps in victimization rates among the three groups vary year to year, but the overall finding that younger persons experience more nonfatal violence is consistent over time. This age/victimization rate patterns is consistent when considering different types of violence as well (see Table 8.1). The highest rates of rape and sexual assault, robbery, aggravated assault and simple assault were found among the youngest individuals.

Race and Hispanic Origin

Race and Hispanic origin has been shown to be correlated with violent victimization (Hawkins, 1993; Hawkins et al., 2000; Krivo & Peterson, 1996; Sampson & Wilson, 1995; Wilson, 1987). Nonfatal violent victimization tends to be concentrated among minority populations (Truman, 2011; Truman & Rand, 2010). Though there are exceptions, the bulk of research has focused on victimization differences between whites and blacks. That work indicates that blacks are more likely to be victims of violent crime than are whites (Truman, 2011; Truman & Rand, 2010). Clearly the relationship between victimization risk and race and Hispanic origin is complex. Some work finds that violence among different race and Hispanic origin groups is affected by different economic and family factors. In fact, research has shown that once other factors such as community disadvantage, family structure, and income are considered, differences in violent victimizations among blacks, whites, and Latinos disappear or is at least substantially altered (Lauritsen & Heimer, 2010; Lauritsen, Rezey, & Heimer, 2013; Lauritsen & Schaum, 2004; Rennison & Planty, 2003). Some have examined the role of trends in consumer sentiment and victimization risk and found that blacks and Latinos experience victimizations differently than whites during economic declines; they were more negatively affected by the economic decline as they were poorer and employed in lesser skilled jobs (Lauritsen & Heimer, 2010; Lauritsen, Rezey, & Heimer, 2013). Trends in nonfatal violence by race and Hispanic origin based on NCVS data are discussed in detail below.

Figure 8.10 Violent victimization by race and Hispanic origin, 1993–2011. *Source*: National Crime Victimization Survey, 1993–2011.

Trends in violent victimization by race and Hispanic origin are slightly more volatile over time than some of the other characteristics considered so far. In general, non-Hispanic blacks are violently victimized at a higher rate than are non-Hispanic whites (see Figure 8.10). However, historically blacks are characterized by similar rates of violent victimization when compared to Hispanics. Importantly, in recent years, blacks have been violently victimized at higher rates than both Hispanics and non-Hispanic whites. Differences in violent victimization rates by race and Hispanic origin are especially pronounced when considering serious violent victimization only. For example, in 2011, the rate of serious violent victimization among non-Hispanic blacks (10.8 per 1000) was greater than the rates for non-Hispanic whites (6.5) and Hispanics (7.2). In contrast, the total violent victimization rates among these groups were statistically equal (see Table 8.1).

Characteristics of Nonfatal Violent Incidents

Insight into nonfatal violence is gained by examining characteristics of the actual incident. This chapter now turns to a description of characteristics of the nature and severity of nonfatal violence over time. In particular, weapon presence, injuries sustained by victims, and the reporting of victimization to the police is considered. Like victim characteristics, findings show that violent incident characteristics do not change over time.

Weapon Presence during Nonfatal Violence

The percentage of nonfatal violence involving an armed offender has varied little from 1993 to 2011 (see Figure 8.11). On average during that period, 23% of violence measured by the NCVS involved a weapon (e.g., firearm, knife, blunt object, etc.).
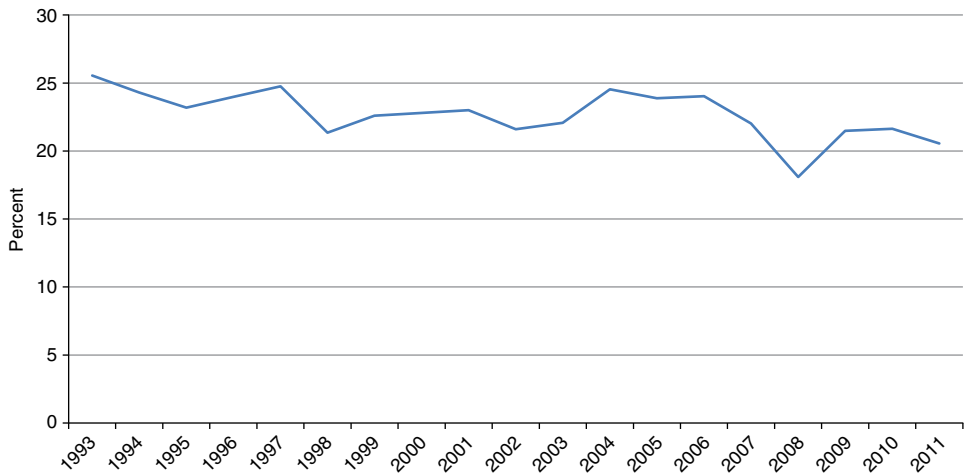
Figure 8.11 Percentage of violent victimization that involved a weapon, 1993–2011. *Source*:
National Crime Victimization Survey, 1993–2011.

Table 8.2 Violent victimization by weapon type (2011).

	Percentage
Total	100%
Weapon	21
Firearm	8
Knife	6
Other	5
Don't know weapon type	2
Don't know if offender had weapon	7
No weapon	73

Source: National Crime Victimization Survey (2011).

In general, the percentage of violence involving an armed offender has remained
relatively stable over this time period. A slight drop in the percentage was identified
in 2008 when 18% of violence involved a weapon. By 2011, 21% of all violent inci-
dents involved an armed offender.

The degree to which incidents include an armed offender is contingent on the type
of crime considered. From 1993 to 2011, approximately 10% of all rape and sexual
assaults involved an armed offender. In contrast, almost half (45%) of robberies were
committed by a perpetrator with a weapon during the same time period. And almost
all aggravated assaults involved a weapon, though this is largely an artifact of how an
aggravated assault is measured in the NCVS. Aggravated assaults in the NCVS involve
a weapon and/or they result in a serious injury to the victim.

The specific weapon brandished during a violent incident varies. In 2011, about 8%
of all violent victimizations involved a firearm, 6% involved an offender armed with a
knife, another 5% involved some "other" weapon, and in about 2% of victimizations
the victims did not know the weapon type that was used (see Table 8.2). The percent-
age of overall violence that involved a firearm has changed little over time, fluctuating
between 6% and 9% from 1993 to 2011 (Planty & Truman, 2012). During the same

period, about 20 to 30% of robberies and aggravated assaults involved a firearm (Planty & Truman, 2012). On average, from 1993 to 2011, about 6% of violent victimizations involved a knife.

Injury from Nonfatal Violence

The majority of nonfatal violence measured by the NCVS does not result in an injured victim. From 1993 to 2011, about 25% of all violent victimizations resulted in an injured victim. This percentage has been relatively stable during the 1993 to 2011 period (see Figure 8.12). The majority of injuries that are sustained by victims are considered minor (e.g. bruises, cuts, black eyes, chipped teeth). In contrast, about 10 to 20% of all violent victimizations resulted in a seriously injured victim (e.g., gun shot, broken bones, internal injuries).

Reporting Nonfatal Violence to the Police

The NCVS gathers information about whether a victimization was or was not reported to the police. When the victimization was reported, the survey collects information about who reported the violence. Police can be notified about a victimization in several ways including by the victim, a third party (i.e. witnesses, other victims, other persons present, or other officials, such as school officials or workplace managers), or police who are already at the scene of the incident. Previous research has shown that only about half of all nonfatal violence is reported to the police (Hart & Rennison, 2003; Truman, 2011; Truman & Rand, 2010). Predictors of reporting to the police include victim characteristics, the seriousness of violence, the victim-offender relationship, and legal and social changes (e.g., Baumer, Felson, & Messner, 2003; Baumer & Lauritsen, 2010; Block, 1974; Felson, Messner, & Hoskin, 1999; Hart & Rennison, 2003; Skogan, 1984). Generally, more serious violence (robbery and aggravated assault) is reported more than less serious violence (simple assault) (Hart & Rennison, 2003; Truman, 2011; Truman & Rand, 2010). The one exception is rape and sexual assault,
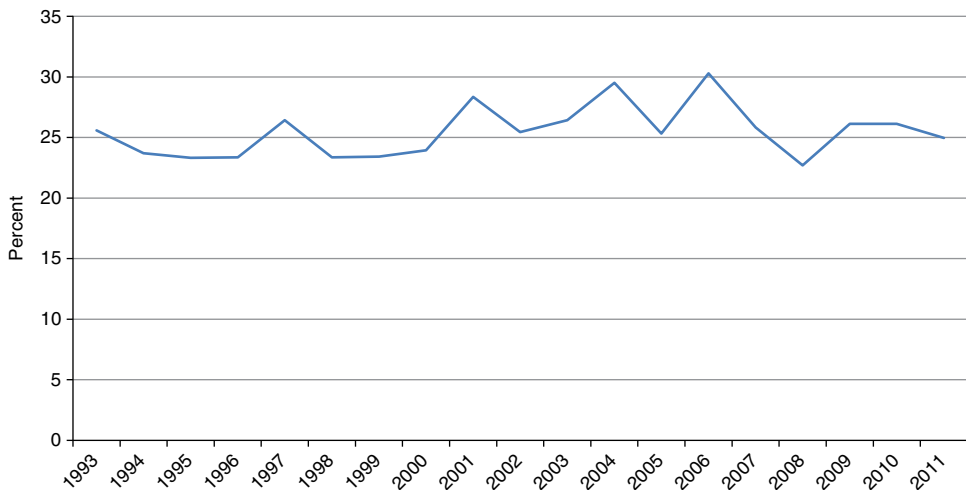
Figure 8.12 Percentage of violent victimization that involved an injury, 1993–2011. *Source*: National Crime Victimization Survey, 1993–2011.

which is generally less likely to be reported to police than other types of violence (Langton et al., 2012; Truman & Planty, 2012). There are several factors that may affect reporting to police. Findings from the NCVS indicate that violent victimizations were not reported to the police for various reasons including because the victim dealt with the crime in another way, fear of reprisal, feeling that the police would not or could not help, or that the crime was not important enough to report (Langton et al., 2012).

As previously mentioned, because the NCVS gathers information on the quantity of violence reported and unreported to police, it is able to estimate the dark figure of crime (Biderman & Reiss, 1967; Skogan, 1977; US Department of Justice, 2004). Findings show that this dark figure has remained stable from 1993 to 2011. That is, there has been little change in the percentage of overall and serious violent victimization that is reported to the police (see Figure 8.13). NCVS data indicate that about 46% of violent victimization and 55% of serious violent victimization was reported to the police during this period.

Generally, serious violent victimization is more likely to be reported to the police than simple assault. NCVS data show that in 2011 a greater percentage of robberies (66%) and aggravated assaults (67%) compared to simple assaults (43%) and rape and
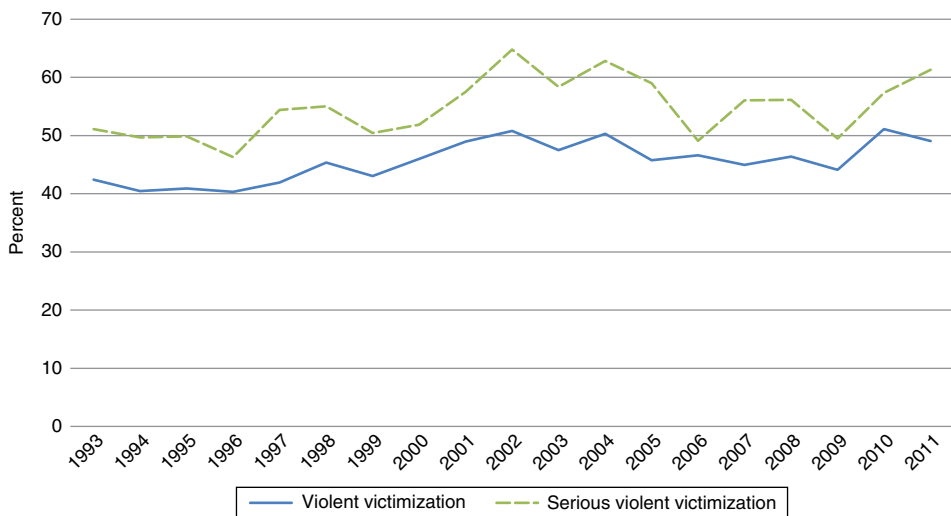
Figure 8.13   Percentage of violent victimization reported to the police, 1993–2011. *Source*: National Crime Victimization Survey, 1993–2011.

Table 8.3   Reporting to the police by type of crime (2011).

	Percentage reported
Violent victimization	49%
Serious violent victimization	61
Rape and sexual assault	27
Robbery	66
Aggravated assault	67
Simple assault	43

Source: National Crime Victimization Survey (2011).

sexual assaults (27%) were reported to the police (see Table 8.3). As shown, rape and sexual assaults as well as simple assaults are typically reported to the police in relatively low percentages.

Conclusion

This chapter described nonfatal violence, specifically concentrating on rape, sexual assault, robbery, aggravated assault, and simple assault using data from the two major sources of nonfatal violence in the United States – the NCVS and the UCR. Both recent (i.e., 2011) estimates and trends were offered. In addition, the chapter examined trends in nonfatal violence, victim characteristics, and incident characteristics. Findings show that nonfatal violence rates declined greatly from 1993 to 2011, regardless of which specific type of violence was examined. Results also show that while violent victimization rates declined greatly, the composition of violence remained the same over time. Clearly, the majority of nonfatal violence committed is simple assault or violence that does not involve weapons or result in minor or serious injuries. The data also demonstrate that nonfatal violence rates vary by victim characteristics. For all types of violence except rape and sexual assault, males are victimized at rates higher than females.

Interestingly, though, as previous research and this chapter show, the rates of violent victimization by the victim's gender have converged during recent years. Only time will tell if this is the beginning of a new pattern, or merely an aberration. Estimates from the NCVS demonstrate that the risk of nonfatal violent victimization decreases with age regardless of the specific type of violence. Victim's race and Hispanic origin is also related to nonfatal violent victimization risk. Victims who are black, and those characterized by two or more races were violently victimized at rates higher than non-Hispanic white individuals. Research shows that other factors like community and economic conditions also influence violence risk and need to be considered when examining nonfatal violence. In this chapter, we see that about 20% of nonfatal violent incidents involve a weapon and that this percentage has remained relatively stable over time. Similarly, the majority of nonfatal violence does not involve injuries to the victim, and when injuries are sustained, they are primarily minor. Finally, about half of all nonfatal violence is reported to the police. More serious violence (robbery and aggravated assault) was reported to the police in greater percentages than less serious violence (simple assault). Rape and sexual assaults were least likely of all the types of crime considered to be reported to police. In sum, this chapter shows how nonfatal violence has changed over time, and how it has remained the same. With continued attention to the rates and nature of violence in time, our understanding about this phenomenon and our ability to minimize risk increases.

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Perceptions of Stalking Victimization among Behaviorally Defined Victims

Examining Factors that Influence Self-Identification

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Introduction

More than 20 years have passed since California became the first state to make stalking a crime. Today, all 50 states and US territories, the District of Columbia, and the Federal government have incorporated antistalking laws into their criminal codes. Despite consensus among lawmakers that stalking should be criminalized, legal definitions of stalking vary across jurisdictions. While some states have enacted laws that resemble the National Institute of Justice's (NIJ) Model Antistalking Code (NIJ, 1996), which defines stalking as predatory behavior that would cause a reasonable person to become fearful, other states define stalking as predatory behavior that includes threats or perceived threats of harm. Still other states define stalking as a combination of both.

Despite the absence of a uniform legal definition of stalking, over the past two decades existing scholarship has advanced our understanding of many aspects of this important social issue. For example, early research on stalking offered insight into the social construction and legal responses to this behavior (Bjerregaard, 1996; Dennison & Thomson, 2002; Haugaard & Seri, 2001; Hueter, 1997; McAnaney, Curliss, & Abeyta-Price, 1993; Thomas, 1992). Large-scale studies followed that provided national estimates of the nature and extent of stalking victimization among the general population and among college women in particular (Baum et al., 2009; Fisher, Cullen, & Turner, 2002; Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998). Finally, theoretical explanations of stalking and the effectiveness of responses to it have also been offered by the research community (Cupach & Spitzberg, 2004; Duntley & Buss, 2012; Mustaine & Tewksbury, 1999; Patton, Nobles, & Fox, 2010; White et al., 2000).

Although our scientific understanding of stalking has increased over the past several years, researchers continue to struggle with many important measurement issues related to studying this particular type of victimization (see Fox, Nobles, & Fisher, 2011 for a detailed review). For example, the current literature suggests that a victim's status depends in part on whether investigators adopt a behavioral or a perceptual definition of stalking victimization (McNamara & Marsil, 2012; Tjaden, Thoennes, & Allison, 2000). Yet, specific factors that explain self-identification among behaviorally defined stalking victims have not been identified. In other words, to date, explanations of disparities between researcher-identified and self-identified victims of stalking have not been offered by the scientific community.

This chapter fills this gap in the literature by using data collected during the 2006 National Crime Victimization Survey/Supplemental Victimization Survey (NCVS/SVS) on stalking to estimate levels of stalking victimization among researcher- and self-identified victims age 18 or older. Contextual factors related to victims, offenders, and stalking incidents are also provided; and a model designed to explain why behaviorally defined stalking victims are more likely to also perceive themselves as stalking victims is estimated. Collectively, findings provide a new and informative perspective on an important methodological issue related to the study of stalking victimization. Before findings are presented, however, a brief overview of the relevant literature is provided.

The Nature and Extent of Stalking Victimization

A growing body of academic literature informs our knowledge and understanding of stalking victimization. While most studies of stalking victims and offenders rely on convenience samples of college students, estimates of lifetime prevalence and annual rates of stalking victimization have been produced from a handful of large-scale national studies. For example, the first national estimates of stalking prevalence in the United States were produced from the National Violence Against Women Survey (NVAWS). Based on telephone interviews of over 8000 men and 8000 women conducted between 1995 and 1996, findings from the NVAWS revealed that 8% of women and 2% of men were stalking victims at some point during their lives (Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998). Similar findings were produced from the second Injury Control and Risk Survey (ICARIS-2), conducted from 2001 through 2003, which showed that the prevalence of stalking victimization was 7% for women and 2% for men (Basile et al., 2006). Finally, recent results from the National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey (NISVS) indicate that 4% of women and 1% of men were stalking victims within the last year (Black et al., 2011). The level of stalking identified by the NISVS is in line with figures produced earlier from the National Crime Victimization Survey's Supplemental Victimization Survey (NCVS/SVS) on stalking, which suggests that 2% of women and 1% of men are stalked annually (Baum et al., 2009; Catalano, 2012).

In addition to providing insight into the prevalence and rate of stalking victimization, past research has identified certain victim, offender, and incident characteristics related to stalking victimization. Gender, age, and marital status are characteristics of stalking victims that have been repeatedly linked to increased risk. For example, women are significantly more likely than men to be stalked (Basile et al., 2006; Baum

et al., 2009; Black et al., 2011; Catalano, 2012; Fox, Gover, & Kaukinen, 2009; Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998), the likelihood of stalking victimization decreases with age (Baum et al., 2009; Black et al., 2011; Catalano, 2012), and individuals who are divorced or separated are stalked at higher percentages than other marital statuses (Basile et al., 2006; Baum et al., 2009; Catalano, 2012).

Studies of perpetrators have also identified specific offender characteristics that predict stalking victimization. For example, most studies suggest that among female stalking victims the vast majority of perpetrators are male (Fisher, Cullen, & Turner, 2002; Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998). Among male victims, however, the perpetrator is as likely to be male as female (Baum et al., 2009; Black et al., 2011). In terms of the race, stalking is more often committed by white offenders (Bjerreggaard, 2000; Harmon, Rosner, & Owens, 1995; Holmes, 1993); and similar to other types of victimization, stalking perpetrators tend to be the same race as their victim (Rosenfeld, 2002; Baum et al., 2009). Previous research also suggests that stalking victims and offenders are likely to be similar in age (Baum et al., 2009). Finally, with few exceptions (Wright et al., 1996), existing stalking scholarship consistently finds that an offender is most likely to be a known intimate (i.e., current or former spouse or boyfriend/girlfriend) of a stalking victim (Basile et al., 2004; Davis, Ace, & Andra, 2000; Dye & Davis, 2003; Fisher, Cullen, & Turner, 2002; Patton, Nobles, & Fox, 2010; Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998).

The context of stalking incidents has also received considerable attention from the research community. The form, duration, and intensity of unwanted pursuit behaviors have been the particular focus of many scholars. Using data from the NVAWS, Fisher, Cullen, and Turner (2002) found that victims are typically exposed to persistent unwanted stalking behavior for an average of nearly five months. They also found that 40% of victims were stalked between two and six times a week, 13% of victims experienced stalking on a daily basis, and about one in 10 reported being stalked multiple times a day. Previous research also demonstrates that stalking typically involves receiving unwanted telephone calls, emails, or gifts, or incidents where the perpetrator watches the victim from afar or shows up uninvited. Among these types of behaviors, unwanted telephone calls tends to be the type of stalking experienced most often by victims (Baum et al., 2009; Black et al., 2011; Catalano, 2012; Fisher, Cullen, & Turner, 2002).

Despite a growing awareness of the nature and extent of stalking victimization and the identification of relevant risk factors associated with these incidents, researchers continue to struggle to overcome important methodological issues related to measuring this particular type of crime. In large part, these problems arise from inconsistent legal definitions of stalking as well as the lack of an established operational definition of stalking used in contemporary research.

Measuring Stalking Victimization

A crucial component of any scientific inquiry involves developing operational definitions of key concepts. Studies of stalking victimization are no exception and tend to define stalking from one of two perspectives. When researchers allow respondents to self-identify, stalking victimization is defined in terms of *perceived* victimization. Alternatively, researchers often identify victims as individuals who experience repeated,

unwanted, harassing behavior that would likely cause a reasonable person to become fearful. Unlike perceptual definitions, *behavioral* definitions of stalking are designed to reflect incidents that would be considered criminal in many jurisdictions.[1] Fox, Nobles, and Fisher (2011) suggest that disparate findings across stalking victimization studies can be explained, in part, by how stalking is operationalized. Different sampling approaches compound the problem and contribute to incongruent findings across recent studies. Results from three investigations offer cogent examples of this problem in general and the subsequent effect on advancing our understanding of the disparities between legally and perceptually defined stalking victimization in particular.

Tjaden, Thoennes, & Allison (2000) were the first to examine and publish findings from a study on the relationship between victim status and stalking prevalence. Using data collected during the NVAWS, they found that victims' definitions of stalking were often consistent with the legal definition; however, estimates of stalking increased significantly when respondents were allowed to self-identify instead of being defined as a victim based solely on a legal definition. In addition, only about 1% of the legally defined stalking victims did not also self-identify as victims. Although findings from the study demonstrated that victim characteristics (i.e., gender, age, education, and victim-offender relationship) and offender characteristics (i.e., gender) explained much of the divergence between the legally and self-defined victims of stalking, the influence of incident-level characteristics was not considered. These factors include the form, duration, and intensity of pursuit behaviors used as legal indicators of stalking perpetration.

In a recent study by Campbell and Moore (2011), one in five respondents who were identified as stalking victims based on a behavior definition also self-identified as a stalking victim. Although this figure is considerably lower than that which was observed by Tjaden and colleagues (1998), the inconsistency between the two results could be due to the exclusion of a fear component in the behavioral definition of stalking used by Campbell and Moore. In other words, it is unclear whether Campbell and Moore defined victims as those who indicated that they experienced an unwanted pursuit behavior *and* who had been frightened by their assailant's behavior[2] or whether the behavioral definition excluded a fear component. And although the models used by Campbell and Moore to predict the likelihood that a behaviorally defined stalking victim would also self-identify incorporated victim characteristics (i.e., age, gender, and race) and incident characteristics (i.e., different types of stalking behavior), they were completely devoid of relevant offender characteristics. Furthermore, their study was based on a small, convenience sample of college students, which calls into question the generalizability of their findings.

Finally, McNamara and Marsil (2012) recently examined the prevalence of stalking victimization among self-identified and research-identified victims. They found that about 25% of respondents who were behaviorally defined as victims also indicated that they felt they had been stalked. Although these findings are consistent with results produced by Campbell and Moore, it is again unclear whether a fear component was included in the behavior definition of researcher-defined stalking victimization. And although models used by McNamara and Marsil identified specific pursuit behaviors that explained a significant proportion of variation in whether researcher-defined stalking victims also self-identified, their models failed to consider the influence of any characteristics related to either the victim or the offender. As with Campbell and Moore's investigation, McNamara and Marsil's study also relied on a small,

convenience sample of college students to investigate the relationship between research- and self-defined victims of stalking.

Collectively, these three investigations demonstrate academic interest in an important methodological issue related to stalking victimization research: understanding the effects of using different operational definitions of stalking victimization (i.e., behaviorally versus perceptually defined victimization). Given the dearth of studies in this area and inconsistent findings across existing investigations, additional work is needed. The current study is undertaken to fill this gap in the literature. The specific research questions addressed by this investigation are presented in the next section.

Research Questions

The current study is guided by five research questions that focus on the nature and extent of stalking victimization among behaviorally defined victims, and the role that victim, offender, and incident characteristics play in influencing behaviorally defined victims' decisions to also self-identify as stalking victims. In other words, the current study advances our understanding of perceptions of stalking victimization in general and how factors associated with the victim, offender, and incident influence them in particular. The specific research questions answered by the current study include:

- How often do behaviorally defined stalking victims perceive themselves as stalking victims?
- Do perceptions of stalking victimization among behaviorally defined victims vary by the victim's gender and age?
- Do perceptions of stalking victimization among behaviorally defined victims vary by characteristics of the offender? For example, do the offender's gender, age, and/or status as an intimate partner matter in terms of whether a behaviorally defined victim of stalking will also self-identify as a victim?
- Do perceptions of stalking victimization among behaviorally defined victims vary by characteristics of the incident? That is, does the type of predatory behavior, duration of the behavior, whether the behavior caused the victim to take self-protective measures, and/or whether the behavior was reported to the police differ between self-identified victims of stalking and those that do not consider themselves stalking victims?
- Finally, when considered together which victim, offender, and incident characteristics significantly affect the likelihood that a behaviorally defined victim of stalking will also self-identify as a stalking victim?

Before offering our findings that answer each of these questions, a discussion of the data and methods used in the current study are presented.

Data and Methodology

The National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) is a nationally representative victimization survey administered by the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS). The NCVS has collected information on the characteristics of crime incidents, crime victims, and

victimization trends since the early 1970s (Rennison & Rand, 2007). The survey uses a stratified, multistage, cluster sample that includes a rotating panel design. For selected households, the NCVS conducts interviews with respondents once every 6 months for a period of 3 years. Household members eligible for interview are individuals age 12 or older residing in the sampled household at the time of the survey. Data for the current study were derived from the Supplemental Victimization Survey (SVS) on stalking that was administered during the 2006 NCVS.

Supplemental Victimization Survey (SVS) on Stalking

According to BJS, in 2006, the SVS on stalking was fielded as part of the NCVS because few national studies existed that measured the nature and extent of stalking victimization in the United States (Catalano, 2012). Funded by the Office on Violence Against Women (OVAW), once completed, the SVS on stalking represented the largest study on stalking victimization. The survey identified stalking victims based on seven types of harassing or unwanted behaviors consistent with legal definitions of stalking found in many states' antistalking laws,[3] harassing victims who did not meet the legal definition of stalking,[4] and self-identified victims of stalking. The current study presents findings from NCVS/SVS interviews completed by respondents aged 18 years and older and who (i) experienced at least one of the seven harassing behaviors contained in the screener questionnaire, (ii) experienced the harassing behavior more than once on separate days during a 12-month period prior an interview, and (iii) felt fearful of their own/family member's safety as a result of the behavior. The final NCVS/SVS sample used in the current study contained a total[5] of 946 behaviorally defined stalking victims.

Measures

The focal variable in the current study is the self-identified victim status of behaviorally defined stalking victims. Victim-, offender-, and incident-level characteristics of stalking incidents were also observed. Measures of each of these concepts were derived from survey questions about the circumstances surrounding behaviorally defined stalking victimizations that were identified during NCVS/SVS interviews.

Self-Identified Victims of Stalking   A common approach to operationalizing victimization in stalking research involves allowing respondents to self-identify as either a victim or nonvictim of unwanted predatory behavior (Fox, Nobles, & Fisher, 2011). In the current study, respondents were considered self-identified stalking victims if they (i) experienced at least one of the seven harassing behaviors contained in the screener questionnaire, and (ii) answered affirmatively to the following question, "Do you consider the series of unwanted contact or harassing behavior you told me about to be stalking?" To avoid biasing a respondent's decision to self-identify, the word "stalking" was purposively omitted from any of the predatory behaviors discussed during the interview. And in order to avoid a question-order effect, the self-identifying question was the final question asked during the interview. Table 9.1 offers frequency distributions for the dependent variable as well as relevant victim, offender, and incident characteristics; and indicates that approximately 53% of the behaviorally defined stalking victims in our sample also identified themselves as a stalking victim.

Table 9.1 Descriptive statistics for behaviorally defined stalking victims (unweighted n = 946).

Variables	Mean	SD	%	Minimum	Maximum
Dependent variable					
Self-identified status				0	1
Victim			52.7		
Nonvictim			44.3		
Don't know[a]			3.0		
Victim characteristics				0	1
Gender					
Male			25.4		
Female			74.6		
Age (in years)	36.9	14.1		18	90
Offender characteristics					
Gender				0	1
Male			62.5		
Female			29.5		
Don't know[a]			8.1		
Age (in years)				1	6
Under 18			2.6		
18–20			7.4		
21–29			21.9		
30–39			22.5		
40–49			18.8		
50+			15.9		
Don't know[a]			10.9		
Intimate partner				1	4
Known, intimate			28.1		
Known, other			53.0		
Stranger			9.0		
Don't know[a]			9.9		
Incident characteristics					
Type of predatory behavior[b]				0	1
Calls/messages			69.8		
Unsolicited communication			32.8		
Following/spying			37.7		
Lying in wait			31.9		
Unwanted visits			34.8		
Leaving gifts/flowers			14.6		
Posting information/rumors			40.0		
Duration				0	1
Less than 6 months			28.9		
6 months or more			61.0		
Don't know[a]			10.2		
Self-protective measures taken				0	1
Yes			61.3		
No			38.7		
Incident reported to police				0	1
Yes			40.8		
No			59.2		
Don't know			0.1		

Notes: Detail may not add to 100% due to rounding. Weighted n = 3 300 565.
[a]The respondents indicated that they did not know or was unable to identify a single offender.
[b]Respondents were allowed to identify more than one type of behavior. Each behavior was dichotomized and the percentages reported in the table reflect the percentage of behaviorally defined stalking victims who indicated they experienced the predatory behavior.

Victim Characteristics   Two characteristics repeatedly observed in previous research as correlates to stalking victimization were also included in the current study. Specifically, a behaviorally defined victim's gender is measured as the standard two-category variable: male and female; and victim's age is a continuous measure that ranged from 18 to 90 years. The majority of behaviorally defined stalking victims were female (75%) and approximately 37 years of age (Table 9.1).

Offender Characteristics   Previous research discussed above identifies a number of offender characteristics related to increased risk of stalking. As with the victim-level characteristics, measures associated with offender characteristics are based on responses to NCVS/SVS questions and include measures of the offender's gender, age, and relationship to the victim.[6] Each of the offender characteristic variables used is based on the victim's perception. For example, victim/offender relationship is coded as a known intimate,[7] a known nonintimate (i.e., a friend, schoolmate, co-worker, etc.), a stranger, or an offender whose relationship to the victim could not be determined (i.e., don't know). According to stalking victims, most offenders are male (63%), under 40 years of age (54%), and a known, nonintimate (53%).

Incident Characteristics   Finally, several empirically relevant incident characteristics are considered in this research. Comparisons are made regarding the type of unwanted predatory behavior experienced by stalking victims. In addition, focus is given to the duration of the victimization, whether the respondent took self-protective measures in response to unwanted behavior, and whether the incident was reported to police. Each unwanted behavior was dichotomized as either "Yes" or "No." The most common type of behavior experienced by stalking victims involved receiving unwanted calls or messages (70%), followed by having information about them posted publicly, on the internet, or having rumors about them spread by the perpetrator (40%). Duration was dichotomized as "Less than 6 months" or "6 months or more." According to the behaviorally defined stalking victims, about 6-in-10 reported prolonged victimization that lasted six months or more. Finally, the measures of both self-protective behavior and reporting were dichotomized as either "Yes" or "No"; and the majority of respondents who met the behavioral definition of stalking took self-protective measures,[8] but indicated the incident was not report the incident to police.[9]

Analytic Technique

The current research utilizes two analytic strategies. Bivariate analysis is conducted by comparing the perceptual classification as victim or nonvictim among behaviorally defined stalking victims across empirically relevant victim-, offender-, and incident-level characteristics. Though a relatively simplistic analytic strategy, this approach requires special attention because NCVS estimates are subject to sampling error, as well as effects of being based on a complex sample survey. This means that estimation techniques that assume simple random sampling could underestimate the standard errors and result in incorrect inferences about statistical significance. Therefore, all comparisons of victimization estimates presented here are tested using formulae that take into account the complex sample of the NCVS. These tests use generalized

variance function constant parameters to calculate variance estimates, standard errors and confidence intervals. All differences between estimates are noted in the text. If a difference is not stated, this indicates that it is not a statistically significant difference. In addition, all estimates are calculated using the appropriate weights available on the data file (see Rennison & Rand, 2007). This approach provides answers to the first four research questions presented earlier.

The final research question is addressed by using survey weighted logistic regression to model the effects of victim-, offender-, and incident-level characteristics on the likelihood a behaviorally defined stalking victim will self-identify (STATA Statistical Software, 2012). By using this procedure, modeling takes into account the complex sample design and clustering factors associated with the NCVS. Use of other statistical software – most which assume a simple random sample – would lead to the underestimation of standard errors and erroneous conclusions. The remaining sections offer the findings of the current investigation, a discussion of these results, and concluding remarks concerning policy implication and future research in this area.

Results

Our initial research question asks, "What percentage of behaviorally defined stalking victims also self-identify as victims of stalking?" According to national estimates produced from the NCVS/SVS more than 3.3 million people experienced stalking victimization in 2006 (Baum et al., 2009; Catalano, 2012). These figures are based on a behavioral definition of stalking, but it is unclear whether these victims also believed they were stalked. Findings presented in Table 9.2 indicate that most behaviorally defined victims of stalking (53%) also perceive themselves to be stalking victims. Forty-four percent do not consider themselves to be victims of stalking, and an estimated 3% are unsure of whether they were stalked.

Table 9.2 Behaviorally defined victims, their gender, and age, by self-identified victimization status (unweighted n = 946).

	Self-identified status		
Variables	*Victim*	*Nonvictim*	*DK*
Behaviorally defined victim	52.7	44.3	3.0
Victim characteristics			
Gender			
Male	50.8	46.3	2.9
Female	53.3	43.7	3.0
Age			
18–20	66.8	32.2	1.1
21–29	54.0	43.4	2.6
30–39	59.6	38.3	2.1
40–49	52.6	44.9	2.5
50+	35.0	58.8	6.2

Note: Detail may not add to 100% due to rounding.
Weighted n = 3 300 565.

These results are in stark contrast to previous findings using small samples (Campbell & Moore, 2011; McNamara & Marsil, 2012) as well as past research using nationally representative samples (Tjaden, Thoennes, & Allison, 2000). With respect to the latter, more than 10 years had past from the time the NVAWS was fielded and the time the NCVS/SVS was administered. Apparent differences in the extent to which behaviorally identified stalking victims also self-identify could be explained by changes in attitudes towards perceived stalking victimization between the times the NVAWS and NCVS/SVS were conducted. Alternatively, differences in the methodological approaches associated with the two surveys could also account for the disparate findings (see, for example, Rand & Rennison, 2004).

We were also curious to know whether perceptions of stalking victimization among those who met the behavioral definition of stalking vary by certain victim characteristics. A victim's gender and age have repeatedly been identified in the literature as demographic characteristics associated with increased stalking risk (Basile et al., 2006; Baum et al., 2009; Black et al., 2011; Catalano, 2012; Fox et al., 2009; Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998). And past research has examined the effects of these factors on the likelihood college students self-identify as stalking victims, but results have been mixed (Campbell & Moore, 2011; McNamara & Marsil, 2012). Therefore, we examined variation in self-identified status of behaviorally defined victims across gender and age. Findings provide answers to our second research question, "Do perceptions of stalking victimization among behaviorally defined victims vary by the victim's gender and age?"

Results presented in Table 9.2 show that regardless of gender, most respondents who are behaviorally defined as stalking victims also self-identify as stalking victims. And although women are significantly more likely to experience stalking victimization than men (see Table 9.1), men and women identify themselves as victims of stalking at levels that are not significantly different. In other words, among behaviorally defined stalking victims, perception of stalking victimization does not vary by gender.

Unlike gender, bivariate analysis shows that self-identified stalking victimization is correlated with age. The majority of all behaviorally defined stalking victims who are younger than 50 years of age also identified themselves as stalking victims (Table 9.2). However, those 50 years of age and older are significantly less likely ($p < 0.05$) than all other age categories considered to perceive themselves as stalking victims, despite meeting the behavioral definition of stalking.

Table 9.3 presents additional findings from our bivariate analysis and shows the influence of offender characteristics on perceptions of stalking victimization among respondents who are behaviorally defined stalking victims. Results contained in this table answer our third research question: "Do perceptions of stalking victimization among behaviorally defined victims vary by characteristics of the offender?" For example, a significantly larger percentage of behaviorally defined stalking victims also identify themselves as a stalking victim when they believe the offender is the opposite gender (57% versus 45%; $p < 0.05$). However, there is no measurable difference in the percentage of victims who also perceive they have been stalked when the offender's age is considered. In other words, respondents are just as likely to self-identify as a stalking victim when they believe that an offender is the same age as they are and when they believe an offender is older or younger. Finally, a significantly greater percentage of behaviorally defined stalking victims also identify themselves as a stalking

Table 9.3 Offender characteristics by self-identified victimization status (unweighted n = 946).

Variables	*Self-identified status*		
	Victim	*Nonvictim*	*DK*
Offender characteristics			
Different gender			
Yes	56.5	40.5	3.0
No	45.4	52.1	–
Don't know[a]	49.0	46.3	–
Different age			
Yes	53.1	44.4	2.5
No	53.3	43.1	3.6
Don't know[a]	40.6	55.9	–
Intimate partner			
Yes	60.0	38.1	2.0
No	50.6	46.3	–
Don't know[a]	–	67.8	–

Notes: Detail may not add to 100% due to rounding.
[a] The respondents indicated that they did not know or was unable to identify a single offender.
– Based on 10 or fewer unweighted cases.
Weighted n = 3 300 565.

victim when the offender is a current or former spouse or boyfriend/girlfriend. In other words, when the perpetrator is an intimate partner, behaviorally defined stalking victims are also more likely to self-identify as a stalking victim (60% versus 51%; $p < 0.05$). Collectively, these findings provide additional insight into factors that influence a behaviorally identified stalking victim's decision to also self-identify as a victim.

Our bivariate analysis concluded with an examination of how characteristics of stalking incidents influence decisions to self-identify as a stalking victim. The type of unwanted pursuit behavior, duration of the behavior, whether the incident caused the victim to take self-protective measures, and whether the incident was reported to police are the incident-level characteristics considered in the current study. Results of our analysis are presented in Table 9.4 and provide answers to our fourth research question, "Do perceptions of stalking victimization among behaviorally defined victims vary by characteristics of the incident?"

With the exception of receiving calls or messages from the perpetrator, most respondents did *not* experience the unwanted pursuit behaviors that defined stalking victimization (see Table 9.1). Paradoxically, the majority of self-identified stalking victims who met the behavioral definition of stalking reported experiencing all seven types of predatory behavior (Table 9.4). In other words, among behaviorally defined victims of stalking, most who self-identify as victims report experiencing every type of unwanted pursuit behavior that was measured. In addition, a significantly larger percent of behaviorally defined stalking victims who also self-identify indicate that the predatory behavior lasted for 6 months or longer (55% versus 48%; $p < 0.05$). Similarly, a greater percentage of self-identified stalking victims indicate that they took

Table 9.4 Incident characteristics by self-identified victimization status (unweighted n = 946).

	Self-identified status		
Variables	*Victim*	*Nonvictim*	*DK*
Incident characteristics			
Type of predatory behavior[a]			
Calls/messages	54.0	43.3	2.7
Unsolicited communication	55.0	42.3	2.7
Following/spying	73.1	24.8	2.1
Lying in wait	66.9	30.8	2.3
Unwanted visits	65.3	32.3	2.4
Leaving gifts/flowers	67.8	30.3	1.9
Posting information/rumors	53.8	43.1	3.2
Duration			
Less than 6 months	48.4	48.1	3.5
6 months or more	55.1	42.4	2.6
Self-protective measures taken			
Yes	59.6	37.8	2.6
No	41.7	54.7	3.6
Incident reported to police			
Yes	60.8	35.9	3.4
No	47.2	50.2	2.6

Notes: Detail may not add to 100% due to rounding.
Weighted n = 3 300 565.
[a]Respondents were allowed to identify more than on type of behavior.

self-protective measures (60% versus 42%; $p < 0.05$); and also indicate that the stalking the experience was reported to police (61% versus 47%; $p < 0.05$).

Finally, we used a survey weighted logistic regression model to estimate the likelihood that a behaviorally defined stalking victim would self-identify. Victim, offender, and incident characteristics shown in past research to be associated with increased risk of stalking victimization and examined in the current study through bivariate analysis were included in the regression model. Results are presented in Table 9.5 and show that the model is statistically significant, indicating that it is able to distinguish between respondents who self-identified and those who do not.

Results presented in Table 9.5 show that only one of the two victim characteristics considered exerts a significant effect on self-identified victim status. The older a behaviorally defined victim of stalking is, the less likely they are to self-identify as a stalking victim. Although the relationship between stalking perception and age of the victim is significant, the relationship is weak based on the adjusted odds ratio (AOR) value. Specifically, among behaviorally defined victims of stalking, as age increases the odds of self-identifying as a stalking victim decreases significantly, but by only 2%.

As with the victim characteristics, only one of the offender characteristics modeled exerts a significant effect on a behaviorally defined stalking victim's perception of victimization. Although the victim's gender is unrelated to self-identification, a significant positive effect on stalking perception is observed when the victim and offender are not the same gender. Specifically, there is a 35% increase in the likelihood that a behaviorally

Table 9.5 Survey weighted logistic regression model of victim, offender, and incident characteristics predicting self-identified stalking victimization (unweighted n = 946).

Variables	b	SE	p-value	AOR
Victim characteristics				
Gender				
Male (reference)	0.16	0.19	0.20	1.17
Female				
Age (in years)	−0.02	0.01	0.00	**0.98
Offender characteristics				
Different gender	0.30	0.17	0.04	**1.35
Different age	0.11	0.15	0.24	1.12
A known intimate	−0.15	0.20	0.22	0.86
Incident characteristics				
Type of predatory behavior				
Calls/messages	0.00	0.17	0.49	1.00
Unsolicited communication	−0.11	0.15	0.24	0.90
Following/spying	1.14	0.16	0.00	**3.12
Lying in wait	0.34	0.18	0.03	**1.41
Unwanted visits	0.13	0.19	0.24	1.14
Leaving gifts/flowers	0.19	0.25	0.23	1.21
Posting information/rumors	−0.23	0.17	0.09	*0.80
Lasted more than 6 months	0.28	0.16	0.04	**1.33
Took self-protective measures	0.50	0.15	0.00	**1.66
Incident was reported to police	0.39	0.15	0.01	**1.48

Pearson X^2 (918) = 934.46
Prob > X^2 = 0.000

Notes: Goodness of fit statistics is model based, whereas other statistics are design based (see Levy & Lemeshow, 1999).
$*p < 0.10$
$**p < 0.05$

defined stalking victim will also self-identify if the perpetrator is not the same gender as the victim.

Several of the incident characteristics examined exert significant effects on perceptions of stalking victimization. For example, the odds that a victim perceives they were victimized is about three times greater if the perpetrator followed or spied on the them (AOR = 3.12) and more than 1.4 times greater if the perpetrator was lying in wait (AOR = 1.41). On the other hand, if a behaviorally defined stalking victim experienced a perpetrator posting information on the internet or spreading rumors about them, then the odds that they would identify as being a stalking victim decreases by 20%.

Duration of the unwanted pursuit behavior, whether the victim took self-protective measures, and whether the incident was reported to police are also significant predictors that influenced perceptions of stalking victimization. For example, if the unwanted pursuit behavior(s) lasts more than 6 months, then behaviorally defined victims are 1.3 times more likely to also self-identify as being victimized (AOR = 1.33). Similarly, when respondents indicate that they took self-protective measures in response to an unwanted pursuit behavior(s), behaviorally identified stalking victims are 1.66 times more likely to also perceive that they were stalked. And when the unwanted pursuit

behavior(s) is reported to police, a behaviorally defined stalking victim is 1.48 times more likely to also self-identify.

Discussion and Conclusions

The current study addresses five research questions guided by the contemporary stalking victimization literature. Answers to each question, based on findings from the current investigation, are as follows: First, the current research project found that most behaviorally defined stalking victims self-identify or acknowledge their stalking victimization. Second, whether a behaviorally defined stalking victim is male or a female has no effect on whether they self-identify; but the victim's age is correlated with their perception of stalking victimization. Third, perception of stalking victimization is correlated with the perpetrator's gender, but not with their age. And consistent with prior past research, perceptions of stalking victimization among behaviorally defined victims is correlated with the victim-offender relationship status. Forth, perceptions of stalking victimization among behaviorally defined victims also vary by certain characteristics of the incident. For example, the majority of behaviorally defined stalking victims who also acknowledged being victimized experienced all seven types of predatory behaviors measured. In addition, self-identifying as a stalking victim is correlated to the duration of the stalking experience, whether self-protective measures are taken, and whether the incident(s) is reported to police. Finally, when considered together the likelihood a behaviorally defined victim will identify as being stalked is affected by few victim and offender characteristics, but most of the incident characteristics significantly influenced perceptions.

Similar to past research on unacknowledged sexual assault and rape, research on victims perceptions of stalking argue that, much like "rape myths" – stereotypical narratives associated with what constitutes rape and who "counts" as a rape victim – there are also "classic stalking scripts" (Jordan, Wilcox, & Pritchard, 2007; Miller & Schwartz, 1995; Schwartz & Nogrady, 1996; Sheridan, Blaauw, & Davies, 2003; Sheridan, Davies, & Boon, 2001; Sheridan, Gillett, & Davies, 2002). If an experience fits into an individual's narrative of what stalking is, they may be more likely to self-identify as being a victim of stalking. For example, Jordan & colleagues (2007) found support for a "classic stalking case." Their study found that victims who experienced a range of stereotypical stalking behavior (i.e., were stalked by a stranger, felt high levels of fear, and underwent a mixture of types of other stalking phenomena) were more likely to self-identify as a victim of stalking and report their experiences to the police. Correspondingly, Englebrecht & Reyns (2011) also found that an individual experiencing a situation stereotypically associated with stalking (i.e., felt spied on) also had an increased chance of positive self-identification.

Therefore, aforementioned research suggests a theme in the literature: There tends to be a discrepancy between perception and reality. Stereotypes of stalking behavior compared to victim's experiences with stalking may be disjointed. However, the current research project found that – based on victim characteristics – variation in self-identified stalking victimization is not highly correlated with the gender of the respondent but it is correlated with age. Men and women respond equally but the older an individual is, the less likely they are to self-identify. This finding is similar to past research completed on stalking victim characteristics. Further, similar to past research, the current study

found that when behaviorally defined stalking victims believe their offender is the opposite gender, a larger percentage of them will positively self-identify. Unlike past research on stalking victimization, however, current research shows that the likelihood that a behaviorally defined stalking victim will also self-identify is unrelated to whether the offender is a known intimate partner, when other victim and incident characteristics are considered together. Incident characteristics associated with those victims who were more likely to self-identify (e.g., when the perpetrator lies in wait or the victim is followed or spied on) also compare to past research completed.

The findings of this project suggest that it is imperative to understand the variety of individual perceptions of stalking victimization. As with most victimization that occurs when an individual knows their offender, perception of the crime ("rape myths" and "classical stalking scripts") compared to actual experiences is central to future research because many suggest that individuals who do not acknowledged their experience as a crime and who do not self-identify as a victim, may be at a higher risk for future victimization (Englebrecht & Reyns, 2011; Hammond & Calhoun, 2007; Harned, 2004; Laymen, Gidycz, & Lynn, 1996).

Limitations

Findings of this study should be contemplated alongside possible limitations. Mainly, any research on sensitive issues, such as stalking, may be more difficult to discuss with field representatives administering the survey. Because the NCVS is introduced to participants as a "crime survey," there may be reduced rates of responding on issues that individuals might not actually identify as a crime. There may also be a reduced rate of response due to their current relationship with the offender (Schwartz, 2000; Schwartz & Leggett, 1999). Since most respondents are interviewed by telephone, there is a possibility that the actual offender may be within close proximity to the respondent (if they co-reside or are visiting) when answering questions about recent victimization.

Second, there is a limitation based on the age of respondents. The stalking supplement to the NCVS only included respondent information for individuals who were, at the time of the interview, 18 years of age or older. Since this research found that perception of stalking victimization is closely correlated with age, it is possible that respondents younger than 18 could experience and perceive stalking victimization contrarily to those respondents age 18 or older. Again, this finding is in line with past research on stalking (Botta & Pingree, 1997; Englebrecht & Reyns, 2011; Fisher et al., 2003; Fisher, Cullen, & Turner, 2002). Parallel to age, there could very well be a limitation based on issues related to experiences with cyberstalking.

As technology continues to advance, and as social networking sites continue to expand, inconsistences over what constitutes stalking behavior and appropriate responses to it will continue to be important limitations to stalking research. It may be that the stalking supplement to the NCVS did not adequately capture the range of stalking behaviors that can and do occur online. We agree with Spence-Diehl (2003) that there is a need for research on issues related to cyberstalking including incidence data, documentation of types and frequency of cyberstalking behavior, and whether or not a social media generation gap is a relevant factor associated with individual perceptions of stalking. It is possible that younger generations may feel like they are being stalked online while older generations do not. This may also impact factors associated with stalking victim's inclination to self-identify.

Fourth, there may be limitations on the survey's ability to capture fully other relevant variables associated with the propensity to positively self-identify. Since stalking is often associated with a range of possible reactions, future research should attempt to capture the effects of these reactions by a range of individuals known to the victim including friends, family, and colleagues as well as law enforcement officials. Since research has demonstrated that there are inconsistencies about what constitutes stalking behavior (Fox, Nobles, & Fisher, 2011; Seridan, Gillett, & Davies, 2000; Tjaden, 2009; Tjaden, Thoennes, & Allison, 2000), the advice a stalking victim receives is also eminent. The information and assistance received after a stalking episode, warranted or not, could influence an individuals perception of that stalking victimization (Botta & Pingree, 1997; Greenberg & Ruback, 1992; Greenberg, Ruback, & Westcott, 1982). Advice received may influence perceptions of stalking behavior thus potentially impacting the chances of reporting the stalking offense.

Lastly, it could also be that there is an insufficient amount of incident-based characteristics within the survey thus limiting the survey's ability to capture fully the prevalence of stalking offenses experienced by the vast majority of stalking victims. Do we know where respondents were stalked? Did the offender's unwanted presence occur at a location the victim frequents such as the victim's place of residence, work, or school? Or, did the stalking behavior occur in a public location such as a parking lot, grocery store, shopping mall, or evening entertainment venue? Spatial temporal information, such as these, would be most useful in mapping stalking behaviors and we, along with others (Bird & Sokolofski, 2005; Dietz & Martin, 2007) hope future research will incorporate such information.

Future Research

Because women are victims of stalking more so than men, and because offenders are male ex-intimates, we must also continue to understand stalking as an important phenomenon in a range of harassing behaviors between individuals known to one another. Stalking is not only harmful to those victimized, but it is presumed to precede other forms of violence. Not only has ending a relationship – either friendship or intimate – been shown to trigger stalking behavior (Morewitz, 2003; Morrison, 2001; Saunders, 2002), but several studies have also found that women who are stalked by their ex-partners experience a range of distressing behaviors – both physical and emotional (DeKeseredy, Rogness, & Schwartz, 2004; Mullen, Pathe, & Purcell, 2000; Rennison, DeKeseredy, & Dragiewicz, 2012). Past research has also found that stalkers who are intimate partners or ex-intimates are more likely to threaten their victims and to follow through on those threats when compared to individuals who stalk someone other than a partner (James & Farnham, 2003; Logan & Cole, 2011; Logan, Shannon, & Cole, 2007; Logan & Walker, 2009; Mohandie et al., 2006; Palarea et al., 1999; Rosenfeld, 2003, 2004; Rosenfeld & Harmon, 2002; Sheridan & Davies, 2001). More recently, Logan and Cole (2011) also found that women who had been stalked reported higher levels of sexual abuse occurring within their relationships. Indeed, there is substantial evidence to suggest that partner stalking should be considered an extension of intimate partner violence (DeKeseredy, 2011; DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 2009; Logan & Walker, 2009).

Other directions for future research are widespread. We should continue to understand the discrepancies between behaviorally defined victimization and influences on victims to positively self-identify. What we can learn from past victimization research is this: Individuals who do not acknowledge their experience as a crime, and those who do not self-identify as a victim, may be at a higher risk for future victimization (Englebrecht & Reyns, 2011; Harned, 2004; Layman, Gidycz, & Lynn, 1996; Logan, Shannon, & Cole, 2007). Therefore, future research should continue to understand any disjuncture between stalking experience and perception including potential variables that may help to initiate self-identification.

Notes

1   Some combination of the three components of most legal definitions of stalking (i.e., unwanted behavior, repeatedly occurring, and involving threats or fear of threats) is typically used when stalking is operationalized from a behavioral perspective.
2   Or thought that they or someone close to them would be seriously harmed or killed as a result of their assailant's behavior.
3   Unwanted pursuit behavior included perpetrators leaving unwanted phone calls/letters/emails, spying on the victim, making unannounced and/or illegitimate visits, laying in wait for the victim, leaving gifts/flowers for the victim, and posting information/spreading rumors over the internet or by word of mouth about the victim.
4   Individuals who experienced one or more pursuit behaviors, but did not indicate that they felt fearful as a result of the behavior were considered victims of harassment but not stalking.
5   Weighted n = 3 300 565.
6   When used in the regression model (see Table 9.5), the offender's gender and age are compared to the victim's gender and age and expressed as either the same as the victims, different from the victims, or unknown (see Table 9.3 for details).
7   A known intimate is defined as a current or former spouse, boyfriend or girlfriend.
8   Self-protective measures include changing day-to-day activities (e.g., change/quit job or school, avoid relatives, friends, or holiday celebrations, having a friend/relative stay with interviewee, alter appearance, talk self-defense classes, getting pepper spray, gun, or other type of weapon) or personal information (e.g., changing e-mail address, telephone number, or installing caller ID/call blocking system).
9   The unwanted pursuit behavior could have been reported by the victim or by someone other than the victim (i.e., a friend or relative).

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10

The Situational Dynamics of Street Crime

Property versus Confrontational Crime

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Introduction

Although a great deal of research in criminology pertains to the causes of crime, most works are primarily focused on factors distal to the offense itself (including most often, the role of background factors and structural effects). Few perspectives address the more proximate causes of criminal events; what many criminologists refer to as the foreground of crime. Some attempt to do so by focusing on the situational dynamics of offending, and fall under the general category of "crime opportunity" theories (see, Hindelang, Gottfredson, & Garofalo, 1978; for a review see Natarajan, 2011). These include *routine activity theory* (Cohen & Felson, 1979), *rational choice* perspectives (see e.g., Cornish & Clarke, 1986) and the *situational crime prevention* approach (Clarke, 1997). These theories also partially inform more applied approaches such as *crime prevention through environmental design* (or CPTED), which emphasizes the role that the physical environment plays in creating criminogenic conditions and situations that lead to crime (see Jefferey, 1977).

However, while these perspectives focus on the situational characteristics of crime they do not say much if anything regarding the motivations and goals of individual offenders who perpetrate such crimes, particularly with regard to how such processes interact with social, cultural, and physical characteristics of the environment in the time leading up to and at the point of a specific offense itself. Sociologically oriented criminological perspectives focused on macro-level, structural and cultural factors (e.g., race, socioeconomic status and age, or allegiance to a particular subcultural outlook) can tell us who is most vulnerable to the allure of crime or when and where such crimes will generally occur, but they cannot tell us how an offender decides to commit a specific offense at a specific time (Wright & Topalli, 2013; see, e.g., Almgren, Guest, Immerwahr & Spittel, 1998; Cook & Laub, 1998; Lauritsen, Sampson & Laub, 1991; Satcher, 2001). Crime opportunity theories tell us much about the kinds of situational conditions that make criminal acts more likely to happen. But, these perspectives are geared toward understanding offending and offenses in the

aggregate. They say little about criminals or how what they bring to the situation – their histories, experiences, motivations, and needs – interact with structural, situational, and cultural factors to lead them to commit a particular offense at a particular time. Nor do they say much about the nature of the offense itself. Thus, they are far less capable of predicting or describing the moment when an offender moves from an unmotivated state to one in which they are determined to commit a crime (Katz, 1988). Researchers (see Topalli & Wright, 2004) refer to this as "the criminogenic moment"; a time period where the dynamic interaction and intersection of distal and proximate factors determine the occurrence of an offense. Understanding that moment requires us to think about the situational dynamics embedded within the foreground of the criminal event.

The factors that drive an offender toward the criminogenic moment manifest and interact with each other across time. The offender must first experience a motivation to commit the crime. Then, they will engage in some level of planning, followed by a process to determine who or what will be targeted, as well as when and where the offense should occur. These factors build inexorably toward the criminogenic moment in a process that is fluid and highly dynamic. Carjackings, for example, must occur in the blink of an eye. A mobile vehicle may only be available to an offender for mere moments if it is stopped at a red light or stop sign. This requires offenders to move through motivation, planning, targeting, and enactment so fast as to seem like one instantaneous process. Burglaries, on the other hand, are rarely spontaneous. Houses do not move, and thus allow for the flow from motivation to planning and targeting and enactment to move forward discretely and deliberately. Planning and targeting may take hours, days, even weeks, before a burglary is enacted.

Nowhere are the factors that generate the criminogenic moment more clear than in predatory crimes, of the sort that typically occur in impoverished, urban neighborhoods, and which include not only carjacking and burglary, but also robbery, stealing, pickpocketing, and car theft. Predatory offenses typically involve motivated offenders seeking out, targeting, and taking advantage of vulnerable victims as a process governed by both proximate and distal factors embedded within their ongoing participation in streetlife. Within this general category of offenses are those which require the offender to directly confront the victim (such as robbery and carjacking) and those which allow for the offender to victimize someone without them coming into contact with the victim (such as property crimes like burglary, and other offenses which rely primarily on exploiting the confidence of the victim, such as identify theft).

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the factors that bring such offenders to the criminogenic moment, and how they play out during predatory offenses that often emanate from the offender's participation in street life. To do so, we provide an account of the phases of offending mentioned above (motivation, planning and targeting, and enactment) across signature offenses with the predatory crime category; for property crime we focus on burglary, and for confrontational crimes we focus on robbery and carjacking. We select these offenses because of their similarities (all three are predatory street crimes, usually perpetrated with the goal of monetary gains) and their differences (burglary is focused on a stationary target while robbery and carjacking focus on mobile ones). As will be seen these factors are critical to understanding the situational characteristics of crime enactment, particularly those offenses perpetrated by the most devoted and serious hardcore street offenders. To illustrate these points, we have opted to reference the words of the offenders who perpetrate these crimes themselves.

Motivation

Street offenders are primarily motivated by a need for cash, which generally stems from the financial pressures associated with the pursuit of "street life." They live and operate in neighborhoods typified by high unemployment, high crime rates, widespread social disorganization, and wracked with violence, much of it centered on the drug trade. Most offenders growing up under such conditions have limited education, weak family structure, and few ties to conventional society. Violence is an important tool for success and survival (see Anderson, 1999; Wolfgang & Ferracuti, 1967), and most have accepted that they will not likely have long lives (see Brezina, Tekin, & Topalli, 2009; Haynie, Soller, & Williams, 2013, Swisher & Warner, 2013; Topalli, Brezina, & Bernhardt, 2013). It is within these conditions that street life becomes appealing.

For particularly "hardcore" offenders (see Fox, 1987; Topalli, 2005) street life is an end in and of itself. It emphasizes the hedonistic pursuit of material goods (clothing, jewelry, cars, etc.), partying (which most often involves the use of drugs and alcohol, the pursuit of sexual conquests, and gambling), living in the present, and relentlessly defending one's reputation and respect (Shover, 1996; see also, Anderson, 1999). Reputation is accomplished through violence and acquisition of material possessions (see Jacobs, 2000; Topalli, Wright, & Fornango, 2002; Jacobs, Topalli, & Wright, 2000). Maintaining these pursuits can be expensive, requiring a constant need for cash not only to support their partying lifestyle and conspicuous consumption but also to pay for mundane necessities such as food, shelter, and bills (although these considerations usually take a backseat to the pursuit of "good times").

As these offenders expend their resources, financial pressures build. Given their non-mainstream status and likely arrest records, legitimate employment opportunities are not available to them. Even if they were able to secure a job, barriers remain. The "party as life" routine (Shover, 1996) is expensive and often focuses on activities that are illegal (such as drug consumption, trafficking items on the black market, and consorting with prostitutes) that cannot be paid for with a check or credit card (Wright et al., 2014). Cash is therefore critical. Whatever low-grade employment is available to offenders willing to work pays little, especially when compared to a seemingly lucrative, tax-free, illegal occupation like drug dealing (Levitt & Venkatesh, 2000). Most regular jobs necessitate payment on a bi-weekly or monthly basis, precluding workers from having immediate access to their money and forcing them to interact with banks, or worse, check cashing establishments, an untenable situation for those obsessed with having immediate access to their funds. Beyond such obvious barriers, participation in street life makes it difficult to sustain employment over any meaningful period of time. Street life emphasizes independence, which is highly incompatible with acceptance of an authority (such as a boss or manager), making it likely that an offender's attitude would eventually get them fired. Further, the offender's lifestyle encourages one to do as one sees fit and discourages long-term planning, which is anathema to the fixed work schedules that even the most basic employment requires.

It may be argued that in the absence of employment another source of income would be to borrow from friends and family, but in reality, this rarely happens. A reputation for self-sufficiency – what Shover and Honaker (1992, p. 284) refer to as the "conspicuous display of independence" – is important to street offenders, making borrowing highly unattractive. For those few willing to stomach the embarrassment of asking for help, it is likely they often have already borrowed to the point where others refuse to keep giving

anyhow (see Wright & Decker, 1994). Jacobs & Wright (1999, p. 160), for example, quote an armed robber who complained that his relatives and friends ceased loaning him any more money after he had failed to pay his debts to them,

> I can't borrow money. Who gonna loan me money? Shit, I use drugs and they know that and I rob and everything else. Ain't nobody gonna loan me no money. If they give you some money, they just give it to you; they know you ain't giving it back.

In any case, short-term loans present only a temporary relief of the pressures that offenders experience. Such funds are expended rapidly in the pursuit of hedonistic activities and having to repay money owed can create further financial pressures that will likely be relieved through crime.

The offender, having established that committing a crime is the only way to address these pressures, must now decide which crime to commit (see Wright & Topalli, 2013). Their exclusion from legitimate workforce opportunities and their ongoing existence in poor, crime-ridden urban environments dictate they will turn to offenses most readily available to them and which hold the most promise for providing the cash they so desperately need. Most often this includes engaging in predatory street crimes.

The Motivation to Commit Property Crime (Burglary)

For those offenders who wish to reduce financial pressure but do not have the stomach for direct confrontation with a victim, burglary makes a great deal of sense. First off, burglary is viewed as lucrative and convenient, as reflected in the comments of a residential burglar interviewed by Wright & Decker (1994, p. 48):

> I have a job, but I got tired of waiting on that money. I can get money like that. I got talent, I can do me a burglary, man, and get me five or six hundred dollars in less than an hour. Working eight hours a day and waiting a whole week for a check and it ain't even about shit.

Burglars are also motivated to avoid the perceived costs of confrontational crimes. Many believe there is a greater likelihood of getting caught for selling drugs, and that the punishments associated with dope dealing are too high (see Bennett & Wright, 1984). Confrontational crimes such as robbery and carjacking are unattractive to burglars for a variety of reasons. First, they perceive such crime as more likely to result in arrest. Second, many burglars are unwilling to risk the potential injury or death associated with confrontational crimes where a victim may fight back. Third, many burglars simply do not have it in themselves to engage in the kind of violence that is often required in robbery or carjacking. Both carjackers and robbers make it clear that violence is a necessary strategy for gaining compliance of victims and staving off future retaliation (see Jacobs, Topalli, & Wright, 2000; Topalli, Wright, & Fornango, 2002). Finally, and most importantly, robbery and carjacking often require a gun and access to one is not always possible. Even if one is available, burglars are well aware that the use of a weapon in the commission of an offense can get one into serious trouble compared to the punishments associated with a property crime like burglary. As Bluey, an older offender from Atlanta put it:

> I don't do nothing but robbing houses. They catch you in a house, they gonna give you a few months maybe a year. They catch you doing some of that other shit, stealing and robbing people with a gun, shit like that? They gonna put you away for a long time.

Forever. With a house, I don't have to worry about putting a gun on nobody, about nobody seeing my face and coming after me later on. You rob people on the street, they gonna come and get you later man. I believe in that karma shit. You live with a gun, you die with a gun. No, you just chill out and wait and watch that house. You can wait as long as you like. If you need money and you ain't got no hurry, you do a house.

Secondary benefits can also motivate an offender to engage in burglary over other types of crime. For instance, once an offender feels they have been wronged they may decide the best way to take revenge without being discovered is to surreptitiously burglarize the other party's home (Wright & Decker, 1994). A potential emotional benefit is the thrill that accompanies the successful completion of a burglary. The successful accomplishment of a burglary where an offender has not been caught can feel like a personal achievement, and enhance the offender's sense of criminal self-efficacy (see Brezina & Topalli, 2012) especially if an individual has failed at everything else in life. Burglary gives the offender a feeling of being in control over one's life. In addition, the acquisition of financial and material assets can serve to illicit respect from others (see Wright & Decker, 1997). As Gold-bar, a burglar and drug dealer from Atlanta noted:

I basically failed outta school when I was like 15, and I wasn't never not good at nothing. Once my uncle tried to give me a job at his garage and I couldn't even change the oil right. I remember he almost killed me over messing up an oil change, for real. But then you know, I started getting into doing houses and you know, I done so many and almost never got caught man. When I did it wasn't my fault or nothing. Just some bad luck. Other than that two or three few times, I got away clean every time. Man, it's a hell of a feeling, when you in that house and you can just take whatever you like. You just take it and then later, when you got that money. Man, I love that. The best is when I get money and dope from a house and then I sell that dope and stack that money on top of the money I done already got. Shit, that's some real shit right there.

The Motivation to Commit Confrontational Crimes (Robbery and Carjacking)

The situational dynamics which the engender motivation to commit a predatory offense are made clear in the decision to choose confrontational crimes over property crimes. Burglary has its own disadvantages. Homes are often equipped with security measures designed to deter or foil burglary, including cameras, alarm systems, and guard dogs. Even when home does not have these deterrence measures, there is a possibility that it will not contain any items of value or that those that are valuable will be too large to carry (such as a television set) or difficult to pawn on the streets for cash (a top of the line breadmaker may be expensive but will garner little cash on the street or at a pawn shop). If the offender is primarily motivated by the need for cash and drugs, it will be difficult to know how much, if any, exists within a particular home without inside information.

Relatedly, the need for drugs and cash usually stems from a crisis of some sort, the desperate need to pay off someone or stave off drug withdrawal for example. Under such circumstances, burglary may be seen as an inefficient strategy. For such reasons and a host of others, interpersonal offenses such as street robbery and carjacking are often preferable. Both offenses are seen as efficient and easy, capable of providing a perpetrator with the cash or drugs that they need to perpetuate their partying and

conspicuous consumption. Importantly, while burglary risks the possibility of an unanticipated victim in the house, carjackers and robbers believe since they can see their victim – be they someone withdrawing money from an ATM, a street corner hustler with drugs, or young couple pulled in to a drive through with their new car – the danger of the unknown is removed. Carjackers and robbers also feel that confrontational crimes are safer than drug dealing, another potentially lucrative offense. Robbers in particular know this, as many of them frequently target drug dealers. As Jay-Ray put it:

> Why should I sling dope when I can just take it from some little punk on the street, and have his money too? Dealing dope is work, man. Robbery is more easier. When I need some money its usually because I need some dope. I got this cocaine habit. So, why not hit up a coke dealer? One-stop shop. Plus, you sling dope long enough and eventually, someone like me gonna come and get you.

Robbers also know that drug dealers are unlikely to contact the police if they are robbed since they would implicate themselves for their own criminal behavior in the process (see Jacobs, Topalli, & Wright, 2000). As Bluey put it:

> When I need money and dope I got to go where the money and the dope at right? You need bread, you to the bakery. So I go and get me a dope dealer. They got what I need. I got a habit man. I need to get my shit on a regular basis. And I like to go out and spend money. I don't sit around the house all day watching TV. I'm out and about. So when I need it, I go out and I get it. People know me for that. They know me as a dude who go and take what he need. The more I need it the more you don't want to see me coming around the corner, you dig?

As with burglary, there are secondary benefits of robbery and carjacking that are seductive, including sometimes the opportunity to enact revenge or attain a feeling of personal competence. However, unlike burglars, robbers may also need to dominate and frighten victims, which, is viewed as a necessary tactic for gaining compliance in any case (see enactment section below). In fact, the use of violence may be a motivation in and of itself (Schinkel, 2004). Offenders frequently talk about the thrill of committing such offenses. In Topalli (2006) Junebug, a drug robber stated:

> I do it because I like to do it. I don't think that I will ever stop doing these robberies until the day that somebody kill me. There is nothing in the world that would stop me from doing it. I'm gonna do this until the day I die. Because I like doing it. It's fun to me, it's real fun to me. Just taking they money, seeing them scream, crying, begging, "Don't kill me." Because it's fun to me. I like to see the motherfuckers scream. I get my thing on watching motherfuckers [beg], "Hey man, please don't hurt me." Hit him in the head and bust his motherfucking head with a pistol. I like shit like that. Get high, steal me a couple of their little shit, get high and sit back and think back about 'em. So it's fun to me. I don't hate nothing about it. I love it.

Interestingly, robbers and carjackers also often describe higher levels of hostility and anger in relation to their offending than do burglars (see Wright & Decker, 1997). This is not particularly surprising given the interpersonal nature of confrontational offenses versus property offenses. The victim has something the offender wants. It makes sense that a display of anger helps to facilitate compliance, and that the successful execution

of the offense alleviates angry feelings by replacing them with more positive ones, like pleasure or a sense of accomplishment. This also makes sense when one considers the centrality of retaliation – a motivation intimately tied to anger (see Topalli & O'Neal, 2003) – as a mechanism for informal social control on the streets (Anderson, 1999; Jacques, 2010; Jacobs, Topalli, & Wright, 2000; Topalli, Wright, & Fornango, 2002). Goldie, an experienced carjacker from St. Louis relayed the story of how he carjacked someone to punish them for sexually assaulting his cousin:

> Peeped this dude pulling up at the liquor store. I'm tripping [excited] you know what I'm saying, walking there. You know, I peeped him out, you dig? I was playing like I'm going to get me something out the store, you know, waiting for him to come back out. So, when he reaching in the door to open the door, his handle outside must have been broke cause he had to reach in to open the door. And I just came around, you know what I'm saying, put it to his head, "You want to give me them keys, brother?" He's like, "No, I'm not givin' you these keys." I'm like, "You gonna give me them keys, brother. It's as simple as that." Man, he's like, "Take these, motherfucker, fuck you and this car. Fuck you." I'm like, man, "Just go on and get your ass home." Kicked him in his ass, you know what I'm saying and I was like, "Fuck that, as a matter of fact get on your knees. Get on your knees motherfucker!" The reason why I wanted that car right then for real? The nigger, I don't like him, you know what I'm saying. 'Cause he's fucking with one of my little gals and talking all this shit on the phone and I told him when I catch him, you dig, his shit is mine, you know what I'm saying? 'Cause he fucked one of my little gals … Well, she was saying that he didn't really fuck her, you know, he took the pussy [raped her], you know what I'm saying?

Although burglars sometimes are motivated to break into someone's home as a means of getting revenge from some real or perceived act of disrespect (see Wright & Decker, 1994), this kind of behavior is far more common among robbers and carjackers who frequently engage in their offenses as much to teach someone a lesson as to make some money. Coincidentally, there is evidence that anger is a precipitating factor in predatory crimes (see Topalli & Wright, 2004), particularly with respect to interpersonal, confrontational crimes as opposed to property crimes.

Targeting and Planning

Once an offender has decided they need to commit an offense they must decide who or what they want and where and when they will execute the offense. Different kinds of targets present different kinds of challenges to the offender primarily based on the mobility of the target itself. Those which are fixed (i.e., a residence) permit the offender to take their time in selecting the target and in planning their offense. Other targets are by their very nature dynamic (i.e. a motor vehicle or an individual walking down the street) and thus present the offender with little or no time to engage in thoughtful targeting or elaborate planning. In such cases (especially with respect to carjacking where a car can speed off at any moment), the process of targeting and planning that follows motivation can seem almost instantaneous. Robbery would seem to fall between the temporal limitations inherent in carjacking versus burglary; a robbery victim represents less mobility than a moving car but (obviously) more than a home. In this way, target mobility represents a continuum of advantages and challenges to the offender's capacity to engage in targeting and planning. Planning an

offense is limited by two demands. On the one hand, participation in street life drives the offender to commit the crime immediately so as to relieve mounting pressure. On the other, offenders must be cautious so as to not get arrested or injured. The tensions between these demands govern where, who, and what they can target. In essence, this means that less desperate offenders are more likely to participate in property crimes while more desperate ones will tend to engage in confrontational offenses.

Targeting and Planning for Property Crime (Burglary)

Burglaries by their nature tend to be nonspontaneous offenses. Homes are stationary and unless the burglar has been in the home what lies within it is generally a mystery. When casing a property, the burglar must attempt to determine what is in it by observing the behavior of its residents or by having some sort of inside information from those who they know who may have been in the residence themselves. What kind of people are they? When do they come home? When do they leave? Are they known for possessing the kinds of things that the offender is interested in having (e.g. cash, drugs, and other material goods)? Burglars may befriend neighbors, or even socialize or interact with the owners if they are bold enough and have a legitimate cover story ("I live the next block over, and my home is about the size of yours. What kind of alarm system do you have? I'm thinking of getting one"). The goal of these information gathering activities and observations is to help the burglar maximize the amount of time they have available to them while in the property. Burglaries take far more time than robberies and carjackings, which frequently occur in a matter of seconds. Searching a home requires entering numerous rooms and quickly and efficiently combing each for the existence of valuables. To maximize the efficiency of this process, the experienced burglar will spend as much time as possible seeking out a good residence to burgle and then observe the selected target over a period of time to increase the likelihood that they will find what they want once they gain entry. This kind of preparation allows for burglars to decisively take action when they deem the opportunity is optimal (for example, when they observe the residents leave their home with suitcases, signifying a vacation).

There are some rare cases where burglars target homes in a more spontaneous fashion, and this is usually driven by their state of mind and level of motivation at any given time. Although burglary is a more "thoughtful" or "planful" offense than robbery or carjacking, burglars are subject to many of the same hedonistic pressures with which confrontational offenders contend (including the need for drugs to stave off withdrawal, or fast cash to pay off debt to someone threatening their life). In such cases, even experienced burglars opt to hasten the targeting and planning process to relieve such pressures, relying on their experience to guide them through the process as quickly as possible. Such offenses carry with them a higher likelihood of failure, but also the prospect of attaining desired results more quickly. Thus, while confrontational offenses tend to be more opportunistic in this regard, burglary too can be opportunistic (Wright & Decker, 1994). The tradeoff was illustrated by Jonesy, an Atlanta offender,

> Usually, I plan out my shit like a mission. I think on it. I watch the house. But, if I get into a fix, you know, with dope or whatever, then I need to speed things up. So, I might go and do a house that I already done did, 'cuz I know the house and don't have to

spend so much time checking it out like a new house. Of course, it's good because I know the house, but it's bad because if they been robbed once, they might be more careful this time and that ain't good for me. It just depends. If I'm itching for dope, then I might be less careful and take less time. If I ain't then I won't.

Targeting and Planning in Confrontational Crime (Robbery and Carjacking)

Because burglary so obviously demands a certain level of planning, it tends to be less viable for those who have reached a greater level of desperation (with exceptions noted above). Robbery and carjacking however are perfectly amenable to the limitations created by desperation (Topalli and Wright, 2013). Many street offenders' drug and partying habits are so compelling that they may experience bouts of desperation daily. Many hardcore criminals caught up in street life consume and expend at higher and higher levels as time passes, quickly exhausting resources and producing a compelling need to replenish the resources (most often cash and drugs) necessary to maintain their lifestyle. A carjacker interviewed by Jacobs, Topalli, and Wright (2003, p. 677), for instance, described how he expended the money gained from carjacking on drugs and good times:

> Just get high, get high. I just blow money. Money is not something that is going to achieve for nobody, you know what I'm saying? So every day there's not a promise that there'll be another day so I just spend it, you know what I'm saying? It ain't mine, you know what I'm saying? I just got it, it's just in my possession. This is mine now, so I'm gonna do what I got to do. It's a lot of fun.

Offenders who need cash or drugs immediately can take advantage of environmental conditions and the unsuspecting nature of potential targets to execute their crimes in the moment. As Black, an Atlanta offender put it,

> Whether I'm desperate or not, I'm still good at doing what I do. Its like this, if I got a lot of money and I don't feel like I'm going nuts from not having dope, then I will peep on a dude and take my time. I'll plan it out and shit. Usually in those cases I get a lot more, like I'll get a lot of money and a lot of dope and shit. But, if I'm feeling it bad, then that changes things. The more I need dope, the worse I get, the stupider I get. So, before it get too bad, I might do a couple little jobs here and there, without no planning or nothing. Those don't give me a lot of money or dope, but enough to get by, and sometimes when you do stuff without planning it come as a surprise to the person you hitting and that actually helps because they don't have no chance to react. So, it can work both ways, just depends on what my state of mind be you know?

Convenience targets are typically individuals encountered while the robber is going through daily life. Targets engaging in illicit activities are desirable since it is unlikely they will go to the police, with drug dealers being the most preferred targets (Jacobs & Wright, 2006). They operate with cash and frequently conduct their business our in the open. Of course, dealers are also carrying drugs, which are often the primary object of desire for a needy offender. Behind drug dealers, drug customers and those engaged in street corner transactions are the next likely to be robbed. Other convenient targets include johns, prostitutes, and undocumented day workers, since they typically carry cash. For example, some robbers prefer johns who are white

and intoxicated since they are obviously not from the neighborhood, are unlikely to be able to adequately resist in an inebriated state, and are often unaware of their surroundings. Sexy Girl, a prostitute who worked with her boyfriend to rob such men, described such targeting,

> Now, when we need money, I go to the places where tourists go, like the Atlanta Underground mall. And then I just cozy up to a guy, like an out of town guy, and tell him I like white guys and my last boyfriend was white and all that kinda shit. Then I ask him to take me to my hotel on Fulton Industrial Boulevard and when we get in there and I get him naked, then my boyfriend bust in the door and take his shit. Sometimes, we even grab his keys and take his car. Good luck explaining that one to your wife!

As offenders expend resources, they grow more desperate, and the situational dynamics at play converge to alter the offender's targeting and planning calculations. Building desperation narrows the range of acceptable types of offenses while simultaneously expanding the number and type of targets (Topalli and Wright, 2013). Thus, an offender who is not desperate might consider a variety of offenses, many of which may require careful targeting and planning (such as identify theft or burglary). As time passes and desperation grows however, they begin to eliminate such offenses as possibilities and turn to more spontaneous kinds of offenses that require less planning and are frequently confrontational in nature (such as robbery and carjacking). Topalli and Wright (2004) refer to this process as moving from a state of alert opportunism (where offenders passively scan the environment to identify optimal opportunities) to one of motivated opportunism (where offenders being to actively search for opportunities that may be less then optimal). This dynamic shift from looking for targets and planning offenses in a more controlled manner to doing so in a more spontaneous way manifests itself in a number of ways. Offenders alter the amount of time they spend selecting a place suitable for a robbery or carjacking. They may care less and less about whether witnesses will be within sight or the time of say when the commit the offense. They may select areas less familiar to them if they happen to be far from their home turf.

Similar dynamics are at work in choosing the individual to victimize. Once the location of the offense is determined, a specific victim needs to be chosen as suitable. Here, robbers and carjackers are looking for targets they can easily control who will have what they want. Robbers are looking for those with cash on hand and will thus target drug dealers, day workers, or people at ATMs. Carjackers are looking for vehicles they know they can sell to other people or to chop shops, with a particular emphasis on those vehicles with aftermarket items (such as expensive hub caps and sound systems) that they can quickly sell on the streets. But, offenders under the influence of increasing desperation will move from optimal targets (e.g., a weak, unarmed persons with lots of money or drugs, or someone in a stopped vehicle at night on a deserted stretch of road) to those that are suboptimal (e.g., a drug dealer, who may be armed or accompanied by friends). As Black put it,

> If its up to me, I'll take my time, watch someone I know got some money, somebody with no friends, not gun in they house. Someone I can get easy. But if I'm needing that money right now? Right now? Well, I don't have time to take my time, you know what I'm saying. I just go out looking for the first cat I catch sleeping. You feel me?

Enactment

The dynamics of offender decision making inherent in motivation, targeting, and planning ultimately manifest themselves in the foreground of offending, in the criminogenic moment when the crime is enacted. As with the previous phases of offending, the dynamics of enactment are governed by situational factors, particularly the level of desperation that the offender is experiencing. While no offender wishes to take longer executing an offense, some, like burglary naturally take longer than others (like carjacking).

Enacting Property Offenses (Burglary)

As with motivation, planning, and targeting, the would-be burglar must balance the desire to maximize their reward against the risks inherent in entering and looting a dwelling. A successful burglary requires consideration of four stages: entering, searching, exiting, and getting rid of goods. Of these phases, the one more germane to our present discussion is the searching phase. It is during this phase that the burglar must decide how much time and care they will take in discovering desired items and cash, and it is this phase that is most sensitive to the situational pressures and dynamics emanating from the offender's level of need or desperation.

Once offenders have overcome the anxiety of entering a dwelling (which requires them to overcome security measures, maintain silence, keep from being seen, etc.), they must engage in a search of the home, the core mission of a burglary event. For experienced burglars searching homes is a systematic, script-driven process for the most part (Nee & Meenaghan, 2006; Nee & Taylor, 2000). They know which rooms have which desirable items, where common hiding places are, and what areas to avoid. But scripts vary in terms of execution depending on the state of the burglar, which is in turn is dictated by circumstances both internal and external to them. The more urgent their need, the more dire their circumstances, the faster and less careful they will be during this process. Essentially, burglars must decide whether they have the time to engage in a "leisurely" or "brief" search (see Wright & Decker, 1994). Burglars either leave quickly reducing risk and potential reward – a brief search – or increase risks and spend time searching for bigger rewards, a leisurely search.

Brief searches are designed to be quick and efficient. Burglars know they have a limited amount of time in a home and they want to maximize their take in the shortest amount of time. As one burglar in Wright & Decker (1994) noted, "I know three minutes don't seem like a long time, but in that house that's long! You just go straight and you do what you gotta do. Three minutes is a long time."

Brief searches are sometimes accomplished with a partner. Although this means that they will have to split the take, having a partner can be valuable as it reduces time needed to search and provides an extra set of eyes to keep a lookout for residents or the authorities. Some burglars believe partners can aide in escape in times of capture or will share blame. These aspects of having a partner create increases in confidence and reduce fear. As illustrated by a burglar in Wright and Decker (1994),

> Working with someone else lower risk because if its more than one of us and the police do come then somebody is bound to get away. I guess if you get caught, you know the police gonna catch one of you, put it that way, if you're gonna get caught, they're gonna catch one of you, and of you always gotta chance of getting away.

For those few offenders who are not under dire financial pressures, are confident that they have planned the offense well, and know (as far as they can) that the residents will not return, the leisurely search makes sense. The more time one is able to spend in a dwelling, the more meticulous they can be in their search. This maximizes the likelihood that they will uncover valuable yet difficult to find items such as jewelry and cash. A small number of burglars in Wright and Decker's (1994) study referenced these points,

> I take the whole day going through the whole house, sitting down and eating and things of that nature…on a burglary, you get all that you can. Some people will just go get certain items but I can just take everything because everything has a value.

Typically employed when there is specific knowledge of when residents will return, the temptation to stay longer and engage in a leisure search is sometimes related to more than financial reasons, including relaxation and entertainment,

> I usually go straight to the bedroom and then I walk around to the living room. I have sat at people's house and cooked me some food, watch TV, and played the stereo … I know they wouldn't be there.

Enacting Confrontational Offenses (Robbery and Carjacking)

Unlike burglary and other property crimes, confrontational crimes like robbery and carjacking require direct interaction with another person. The enactment of these offenses must occur rapidly and in a manner that communicates massive threat to the victim should they not comply. In Jacobs, Topalli, & Wright (2000, p. 179), Lamont, a veteran street offender, described an example of how he implemented intimidation during a drug robbery outside an East St. Louis night club,

> I shot him to let him know I ain't playing with the .25, bing, bing, bing, bing … I know he had a gun in his car and he messing around as soon as I walked away. He snuck in his car and might have run up behind me and shot me or something. So I shot him, bing, bing, I'm gonna leave him laying right here and I'm gonna make it to my car. Cause he gots to go to the hospital. Any person that you shot they got to go to the hospital unless you Superman or something, you can take these bullets, they bounce off you, you spit 'em out your mouth or something like Superman did. You a bad man if you can do that.

In nearly all cases, robbery and carjackings involve the use of a weapon. For a variety of reasons, these offenses are designed to take place quickly, sometimes within a matter of seconds. Robbery victims and car drivers represent mobile targets, and the time that an offender has to carry out a contemplated offense is governed by that mobility. Because a car can travel so much faster than a person, carjacking is even more strongly influenced by situational factors related to mobility of the target than is robbery (where the offender can count on an equivalent level of mobility for the most part). As a consequence, robbers have more time to think about how to approach the victim, relieve them of their possessions, and then make their getaway in a manner that precludes the victim from giving chase.

Robbery is carried through the four stages (see Jacobs, 1999; Wright and Decker, 1997), including approaching, announcing, transferring goods, and escaping. There

are two methods to approaching a target and are often depicted by the situation and sometimes used in tandem. Both methods are used by the offender lessen the chances that the target will be able to have an opportunity to get away or resist. The first method is using stealth and speed to sneak up on the victim. The other method requires the robber to manage their appearance and movements so that they do not arouse suspicion in a potential victim. Women may be used to help create this illusion of fitting into the situation, such as pretending they are acting like they are shopping. Lastly, a female robber has an advantage in managing normality. Men do not suspect women will rob and view women as sex objects. Baby Girl, a female robber from Atlanta described these considerations:

> I always try to look cute and feminine, you know. I smile a lot and sometimes I wear short shorts so the dudes look at my ass, and they don't figure I have a gun in my purse and then bam! I just pull out the gun. They are shocked when they see that gun. Sometimes they think I'm playing and then I have to curse at them and point the gun at they head to get them to understand I'm not playing.

The proverbial make or break moment of the robbery occurs when the offender "announces" that a robbery is to take place, that the robber is committed to seeing the offense carried out to its end, and that the victim knows there is no alternative but to comply. This may be accomplished by simply showing the gun to the victim or by literally announcing the commencement of the offense ("This is a robbery, don't make it a murder" or "You know what time it is"). The announcement involves a demand to listen and declaration of what is expected of the victim. Robbers typically try not to say too much so as to avoid the possibility their voice will be recognized.

Once both parties understand a robbery is occurring, it is necessary to transfer the goods from the victim to the offender. This phase of the robbery represents some level of risk since the close contact increases the chance of a victim resisting. The two strategies, ordering victim to hand over the goods or taking them from the victim while keeping the gun on them, are both intended to minimize resistance, and each has its advantages and disadvantages. For example, a disadvantage of ordering the victim to hand over their valuables is that they may withhold some items. Knowing this, some robbers are forced to use threatening language and tough talk ("If you don't give me everything, I'll blow out your brains"), patting down victims, or actually hurting victims (shooting them in the leg or pistol whipping them. Taking the victim's goods themselves allows offenders to make sure they have received everything of value. The risks involve becoming vulnerable by being too close, and forcing them to focus all of their attention on the behavior of the victim rather than what is happening around them. Usually those who prefer this method have a partner.

The last aspect of a robbery is deciding between leaving the scene themselves or forcing the victim to leave the scene. Leaving the victim and the scene is the preferred method, but requires the offender to make sure that the victim will not follow the offender or raise awareness of the crime before the offender is able to put a good amount of distance between themselves and the victim. The victim can be controlled to leave in a number of ways; extending the illusion of impending death temporarily ("If you move from this spot before I get out of the area in the next 5 minutes I'll come back and I'll shoot you dead") or indefinitely ("If you ever come looking for me, I'll take it to another level"), tying them up, or stealing their clothes all are ways

to impede the victim from raising alarm or seeking retaliation. It is also possible to force the victim to leave before the offender ("Walk to the end of the block and don't look back or I'll shoot you"). This allows the offender to leave the scene unnoticed and do not have to worry about being counterattacked.

If these tactics are implemented by robbers in a short amount of time, it is nothing compared to the speed with which a carjacker must enact their offense. While a robber may have to worry about chasing a potential victim down should they attempt to flee, carjackers know they have no chance of doing so with a driver in a motor vehicle. One tap of the gas, and the vehicle will quickly become unattainable. As a consequence, carjackings tend to be extremely spontaneous affairs. Most often, the carjacker identifies an appropriate street corner with a stop sign or traffic light and wait for the right car to come by, hoping the vehicle will stop long enough for the carjacker to approach, throw the door open, and pull the driver out. If the car door is locked, the carjacker will quickly have to point the gun at the window and hope that the driver does not floor it. Butter, a carjacker from Atlanta described the difficulties associated with this type of crime:

> You gotta be ready to go. Real quick man. Because that car won't be there long man. When you see it, you gotta do it. Ain't no time to think about. My mind just does it without thinking, you know. If you hesitate on that shit, that car will be gone and you'll be standing in the middle of the road man. So, when I see a car I want, it takes me about 5 seconds to walk up and put the gun on them. Usually, they are so shocked that they don't know what to do and I have to explain to them to leave the keys in the car, put in park and shit like that.

Of course, the great advantage of carjacking over robbery is that the perpetrator is able to escape in the target of his or her crime, and that the act of taking someone's car means that the advantage of mobility switches instantaneously to the offender, since the victim is left standing on the side of the road. Thus, carjackers do not have to worry about employing many of the tactics that robbers do (commanding victims not to follow them, searching the victim for valuables, etc.). In the end these differences between carjacking and robbery are relatively small in comparison to the differences between these offenses and burglary. In the final analysis, property crimes and confrontational crimes retain fundamental differences based on the dynamics of mobility that make it highly unlikely that individuals who select one type of crime are equally likely to select the other and vice versa.

Conclusion

Thus, while burglary requires the offender to methodically select a target, plan out the burglary, and then execute the offense over an extended period of time, confrontational crimes like robbery and especially carjacking force the offender to condense these stages into a fluid and time encapsulated process that takes place over mere minutes or, more likely, seconds. The phases of offending described previously do not in reality occur in distinct and neatly defined phases or stages. Offenders frequently must abandon one strategy for another or change their calculations regarding the appropriateness of a target in real time if they see something about the intended victim that creates doubt or cause for concern. There are exceptions to

the rule for each of the offenses previously described. Some burglaries are perpetrated by profoundly desperate offenders and executed with little or no planning, while some carjackings are pursued by offenders who target a vehicle or driver and spend days planning out when and where they will take the car from them. But these are exceptions and in any case what is important about these offenses are not the exceptions or the in consistencies in how they are enacted, but rather the extent to which situational factors associated with the offender and situational factors associated with a crime opportunity come together at the criminogenic moment to produce a particular offense at a particular time.

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Part Three

Juvenile Violence

11

Triggerman Today, Dead Man Tomorrow

Gangs, Violence, and Victimization

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Over four people are murdered every day as a result of gang-related violence in large US cities (Decker & Pyrooz, 2010). Malcolm Klein is right: "Being a gang member can be hazardous to your health" (2004, p. 140). Although it might appear so, gang violence is not usually random. It is more likely to occur in cities with greater economic and social disadvantage and higher population density, and clustered in and around neighborhoods of lower affluence and weaker social controls (Papachristos & Kirk, 2006; Pyrooz, 2012; Rosenfeld, Bray, & Egley, 1999). Individuals who are involved in gangs often commit violent acts and are violently victimized at higher rates while in a gang than before or after gang membership (Fox, 2013; Krohn & Thornberry, 2008; Taylor, 2008). Further, gang violence is typically situated within institutionalized networks of conflict between gangs, where gangs trade places as aggressors and targets across time (Decker, 1996; Decker & Pyrooz, 2010; Papachristos, 2009). While we have a good understanding of the nature, extent, and correlates of gang violence, we know much less about the interrelationship between gang membership, violence perpetration, and violent victimization. That is to say, is Gang A's triggerman on Thursday the assault victim of Gang B on Saturday?

What we are generally referring to has been termed the _victim-offender overlap_, a criminological concept holding that victims and offenders are drawn from the same pool in the population (Lauritsen, Sampson, & Laub, 1991; Singer, 1981; Wolfgang, 1958). In other words, when studying offenders, they are much more likely to be victims than the general population, and when studying victims, they are much more likely to be offenders than the general population. Of course, there are those who are uniquely victims or uniquely offenders, but the tendency to classify individuals as uniquely one or the other is empirically unsubstantiated. Indeed, the overlap has been subject to considerable empirical scrutiny and has been found to be robust across a variety of specifications (Jennings, Piquero, & Reingle, 2012; Lauritsen & Laub, 2007). There is strong reason to believe that the overlap extends to the context of gangs not only through traditional explanations of the overlap (e.g., opportunity, low

self-control, and subcultural theories), but primarily because of group processes. As we explain, group processes such as retaliatory violence, collective identity, and a normative orientation to criminal behavior (Decker & Van Winkle, 1996; Papachristos, 2009; Pyrooz, Moule, & Decker, 2014; Short & Strodtbeck, 1965; Thrasher, 1927) place gang members at risk for both criminal offending and victimization.

This chapter explores the relationship between gang membership and the victim-offender overlap. We begin by laying out the victim-offender link in criminology, tracing its origins and the theoretical basis for the concept. Next, we apply the victim-offender overlap to gang membership, introducing a typology that captures the various subcategories of gang members, offenders, and victims. Here, we review the evidence on violent offending and victimization among gang members. Next, we more fully specify the theoretical expectation that gang membership will lead to an overlap in offending and victimization. We also extend the theoretical connection between the overlap of offending and victimization and gang membership into a life-course course framework. Here, we discuss the overlap in relation to three periods gang membership – prospective, active, and former stages of gang involvement – and hypothesize that this relationship should fluctuate over time. We contend that the overlap (i) remains higher among youth with nonzero probabilities for gang membership than their nongang counterparts, (ii) peaks during active periods of gang membership, and (iii) is invariant across the three stages of gang membership, with no tendency to be a victim or offender. The overlap between victims and offenders has been studied for nearly 70 years in fields such as criminology, psychology, sociology, and public health, finding itself on the short list of criminological "facts." This review extends our understanding of the overlap to a social context that is inextricably tied to violence and victimization: gangs.

The Victim-Offender Overlap

Despite longstanding tendencies to classify offenders as "bad" and victims as "good" (Tonry, 2004), a substantial body of evidence reveals that these qualities are not necessarily mutually exclusive given that some people are *both* offenders and victims (for review, see Berg, 2012; Lauritsen & Laub, 2007). Since Wolfgang's (1958) classic study examining the offending patterns (i.e., arrest records) of homicide victims, contemporary research has continuously found support for the overlap between victimization and offending (see also Esbensen & Huizinga, 1991; Lauritsen, Sampson, & Laub, 1991; Lauritsen, Laub, & Sampson, 1992; Singer, 1981; Stewart et al., 2006; von Hentig, 1948). In fact, the victim-offender relationship is so robust that leading experts in this area of research have remarked that they "…are unaware of any research that has examined the link between offending and victimization and failed to find a strong relationship" (Lauritsen & Laub, 2007, p. 60). However, this does not imply that people offend to the same degree that they are victimized (or vice versa). For example, examining two waves of national data, The National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health (Add Health) (Schreck, Stewart, & Osgood, 2008) found support for the victim-offender link, but also determined that a more dominant role (i.e., victim or offender) often emerged. Collectively, these studies indicate that victims are often offenders, and offenders are often victims, but there is variation in the degree to which they move from one group to the other. Although

the victim-offender link is well established, much remains unknown about the causal mechanisms that create strong ties between offending and victimization. In other words, why might offenders differentially experience victimization and why might victims offend?

Several theories have been offered for understanding the victim-offender link that have been organized into risk heterogeneity and state dependence frameworks (Berg, 2012; Lauritsen & Laub, 2007). Risk heterogeneity perspectives emphasize the characteristics of individuals that are generally stable or unchanging. Whether they are biological or psychological in nature, the argument is that these differences continually put people in situations leading to offending or victimization. Considering the inter-related concepts of routine activities theory (motivated offenders, target attractiveness, and lack of capable guardians), it is likely that involvement with crime automatically places one at risk for victimization in terms of proximity to other motivated offenders and few capable guardians. Furthermore, although self-control theory has generated much success as an explanation for offending (Pratt & Cullen, 2000), Schreck's (1999) extension suggests that victims have lower self-control than nonvictims. As Schreck (1999) argues, characteristics of low self-control (risk seeking, impulsivity, short sightedness, etc.) also lead people to become vulnerable to victimization, and the research testing this theoretical extension has generated support (see the meta-analysis by Pratt, Turanovic, Fox, & Wright, 2014). But as a whole, the roots of offending and victimization are neither random nor related, instead a product of the same underlying source.

According to the state-dependence perspective, there is "contagion" between offending and victimization. Unlike the risk heterogeneity, offending and victimization are related to one another. The mechanisms underlying this perspective can be found in strain (Agnew, 2002) and subcultural (Wolfgang & Ferracuti, 1967) theories. Indeed, victimization can lead to retaliatory offending behavior that, in turn, leads to repeat victimization (Lauritsen & Davis-Quinet, 1995). Risky lifestyles, over and above risk heterogeneity, such as drug dealing or prostitution, may lead to victimization because it heightens the proximity to other offenders while diminishing access to protection (Lauritsen & Laub, 2007). Similarly, adherence to street codes may determine how one seeks to resolve interpersonal disputes and whether formal legal remediation is possible let alone viable (Anderson, 1999; Berg et al., 2012; Berg & Loeber, 2011).

Based on these and other theoretical backdrops, empirical evidence supports the victim-offender overlap. Lauritsen and colleagues (1991) were among the first to establish a link between offending and victimization in their longitudinal analysis of youth in the National Youth Survey. Interestingly, involvement in delinquency predicted both personal (e.g., assault and robbery) and property (e.g., vandalism and larceny) victimization over time. Driven largely by Lauritsen's landmark research, other scholars have investigated and found support for the victim-offender overlap using cross-sectional and longitudinal data (see Jennings et al., 2012). The body of research that has documented the link between offending and victimization is impressive.

More recently, studies have shown that these findings are moderated by age and neighborhood (see Berg & Loeber, 2011; Berg, Stewart, Schreck, & Simons, 2012; Menard, 2012), raising continued questions with regard to the etiology of the victim-offender overlap. Notably absent from advances in research on the victim-offender overlap is an understanding of how gang membership contributes to this criminological reality. We aim to extend the understanding of the victim-offender overlap to the

context of gangs. Because risk heterogeneity and state dependence perspectives are sequenced over time, much like gang membership, it is necessary to draw from a life-course framework.

Extending the Victim-Offender Overlap to Gangs

National estimates indicate that in 2011 there are approximately 782,500 gang members in the United States (Egley & Howell, 2013). Roughly 8% of youth and young adults report gang involvement in the first three decades of their life (Pyrooz, 2014). Gang membership places individuals at risk for both criminal offending and victimization, but the way in which these risks intersect is less clear.

Table 11.1 presents a typology of offending and victimization among gang members. The population of gang members functions as our denominator in studying this relationship, but comparisons can be made to a non-gang or matched sample. *(A)* can be conceived as the non-participants, or the portion of the gang population that is nonoffender *and* nonvictim. *(B)* and *(C)* constitute the participant group, each of whom is involved in some level of offending or have experienced some degree of victimization. Our primary lies interest is determining *X*: what percentage of gang members are victims *and* offenders? And, how does the overlap compare to the general population? If the content in Table 11.1 were compared to a nongang sample *or* a matched sample, we would anticipate that gang members would have the lowest nonparticipation and highest overlap rates. Of course, each of these questions is conditioned by the exposure period for offending and victimization (e.g., 6 months, 1 year). Moreover, each of the questions includes a temporal component in relation to gang membership (e.g., time of joining, peak involvement, time of leaving), there-fore in a later section we move this line of questioning into a life-course framework.

Gang Membership and Violent Offending

The words "gang" and "violence" have become closely intertwined. Gangs are associated with over 20% of the homicides in large US cities, and as much as 50% in some cities (Howell et al., 2011; Pyrooz, 2012). Survey, field, and official data consistently report that gang-involved adolescents and young adults are involved in drug use, drug sales, gun carrying, assaults, and other forms of serious violence at rates higher than individuals not in gangs (Huff, 1998; Klein & Maxson, 2006; Krohn & Thornberry, 2008). For decades, few researchers assumed that gangs and gang members did not cause crime. While control theorists argued for some time that "birds of a feather flock together" (e.g., Glueck & Glueck, 1950; Hirschi, 1969), it wasn't until

Table 11.1   A typology of violence and victimization among gang members.

		Violent offender?	
		No	*Yes*
Violent victim?	*No*	(*A*) Nonparticipant	(*B*) Offender only
	Yes	(*C*) Victim only	(*X*) Overlap

the 1990s that scholars called into question the causal effect of joining a gang (Fagan, 1990; Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990). In presenting the competing theoretical perspectives on this relationship, Thornberry and colleagues (1993, p. 60) noted that researchers "focus so much attention on active gang members they lose sight of the fact that gang members have delinquent careers before and after they are gang members." The question, therefore, is whether gangs attract people who are prone to violence (selection), facilitate violence among those who join gangs (facilitation), or both (enhancement)?

Krohn and Thornberry (2008) reviewed studies examining the selection, facilitation, and enhancement models of gang membership and delinquency. They held that "there is a minor selection effect, a major facilitation effect, and no evidence consistent with a pure selection model" (p. 147). Since then, several important studies have been published on this subject, adding to this very active area of research. The studies were notable because they either used national data sources (Barnes et al., 2010; Bjerk, 2009; Bjerregaard, 2010; Tapia, 2011) or multisite data sources (Melde & Esbensen, 2011, 2013; Sweeten et al., 2013), along with recent analytic advances, indicating an increased level of sophistication to partial out sources of nonrandom selection when exploring the relationship between gang membership and delinquency. All of the studies found evidence to support the enhancement perspective. That is, prospective gang youth were different from nongang youth in their delinquency involvement, but upon joining a gang, delinquency increased to even higher levels.

When studies turn their attention to violence, the evidence tends to move away from partial support for selection and in the direction of strong support for facilitation. Klein (1971) described the delinquency that gang members engage in as "cafeteria style" rather than targeted or specialized forms of offending. Therefore, we would expect that the onset of gang membership corresponds with a "rising tide" across all forms of offending, not just violence. Two studies have explored the overlap between gang membership and participating in violent over nonviolent forms of offending (Melde & Esbensen, 2013; Pyrooz & Decker, 2013). These studies asked, on balance, whether gang members commit more violent or nonviolent crimes. Using a longitudinal survey data of school youth, Melde and Esbensen found that (i) gang members were more likely to specialize in violence than nongang youth, (ii) that onset of gang membership corresponded with increased violence specialization, and (iii) while termination of gang membership corresponded with declines, it did not wipe out the gains from onset. Using data collected from students in a large Chinese city, Pyrooz and Decker found that even after adjusting for a theoretically robust set of mediators and confounders, including low self-control, differential association, strain, and opportunity theories, current (and former) gang youth in China had a greater tendency to engage in violent activities over nonviolent activities than their nongang counterparts. Resulting from these studies is evidence that gang membership enhances levels of violent offending in particular.

Gang Membership and Violent Victimization

Researchers involved in ethnographic studies have uncovered especially high violent death rates among their gang-involved samples. In the decade following the studies, 28 of the 99 gang members (28%) in Decker and Van Winkle's (1996) study in St. Louis, five of the 38 gang members (13%) in Levitt and Venkatesh's (2001) study in

Chicago, and three of 37 gang members (8%) in Hagedorn's (1998) study in Milwaukee died violently. Official records indicate that gang members have homicide rates that are up to 100 that of the broader US population (Decker & Pyrooz, 2010). Only recently, however, have researchers begun to systematically assess this aspect of gang life; that is, the victimization of gang members.

Although the study of gangs has historically focused on the deviant, delinquent, and criminal involvement among members, some researchers have begun to examine the victimization of gang members. Considering that many gang members report joining a gang for protection from being viewed by others as a vulnerable target (Decker & Van Winkle, 1996; Melde, Esbensen, & Taylor, 2009), some might wonder why gang members are actually at a higher risk of victimization. In other words, why does gang membership increase, instead of decrease, victimization? In his comprehensive overview of the gang-victimization link among youth, Taylor (2008) points out gang members are victimized from within their own gang, by rival gangs, and as a result of their risky and deviant lifestyles. For example, gang members may be victimized by their own gang in response to violating gang rules, as part of the initiation process, or even because of incidents of disrespect (Decker & Curry, 2002). Gang members are sometimes targeted by rival gangs for retaliatory violence, which may involve drive-by shootings. Drawing from routine activities theory (Cohen & Felson, 1979), it is likely that gang members' exposure to offenders (i.e., fellow gang members or rival gang members) and lack of conventional guardians may work to make gang members suitable targets for victimization (Spano et al., 2008; Taylor, 2008; Taylor et al., 2008).

Although relatively few studies have empirically examined the gang-victimization link, the majority show support for this relationship. The link between gang membership and victimization has been supported among a variety of samples, including youth in schools (Barnes et al., 2012; DeLisi et al., 2009; Gover et al., 2009; Melde et al., 2009; Ozer & Engel, 2012; Peterson et al., 2004; Taylor et al., 2008), adult jail inmates (Fox et al., 2010, 2013), and adult prison inmates (Fox et al., 2012; Rufino et al., 2012). Despite the use of diverse victimization measures, a variety of statistical approaches, and different research designs (i.e., cross-sectional versus longitudinal), the majority of published research indicates gang members are at a significantly greater risk of victimization compared to nongang members.

However, there is some disagreement about the strength of the gang-victimization relationship (see Fox, 2013). Some research suggests that the gang-victimization link found at the bivariate level disappears once involvement in crime is taken into account (Katz et al., 2011; Spano et al., 2008). In other words, criminal behavior may actually mediate the relationship between gang membership and victimization, meaning that gang members are victimized only because they commit crime. Others studies observe different findings about the gang-victimization link based on the methodological choices made (e.g., asking people if they have ever been victimized versus asking people to recall the number of times they have been victimized) (Taylor et al., 2007, 2008). A good example of this is the exchange between Gibson et al. (2009) and Ozer and Engel (2012), both of whom used Gang Resistance Education and Training (GREAT) data and propensity score matching to examine the gang-victimization link. After Gibson et al. (2009) found a spurious relationship after matching on a series of relevant covariates using a binary victimization outcome, Ozer and Engel (2012) found support using a count victimization outcome. Resulting from this exchange was increased attention to how scholars went about studying this relationship in terms of

measures (e.g., gang and victimization), sample, and statistical procedures (see Fox, 2012; Gibson et al., 2012).

The dynamic nature of gang membership introduces layers of complexity for understanding this relationship, as gang members move into and out of gangs relatively quickly (Krohn & Thornberry, 2008; Pyrooz, 2014). The consequences of the abrupt changes are illustrated in Pyrooz, Decker, & Webb's (2014) study among former gang members in Arizona. After leaving the gang, they found that retaining social and emotional ties to one's former gang were associated with increased risk for victimization. Taken together, the evidence indicates that there is a link between gang membership and victimization, although much remains unknown about the strength of this relationship and how it emerges over time.

Theoretical Link between Gang Membership and the Victim-Offender Overlap

In this section we examine the theoretical basis for the potential overlap between violent offending and victimization among gang members. Referring back to the typology presented in Table 11.1, our contention is that if we were to compare this 2-by-2 box to a nongang sample *or* a matched sample, gang members would have the lowest nonparticipation and highest overlap rates. This expectation is rooted in the existing inventory of theories applied to the overlap, including lifestyle/routine activities, propensity, and subculture/criminal capital, as well as group process theory, which applies more specifically to deviant networks.

Lifestyle, routine activities, and *unstructured socializing* theories posit that daily routines and opportunity structure patterns of offending and victimization (Cohen & Felson, 1979; Cohen, Kluegel, & Land, 1981; Hindelang, Gottfredson, & Garofalo, 1978; Osgood et al., 1996; Osgood & Anderson, 2004). All three theories have direct applicability to the context of gangs. Gang membership is a risky lifestyle, with its consequences for offending and victimization well established (Krohn & Thornberry, 2008; Taylor, 2008). The instrumentalities of conflict, including gun possession and drug sales, are linked closely to gang membership (Curry et al., 2014). Gangs are typically situated in ecological contexts absent of capable guardians and social controls, with the onset of gang membership corresponding with increased time spent socializing in unstructured environments (Melde & Esbensen, 2011; Tita et al., 2005). As such, gangs and gang members "go about their business" offending and victimizing until opportunities subside.

Low self-control theory holds that individuals inadequately socialized as a child have, throughout life, difficulty avoiding behaviors satisfying immediate desires but containing long-term consequences (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990; Hirschi & Gottfredson, 1994). As such, individuals with low self-control engage in criminal offending and experience victimization at high rates because of their impulsiveness, lack of empathy, and risk-taking behavior (Pratt & Cullen, 2000; Reisig & Pratt, 2011; Schreck, 1999). Because individuals with low self-control are more likely to end up in gangs (Esbensen & Weerman, 2005; Kissner & Pyrooz, 2009), gang members should be represented disproportionately in the overlap of victims and offenders.

Subcultural and *criminal capital* theories contend that cultural heterogeneity provides scripts that define interpersonal relationships and behaviors, including offending and victimization (Anderson, 1999; McCarthy & Hagan, 2001; Miller,

1958). Anderson's street code thesis is most closely associated with this perspective, where socialization under the informal codes of the street dictates responses to stimuli such as dirty looks, hearsay, and other perceived incidents of disrespect. Gangs rarely voluntarily coordinate the resolution of disputes with the police, instead opting for informal means to fulfill within- and between- gang transgressions (Decker & Curry, 2002; Venkatesh, 1997). As a result of gang and gang member investment in the prevailing codes of the street (Matsuda et al., 2013), we would expect considerable overlap in their patterns of victimization and offending.

Group process theory emphasizes the social and psychological dynamics within groups that bear on individual and group identity, decision making, and behavior. Unsatisfied with macro- and individual-level theoretical approaches to delinquency, Short and Strodtbeck (1965) argued that mid-level dynamic processes in social inter-action are responsible for delinquent behavior. Such an argument is consistent with what researchers have observed with regard to the dynamics of gang violence (Decker, 1996; Decker & Pyrooz, 2010; Papachristos, 2009; Tita & Radil, 2011). Gang mem-bers do not fall into the overlap because they have low self-control or espouse certain cultural norms; gang members are victims and offenders because they are immersed in a social context of institutionalized networks of conflict (Papachristos, 2009). The cycle of gang violence model presented by Decker (Decker, 1996; Decker & Pyrooz, 2010) details what Vigil (1988, p. 132) called an "endless game of revenge." In such a game, the winners and losers trade their titles as offenders and victims on a frequent basis. Pyrooz et al. (2014) found support for this thesis, as the current inventory of theories applied to the victim-offender overlap could not explain away the relation-ship between gang membership, violent offending, and violent victimization.

The Sequencing of Gang Membership in Relation to the Victim-Offender Overlap

While offending and victimization are often modeled longitudinally, this is typically done independently rather than simultaneously. As Jennings et al. (2012) question, is the overlap between victimization and offending limited to short time spans or persistent across time? Also, are the correlates of the overlap stable over time? Few studies have explored the longitudinal sequencing of victimization and offending and its correlates. We can draw from the theoretical foundation presented above and the extant gang literature to derive expected hypotheses. We begin by situating gang membership in the life-course of adolescents and young adults, identifying three periods in relation to the sequencing of gang membership: prospective, active, and former gang membership. Active gang membership consists of the period when individuals self-identify as gang members (Esbensen et al., 2001; Decker et al., 2014), although the process of identification and de-identification is typically more complicated (Pyrooz & Decker, 2011). As we have described above, there is a robust relationship between gang membership, victimization, and offending. The question, therefore, is whether the victim-offender overlap should fluctuate over these three periods of gang membership?

Prospective gang membership is a dynamic time period in the lives of individuals. There are pushes and pulls that drive and attract adolescents into gangs (Decker & Van Winkle, 1996). Criminal activity functions as both a push and a pull, where criminal homophily results in the rejection of prospective gang members from prosocial groups

and acceptance into antisocial groups (e.g., Howell & Egley, 2005). Those with a propensity for violence demonstrate that they "have heart," or are capable of violence thereby signaling reliability and trustworthiness (Densley, 2012). At the same time, victimization also functions to lead youth into gangs. Padilla (1992) and Decker and Van Winkle (1996) reported that many young men held that they eventually joined a gang because they were tired of being accused of being a gang member, fear of the consequences of not being a gang member, and the protection that gang membership appears to afford after being victimized (see also Thornberry et al., 2003). As a result, we anticipate higher rates of victimization, offending, and their overlap prior to the onset of gang membership than those who avoid gangs.

Active gang membership invokes the causal mechanisms in a variety of theories – e.g., opportunity, low self-control, subcultural, group process – that were described above. Given the normative orientation of the gang and the expectations that come packaged with the onset of gang membership, the overlap between victims and offenders should be particularly strong during this period (Melde & Esbensen, 2011; Spano et al., 2008; Taylor et al., 2007, 2008). However, there is little reason to suspect that gang members would tend to offend instead of being victimized, or vice-versa. Active gang membership should be a period that elevates both offending and victimization.

Former gang membership is more complicated than periods of prospective and active gang membership. Indeed, Pyrooz and colleagues have detailed desistance as a complex process where individuals are pushed and pulled to and from the gang (Pyrooz & Decker, 2011). Not only are former gang members challenged by human and social capital losses during periods of active gang membership, they are also targeted by police, rival gangs, and sometimes even their former gang. At the point of deidentification, it takes time for the news to spread to family, friends, rival gangs, and the police. Both offending and victimization could carry over from active periods of gang membership, while postgang encounters could present challenges consistent with a general victim-offending overlap mechanism. No matter how the desistance process manifests, it is likely that offending and victimization "hold together."

In summary, across all three periods of gang membership we hypothesize invariant gang effects. That is to say, gang membership should increase offending and victimization as a whole but not result in a tendency for one over the other. We expect that the overlap should be stronger when studying the general tendency to offend or experience victimization than when studying violent forms of offending and victimization. We ground this expectation in the assumption that – even for gangs – the exposure time in survey methodology and ability of survey items to disentangle violent offenses from victimization challenges our ability to detect these patterns. Further, consistent with the cycle of gang violence, the victimization of one gang member is an affront to the gang, provoking collective responses and further forms of retaliation that may or may not include the original victim.

Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed the state of the literature on the linkages between gang membership, violent offending, and violent victimization, with a particular emphasis on the victim-offender overlap. We began by briefly discussing the victim-offending

overlap – its history and relevance for criminology, theoretical foundation, and empirical support. Next, we turned our attention to two literatures: the effects of gang membership on (i) offending and (ii) victimization. We presented a typology of four subcategories of gang membership in relation to the victim-offender overlap: nonparticipants, offenders only, victims only, and victims and offenders. We next presented four theoretical perspectives – opportunity, low self-control, subcultural, and group process theory – that could help explain the four subcategories of gang members, victims, and offenders. To conclude this chapter, we extended this line of questioning into a life-course framework, speculating how these relationships should evolve prior to, during, and after gang membership. Research on gangs and the victim-offender overlap stretch back for decades in the study of crime and delinquency. Both areas have been crucial for extending theory and methodology, but we know very little about how they intersect. This chapter has taken a step forward to extend our understanding of this intersection by formulating a unique – and untested – typology and related hypotheses. Future research that offers empirical tests of our typology will undoubtedly contribute to our understanding of the complex relationships among gangs, victimization, and offending.

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12

Girls and Women in Gangs

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Introduction

Drawing on a number of gang scholars' definitions, the National Gang Center (http://www.nationalgangcenter.gov/, accessed July 12, 2015) identifies five criteria for classifying a group as a gang: the group has to have at least three members (typically between 12 and 24 years old); the group has a specified identity and name (and often a symbol); the group members view themselves as a gang and others view them as a gang; the group is organized and somewhat permanent; and the group is involved in criminal activity. Importantly, "gang membership is not a lifetime status" for the majority of gang members (Peterson & Panfil, 2014, p. 479). A recent review of gang research summarized that compared to boys, there is a tendency for girls to cycle in and out of gangs at a younger age and to have shorter time periods as gang members (Peterson & Panfil, 2014). In this chapter the terms "girls" and "boys" regarding gang members' genders/sex are used instead of "women" and "men"; however, as the National Gang Center definition notes, gang members can certainly be older than 17.[1]

Although some media and scholarly representations of gangs overemphasize the prevalence of gang violence, and the extreme variation in violence across gangs, especially girl gangs, it is important to remember that there is, overall, a relationships between gang membership, a violent past, and current violence (see Katz et al., 2011 for a review of this research). At any rate, it is worth noting what gang scholar Malcolm Klein reported in 1995 (pp. 65–66), that among both girls' and boys' gangs there is

> … a wide variety of sizes, structures, age ranges, and levels of criminal involvement. The best generalization is not that they had a particular character but that they showed considerable variation on just about all dimensions of interest … But all shared the fate of the gang world – the willingness to become criminally involved, the susceptibility to victimization, and the potential damage to their own adult careers. Girl or boy, it didn't matter: Ganging was often a self-destructive pattern over the long run."

At the same time, it is important to recognize , which will be explained in more detail later in this chapter, that "the gang serves a variety of functions for its members at particular points in their lives" (Peterson & Panfil, 2014, p. 478).

Notably, the secretive and criminal nature of gangs make them difficult to research in terms of rates/participation and gang behaviors/roles. Thus, while this chapter reports percentage rates, these often vary, particularly around gender, and are often based on police identification of gang members (rather than individuals reporting whether they are in a gang). The dynamics of gangs are probably best understood through qualitative research with gang members' cooperation with the researcher. Thus, this chapter will include quantitative data, but it should be interpreted cautiously, and more qualitative data are used to recognize some of the dynamics of gang membership.

A Brief History of Girls in Gangs

The images of "gangs" and "gang members" that is typically portrayed in fiction films and the media are boys and young men of color who are poor and violent. Esbensen and Winfree (1998, p. 510) report that the significant amount of quantitative gang research that draws on police-identified gang members "may have engendered one of gang researchers' greatest racial myths … the assumption that gang members are youths from ethnic and racial minority backgrounds." They also note that even the gang studies surveying individual youth are concentrated in high-risk neighborhoods that "by definition, include disproportionate numbers of racial and ethnic minorities" (Esbensen & Winfree, 1998, p. 510). Esbensen and Winfree (1998, p. 511) report that the early gang studies, conducted primarily in the 1920s by both scholars and journalists, were about White boy gangs. In the 1950s the focus continued to be on boys in gangs, but researchers began identifying the gang members' race/ethnicity (Spergel, 1995, p. 8, as cited by Esbensen & Winfree, 1998, p. 511).

Until the 1980s, particularly with the classic book by Anne Campbell (1984) *The Girls in the Gang,* girls and young women in gangs were almost invisible in the research and media (see also Chesney-Lind & Hagedorn, 1999; Moore & Hagedorn, 2001; Peterson & Panfil, 2014). Moreover, when researchers and journalists addressed girl gang members at all, it was almost exclusively through a sexist, racist, and classist lens (see Chesney-Lind & Hagedorn, 1999; Fishman, 1999; Wing & Willis, 1997, 1999). Most recently, gang scholars Vanessa R. Panfil and Dana Peterson raise the need to include sexual orientation and gender identity in gang research (Panfil, 2014; Peterson & Panfil, 2014), or stated alternatively, the gang research has also been viewed through a heterosexist and homophobic lens. Although this research is very new and focuses on boys with queer identities, it suggests that gay boys have used gang membership to enhance their masculinity and combat "homophobic harassment and bullying in schools" (Panfil, 2014, p. 79).

There are five somewhat overlapping themes of sexism pronounced in the overall representation of girls in gang research (and usually, the media) through the 1970s. First, as already stated, the recognition of girls' membership in gangs was largely invisible, except in the rare cases where they were noted in research in the 1920s and reported as constituting less than half a percent of gang members (Carr & Alfieri, 2006). Second, when acknowledged in gang scholarship prior to the 1980s, while boy

gang members were seen as exciting and rogue, girl gang members were viewed as either more complacent and less interesting (see Chesney-Lind & Hagedorn, 1999) or as "anomalous and exotic" (Carr & Alfieri, 2006, p. 81). Third, girl gangs were portrayed diminutively, as simply insignificant offshoots of the boy gangs (e.g., Chesney-Lind & Hagedorn, 1999; Peterson & Panfil, 2014). Fourth, in addition to being viewed as the boy gang members' auxiliaries or sidekicks, girl gang members were often portrayed mostly or solely as the sexual receptacles of the boy gangs (Campbell, 1990; Chesney-Lind & Hagedorn, 1999; Peterson & Panfil, 2014). At the same time an ironic and sexist twist existed: the boy gang members' sexual activities with girl gang members (and other girls/women) were positively attributed to their successful and masculine sexual prowess, while the girls' sexual activities with boy gang members (and other boys/men) were viewed as delinquent behavior (Chesney-Lind & Hagedorn, 1999). Fifth, consistent with a long history of research on girls' and young women's sexual victimization resulting in being labeled "delinquent" or "impure" (e.g., Chesney-Lind, 1974; Clark, 1987; Odem, 1995; Young, 1994), girl gang members rape victimizations also typically resulted in their being identified both socially and in the criminal legal and juvenile justice systems as sexually loose, and therefore delinquent (see Chesney-Lind & Hagedorn, 1999; Peterson & Panfil, 2014). Or stated another way, the rapes of girls (gang and nongang), including when they were committed by boy gangs the girls' gang was linked to, were viewed as consensual sex and have historically accrued a delinquent status to the girl (rape victim) rather than a victim status, while no such delinquent status was attributed to the boys who raped these girls (Chesney-Lind & Hagedorn, 1999).

For decades, but particularly the 1990s, there have been repeated calls for more and better research on girls in gangs (e.g., Brown, 1977; Campbell, 1984; Felkenes & Becker, 1995; Klein, 1995; Molidor, 1996; Wing & Willis, 1999). Ironically, the 1990s were also a time of a significantly heightened media focus on the increase in both numbers and violence of girls in gangs (e.g., Carr & Alfieri, 2006; Chesney-Lind, 1993). Chesney-Lind (1993) carefully documents the dearth of research on both the number of girls in gangs and their behaviors in these gangs combined with 1990s journalists who wanted to show that girls in general had suddenly become more violent and most intensely girls of color in gangs were attributed with this sensationalized threatening and epic violence. Importantly, African American scholars have pushed for decades for research to address a better understanding of the role of gangs in African American girls' lives (e.g., Brown, 1977; Wing & Willis, 1997, 1999). Indeed, in 1999 Adrien K. Wing and Christine A. Willis wrote: "The African American female gang member must no longer be a marginalized and neglected part of the discourse of the American gang" (p. 1). Unfortunately, even a recent report on the 2011 National Youth Gang Survey in the United States did not account for gender or race/ethnicity among gang members (Egley & Howell, 2013).

Importantly, although there is still insufficient research on girls in gangs, much of the more recent feminist research portrays girls in gangs as far more dynamic than their earlier portrayals, if they were portrayed at all (e.g., Campbell, 1990; Chesney-Lind & Hagedorn, 1999; Laidler & Hunt, 2001; Miller, 2001, 2004; Wing & Willis, 1997). Unfortunately, what Chesney-Lind stated in 1993 (p., 322) still holds true: "[T]he relative lack of interest in this topic [a silence surrounding girls problems and delinquency] makes it difficult to craft an accurate understanding of girls and their relationship to their gangs." However, far more is known as feminist scholars

have conducted more primarily qualitative research (e.g., Campbell, 1984, 1987; Carr & Alfieri, 2006; Chesney-Lind, 1993; ; Joe & Chesney-Lind, 1995; Miller, 2001, 2004).

Gender and Race Representations in Gangs

As previously noted, the secretive and criminal nature inherent in gangs makes research on them difficult. Added to this, the earliest research on girl gang members starting in 1927 and until Anne Campbell's classic work starting in the mid-1980s, likely limited girls' participation and numbers because the "sexist researches" did not recognize that girls were in gangs (Chesney-Lind & Hagedorn, 1999, p. 7). Girls' gang memberships have been distinguished into three categories based on the gender-representation of the gang (see Campbell, 1984; Klein, 1995, p. 65; Miller, 1975; Wing & Willis, 1999, p. 4). First are *truly autonomous* or girl-only gangs. Second are *fully integrated* gangs where girls' and boys' memberships in the same gang are similar. Finally, *auxiliary* girl gang status refers to something in between fully integrated and truly autonomous, where the girls have some connection to the boys' gang, but not as full and independent members. Perhaps Klein (1995, p. 66) states it best when he emphasizes in his study that similar to boys, gang girls' being prone to delinquency precedes their gang membership, and indeed is a reason they are selected for the gang memberships rather than "something merely forced upon them by overbearing male gang members. Girl gangs did not exist solely to serve the needs of male gangs. The girls were fully capable of creating their own versions of ganging." Although there has been some criticism of these categories as undermining girls' representation in gangs, some research indicates the existence of these categories (e.g., Miller & Brunson, 2000, found that girls but not boys were required to have sex with corresponding opposite-gender gang members for initiation into the gang).

National US data from law enforcement agencies indicate that "the overall number of communities with active youth gangs grew sharply during the last few decades of the twentieth century, peaked in the mid-1990s, and then began to decline in 1996 (Snyder & Sickmund, 2006, p. 82). The National Gang Center has been collecting annual data on US gangs through a representative sample of law enforcement agencies since 1996. These data indicate that gang membership rates "declined sharply starting in 1998," were "fairly stable since 2005," and then declined further from 2010 to 2011 (Egley & Howell, 2013, p. 1). Although the recent declines occurred in both smaller and larger cities, the decline was more pronounced in the smaller cities (Egley & Howell, 2013, p. 1).

The research on if and how gang membership is gendered is somewhat inconclusive. Although some research found no gender differences in the likelihood of gang involvement (Bjerregaard & Smith, 1993), another study found girls were 38% of all gang members (Esbensen & Winfree, 1998), and yet another found girls were 9% of all gang members (Felkenes & Becker, 1995). Snyder and Sickmund's (2006, p. 70) large national study on delinquency reported that among delinquent youth, 8% of youth belong to gangs, but there was a gender difference of about 2:1: Eleven percent of delinquent boys belong to gangs while 6% of delinquent girls belong to gangs. Snyder and Sickmund's (2006) overall racial/ethnic data indicated that among delinquent youth, White youth (7%) were significantly less likely than African

American (12%) and Latino/a (12%) youth to belong to gangs (Snyder & Sickmund, 2006). Esbensen and Winfree's (1998) extensive and large quantitative study of eighth grade youths' (from 11 US cities) self-reported gang membership reported that 38% of gang members are girls, and 25% of gang members are White. Although their study found that Latino/a and African American youth were more likely than White youth to be in gangs, it was "not to the extent suggested by past research (1998, p. 517). Unfortunately, neither of these impressive quantitative studies (Esbensen & Winfree, 1998; Snyder & Sickmund, 2006) reported the racial/ethnic makeup across gender.

   In conclusion, the gender composition of gang membership over time is difficult to assess "because for most of the last century, there has been inadequate systematic information about gangs and gang members in general and even less about gang girls" (Peterson, 2012, p. 72). The vast range in girls' representation among gang members is influenced by whether the data are from law enforcement reports of gang members or youth report about themselves (Peterson, 2012). More specifically, girl gang members appear to be unknown/invisible to law enforcement officials who may only be thinking about boy members (see Peterson, 2012). Although some scholars report a significant increase in girls in gangs (e.g., Wing & Willis, 1999), The National Gang Center web site reports that among gang members, girls constitute less than 10% and this has been quite stable from 1998 to 2010. Similarly, Peterson (2012, p. 72) states that there is some evidence that girls in gangs is not a contemporary phenomenon; rather, it has been fairly common since the 1970s.

Joining Gangs

It is important to understand that girls and boys join gangs for mostly the same reasons. Belknap's (2007, p. 113) review of why girls join gangs indicates that they join primarily for a place to belong, friendship, and a sense of "family." Other reasons include that gang membership provides an escape from isolation and harsh environments, protection and safety (particularly from men), and it elevates girls' status (Belknap, 2007). Clearly, girls more marginalized by race (racism), class (poverty), and location (related to class: neighborhoods with poor schools and other resources and high crime rates and unemployment), are more likely to need gang membership for protection/safety, escape from harsh environments and isolation, and increased status (see Chesney-Lind, 1993; Fishman, 1999; Massetti et al., 2011). One large study of middle-school youth found that for both girls and boys, as expected, delinquent involvement influenced the likelihood of joining a gang, and "being in school climates where gangs are present increases the chances of gang membership" (Bjerregaard & Cochran, 2012, p. 55). Moreover, among both girls and boys, having been victimized was a risk factor for joining a gang (Bjerregaard & Cochran, 2012, p. 46). Joe and Chesney-Lind's (1995) qualitative study of girls in gangs found extensive sexual abuse histories of the girls by family members. Fleisher and Krienert's (2004) excellent ethnography and mixed methods study of girls in a gang found that in addition to childhood households fraught with violence against these girls, their experiences with missing fathers, low-income households, and community isolation, were further exacerbated by the prevalence of their parents' drug/alcohol abuse, arrest records and even incarceration. They report: "Early life occurrences form a

snapshot of troubled life. It is this veil of abuse, poverty, community isolation, and parental crime that opens the door for gang membership" (Fleisher & Krienert, 2004, p. 612). Malcolm Klein (1995, pp. 66–67) also provides an insightful gender analysis of joining a gang:

> … girl gangs arise for the same kinds of social structural reasons that male gangs do. The institutional disorganization of the inner city, the family, school, health and employment context is where the real distortions like. These groups are a response to these social distortions, and seeking individual pathologies to explain gang joining is not a very fruitful pursuit. Indeed, the more pathological gang member is usually on the fringe, not at the core.

This history of girl gang members' exceptionally high likelihoods of having experienced violence and abuse in childhood, is compounded when addressing the sexual abuse/violence experienced by at least some gang girls as part of their gang initiation requirements. Peterson and Panfil's (2014, p. 474) review of this body of research starts by noting that for both girl and boy gang members there is a process rather than a specific event that results in gang membership. However, the events include "jumping in" which is fighting one or more gang members or "walking between two lines of gang members delivering blows"; and "putting in work" which requires committing a crime such as a physical assault or a robbery (Peterson & Panfil, 2014, p. 474). These two event rituals are more gender-neutral, but importantly, Peterson and Panfil (2014, p. 474) identify another event ritual that is not gendered:

> However, being "trained in" or "sexed in" (having sex with all or some male gang members) is a method of entrée reserved – at least according to existing research – for females, with gendered consequences. Females who are sexed in have markedly lower status in and support from the gang females who join via other avenues; the former are seen as sex objects rather than "real" members, are not trusted to have their fellow gang members' backs in times of trouble, and are denigrated by fellow females who were not sexed in because of the negative light they cast on all female gang members.

Gangs, Gender, Crime and Violence

Over the years, the research including a gender comparison of the prevalence of delinquency indicates that boy gang members are significantly more delinquent/criminal than girl gang members (Bjerregaard & Smith, 1993; Joe & Chesney-Lind, 1995; Esbensen & Winfree, 1998; Klein, 1995; Miller, 2001; Miller & Brunson, 2000; Morash, 1983), and thus, not surprisingly, are more likely to be arrested (Joe & Chesney-Lind, 1995). One study found that among gang members, boys are more likely than girls to carry guns (Miller & Brunson, 2000). Research indicates that both girls and boys in girl-only and boy-only (respectively) gangs commit overall less delinquency than gang members in sex-mixed gangs (see Peterson & Panfil, 2014 for a review). Indeed, Peterson and Panfil (2014, p. 476) argue that gender (i.e., femininity and masculinity) is situationally performed … [whereby] the presence of members of the opposite sex create a situation conducive to exaggerated gender performances." One study on alcohol histories among girls in a gang found that most had their first

experience with alcohol as youth, "in their own homes … through the drinking of a family member (Hunt et al., 2005, p. 347). In this study the girls reported varying drinking levels, but "they developed a regular pattern of drinking that was usually in the context of meeting up with fellow gang members" after joining a gang (Hunt et al., 2005, p. 347).

Despite the concerns by some journalists and scholars that girls are becoming more violent and their membership in gangs is growing, even still, there is far more research on boys' gang membership and violent behavior than girls' gang membership and violent behavior (Massetti et al., 2011, p. 1420). The disproportionate amount of violent victimization in the childhoods of girl gang members (relative both to nongang girls and to gang boys) and the violent victimization they experience while in gangs is necessary to fully understand girl gang members' use of violence on others. One of the best studies on girl gang members is Fleisher and Krienert's (2004) multiyear ethnography of 74 such girls/women. Almost three-fourths (72%) of the girls reported physical victimization in the home, and a quarter (26%) had run away from home to escape beatings (p. 612). Research on girls in gangs also points to their disproportionate rates of experiencing intimate partner abuse, often from boys/men in gangs they date/are married to (e.g., Hunt et al., 2000; Laidler & Hunt, 2001; Ulloa, 2012; and see also Totten, 2000). Some of these include very violent date/marital/acquaintance rapes committed by boys/men in gangs, often gangs affiliated with the girls'/women's gang membership (e.g., Hunt et al., 2000).

Carr's and Alfieri's (2006, p. 83) excellent review of girls in gangs, aptly states: "Simply put, violence is not as normative for women in gangs as it is for men." Research consistently shows that, in general, girls in gangs commit far fewer offenses than boys in gangs, and that this gender gap is most pronounced for violent crimes (e.g., Bjerregaard & Cochran, 2012; Joe & Chesney-Lind, 1995; Esbensen & Winfree, 1998; Miller, 1975, 2001; Miller & Brunson, 2000; Morash, 1983). One study that addressed the role of gender and violence in *gang membership initiation* found that girls' initiation requirements were overall, far less violent (e.g., getting a gang tattoo, stealing a woman's purse) than boys' initiations that were more likely to require violent offending (Miller & Brunson, 2000), although another study indicated serious violence perpetrated by girl gang members against other girls while initiating new girls into their gang (Molidor, 1996). Moreover, as previously stated, the research does not document an expectation for boys initiated into gangs to have sex (consensual or not) with an opposite-sex affiliated gang member, or more likely, members, while there is documentation of this – a form of rape – among girls initiated into gangs (see Miller & Brunson, 2000; Molidor, 1996; Peterson & Panfil, 2014).

Although the extant research indicates that, overall, there is far more violence-related criminal activity among boy than girl gangs, the potential for extreme violence still exists and occurs by girl gang members, just not nearly as often (e.g., Klein, 1995, p. 67; Molidor, 1996). Klein (1995, p. 67) notes that girls are under significantly more social pressure than boys "to develop into nice young ladies" and "tread a fine line between their gang roles and the more traditional role behaviors for girls." A number of scholars have addressed how girls – some who are in gangs and some who are not, particularly girls of color in the most marginalized neighborhoods, have to balance using aggression to maintain their respect and safety. Key among these is Nikki Jones (2010), who in her classic book, *Between good and ghetto: African American girls and inner-city violence*, details the narrow line these girls must walk to

respond to the threats of violence in their everyday lives. Similarly, Laidler & Hunt's (2001, p. 670) study of a racially/ethnically diverse groups of girls in gangs found that "fighting brings status and honour in a bleak and limiting environment. At another level, however, their participation in violence is also one of the few available resources for defending their reputation as a 'decent' girl and confirming to others that they are 'nobody's fool'."

Anne Campbell's (1984) classic ethnography on girl gangs, *The girls in the gang,* found that a gender difference among gang members' use of violence is that girls are more likely to fight when their sexual reputations have been challenged, and boys are more likely to fight when the gang's (nonsexual) reputation has been challenged (Campbell, 1984). One large study of a girl gang found that "[t]he most common cause of self-reported violence is jealousy. Girls tussle over one girl looking at another's boyfriend. Some girls get jealous because her past boyfriend's new girlfriend is 'taking about her.' This is a very common reason cited for violence as serious as the use of bat or gun, to attack either the past boyfriend or his current girlfriend" (Fleisher & Kriert, 2004, p. 617). In this study, due to jealousy, 39% of the women had used a baseball bat on someone and 24% had shot a gun at someone. Certainly, girl gang members can also be in fights instigated by insults to their gangs, as well (Brown, 1977).

Notably, one study found no gender differences in gang members' levels of drug use (Esbensen & Winfree, 1998). One study on girl gang members' use of alcohol reported that "violent events, like drinking" were "endemic to their lives" (Hunt et al., 2000, p. 340). While some of the girls avoided drinking alcohol before a fight, due to its potentially deleterious impact on their fighting abilities, others sometimes intentionally used alcohol before fighting (Hunt et al., 2000). Similar to some research on boys gangs, this study found drinking alcohol was a key part of the girl gang members' social interactions with each other, including during the day, and it was an activity that both "joined the women together in one unit, and separated[d] them from the men," promoting their solidarity (Hunt et al., 2000, p. 342). This might be further understood from Laidler and Hunt's (2001, p. 673) study of girls in gangs that found when they partied with their homeboys, they were often at risk of damaging their (sexual) reputations, "but it also presented dangers in terms of unwanted sexual advances and sometimes resulted in sexual assault." At the same time, drinking alcohol together with others in their girl gang could also lead them to be more violent with each other (other girls in their gangs) (Hunt et al., 2000, p. 346).

Certainly, similar to boy gang members, many girls in gangs benefit in status from winning fights, including against boys/men (e.g., Brown, 1977; Fishman, 1999), but also even for their willingness to enter fights, even if they lose (e.g., Campbell, 1987; Molidor, 1996). *Peer influence* to fight is related to both girl and boy gang members' motivation to fighting and although some scholars stress the peer influence by boy gang member peers as most important to girl gang members in their use of violence, other research finds that the gang girls *girl* peers (typically the other girls in their gangs) are their most important influences to use violence (Giordano, 1978; Klein, 1995). Fleisher and Krienert (2004, p. 618) found "that teenage girls who asserted active gang participation did indeed have higher rates of offending, including violent behavior, than did young adult women who claimed inactive gang status." Notably, one study found that among gang members, boys (24%) were almost twice as likely as girls (13%) to report they would kill someone if a member of their gang asked them to do so (Felkenes & Becker, 1995).

The Impact of Pregnancy and Parenthood on Gang Memberships

Massetti and her colleagues (2011, p. 1420) state: "Research should address an understanding of the role of gang affiliation for girls and how gang affiliation interacts with parenting factors." Studies on girl gang members report a significant decrease/abstention from alcohol and drug use upon finding they are pregnant (Hunt et al., 2000, 2005). Fleisher and Krienert (2004, p. 619) attest to the importance of this with their finding pregnancy was the primary factor the girls in their study transitioned from active to inactive gang members. Even when the young women did not specifically cite being pregnant as the reason they left active status, they linked it with a desire to "settle down" – meaning having children and a home. "A few women in their early to mid-20s who were mothers said (paradoxically) they were still active gang members, but had stopped hanging out, fighting, and 'being crazy'" (Fleisher & Krienert, 2014, p. 619). For some pregnant women, this also included terminating drug use, and the study participants also reported that even as active gang members "they did not fight pregnant gang women, fearing injury to the fetus" (Fleisher & Krienert, 2014, p. 619). Notably, some of the girls in the Fleisher and Krienert study (2014) reported that there was no social investment in them when they were not pregnant, but when they were pregnant, community support appeared, which likely facilitated leaving gangs. However, it disappeared again shortly after their babies were born.

Moloney and her colleagues' (2011) qualitative study of girl gang members who became mothers reported their stress in reconciling to stigmatized identities: teen mothers and gang girls. Upon motherhood, many of the girls gave up the gang, and many of them were dependent on family for finances and childcare which increased their dependence. While being in a gang was in contrast to femininity and prescribed gender roles, motherhood is the flip side in consistency with stereotypical gender roles and being tied to the home. While many girls had joined gangs to get away from violence in their childhood homes, moving back into the home when they were pregnant and/or became mothers "removed them from some of the real dangers of violence and victimization they faced on the streets" (Moloney et al., 2011, p. 11).Notably, Moloney and her colleagues (2011) found that many of the girls had little to no sexual experiences prior to their gang membership and quickly became pregnant by their older gang boyfriends (for example, a 14 year old who became pregnant by her 18-year-old gang boyfriend, her first boyfriend). The research reporting girls joining gangs as a means of looking for family is certainly poignant in these accounts, where they are now mothers. It was difficult for the girls to find a balance between "good gang member" and "good mother" (Hunt et al., 2005; Moloney et al., 2011).

Even more limited research exists that examines fatherhood and gang affiliation, but these findings indicate that fatherhood also plays a role in maintaining gang membership, although likely not as much as for girls and motherhood. Wing and Willis's (1997) essay, "Sisters in the hood: Beyond bloods and crips," reported that African American women who have sons who are gang members *and* fathers often do have a positive influence by encouraging gang members to take responsibility for their actions and be fathers to their sons and daughters. Moloney and her colleagues' (2009) qualitative study of gang boys found that fatherhood was the impetus for some boys leaving gangs, but this was related to how long the boy had been in the gang and if the boy had access to legal employment with a sufficient pay. Thus, it was not fatherhood

alone that was sufficient to engage in the process of leaving a gang for most of the boys, but embracing the role of father and having access to legitimate employment.

Incarcerated Gang Women

The second author of this chapter served 5 years of a 16-year sentence in a state prison and is in a halfway house at the time of writing this chapter. Through this experience she constructed Box 12.1, which outlines her observations about the incarcerated gang women. The term "women" is used here in that all of these individuals were 18 and older. Some of the references in this box include gang bang, set, crew, shot caller, and Boy Girl or Stud Broad. *Gang bang* refers to actively engaging in gang activity, such as, physical and verbal altercations with rivals, graffiti (or tagging as it is called

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Box 12.1   Gang members incarcerated in a Colorado women's prison: gender, race/ethnicity, sexual orientation, and gender identity

Observations by Molly Bowers

Unlike the categories of gang girls in Anne Campbell's (1984) book *The girls in the gang,* in the prison where I was incarcerated for 5 years (2007 through 2012) the gangs were essentially categorized by race/ethnicity. Moreover, the gang members in this prison did not actively gang bang. There were fights, rivals, and enemies, the root of which for these women was much deeper than simply the Bloods vs. Crips, the Sureños [South side] vs. the North Side, or the Featherwoods vs. the Bikers.

Predominantly African American Gangs
Gang names: Dominated by Crips and Bloods, with different sets depending on the city and neighborhood.

There are numerous African American gangs that are broken down by geographical location (e.g., street or neighborhood). Often times these gangs were determined by different streets in the same neighborhood, so that many of the women knew each other even though they came from different gangs and sets. Many of the women I encountered in these gangs were involved in their gang due to their family members, boyfriends, and even children, who were all involved in the same gang. The women often bonded over who they knew, and what growing up was like. African American women did not identify themselves as gang members based on who their man was, but rather their family. However, who their man was in a gang was a serious status symbol, especially if he was higher up. A rivalry between two African American women gang members was often more about family and their men, than about a set or crew.

Among African American women in gangs there were a number of "Boy Girls" (or "Stud Broads"). Boy Girls did gang bang, and most them had been jumped in the streets like men. They would fight a rival gang member if she was a Boy Girl, simply because of the respect. They did not bond with other

prisoners, and often I had to remind myself that they were considered biological women. They looked, talked, and acted like men.

The Boy Girls always had girlfriends and wives among other incarcerated women. The Good Girl types were often wives, whereas the more Sex Object Girls were girlfriends and mistresses. The different women in their lives often led to fights over love. The Boy Girls, because they were more traditional in their gang loyalty, would only date women who were either in their gang, or not affiliated yet. They would never date a rival.

Predominantly Latina Gangs
Gang names: Mainly the Sureños and Northsiders (sometimes referred to as Norteños) gangs. Also, many Latinas also belonged to more local gangs such as the ESL. There were a few El Salvadorian women who belonged to MS-13.

The Latina gangs were large and the most violent, although their violence was rare. They were the most likely to fight a rival on the spot. It did not happen often because they generally stuck to their own sides. Latina gangs were very family orientated, in that the women often had moms, sisters, and cousins all in the same gang. One Latina woman had her mother, aunt, and sister incarcerated in this same prison. They were all from the same small gang (in the same Colorado city).

Latina gang women identified themselves on their own in terms regarding who they were in the gang. Their man didn't matter, but rather their family, especially brothers, was the most important determinants of status. Family, was the most important thing to all these women. Unlike African American women in gangs, the Latina gang women didn't know each other from the neighborhood, but rather through a relative, or not at all.

Latina gangs also had Boy Girls who had assumed that identity on the streets. The Boys, often spoke of their brothers and I imagine, acted the same as their brothers. Like Latino gang members, the Boys were covered in tattoos, including on their faces. The number 13, was common for all Boys who were members of the Sureños. One Boy actually had 13 in the shape of lips tattooed on his face.

The Boys in the Latina gangs ran everything. The women listened to and obeyed their orders. The Latina Boys often had more than one girlfriend and like the African American Boys, they often had wives, too.

Predominantly White Gangs
Gang names: The only White gang for women was the Featherwoods. This was the name of women who were a part of the Aryan Nation, since they obviously couldn't join the Aryan Brotherhood. The rest all stated where the man in their life came from, such as Hells Angels or 211. These gangs don't allow women as members, but will include them, so long as they have rights through a man who is a member of the gang.

There were two types of White gangs: Those based on supremacy and those based on bikers. The two often comingled and shared similar views on race. Most believed in the idea of white supremacy. An identifying tattoo common among both Bikers and Supremacists was a lightning bolt and the bolt tattoo signified that the woman had beat up a person of color.

The White gangs were highly structured. It was clear who had power and who listened. Authority was never challenged, but rather always submitted to. This was because for both Bikers and Supremacists, their roots came from a long line in the streets based on the positions of only the men in their lives. Fathers, husbands, and brothers, had a status, and this status essentially created the status of a daughter, wife, or sister. If the man in their life was kicked out of or betrayed the gang, the woman or women in his life, even in prison were also kicked out or viewed as betraying the gang.

The men often called the shots from either the streets or prison. Then the shot had to be formally put on the yard. This meant, if a woman of lower status was given an order by her man to do something in the yard, she had to get permission. Sometimes it was granted right away, other times the shot caller had to get the ok from her man to call the shots.

One example: a guy in a biker gang betrayed the man who sold him drugs in order to avoid a prison sentence. Unfortunately, his wife did not. She ended up in prison, with several gang women who knew the dealer, including his wife. He gave the call, and the wife went to the shot caller, got permission, and started a huge fight in the prison yard.

The White gangs did not have Boy Girls; they were unacceptable. Some of the White gang women, however, did have girlfriends, which also was established by status.

now), and "calling out" one's set. A *set* is the specific gang a women is from, which is generally determined by her neighborhood, for example, The Grape Street Crips.

A *shot caller* is the gang or set leader, the woman with the most power. She orders the others around, especially with regards to physical violence and illegal activity. *Boy Girls*, also called *Stud Broads*, took on the roles of men. Often times they had already assumed their gender identity as male/men on the streets, prior to incarceration. In prison, their gender identity gave them power and control. The women gang members referred to them with male pronouns (i.e., he, him, and his) and treated them like men in stereotypical gender roles, and allowed them to replace the [biological] men in their lives. The Boy Girls were shot callers and what they said was carried out. The Boy Girls were often simply referred to as The Boys. Most of the gang women, across race/ethnicity, had children, except the Boys. Some of the Boys had a wife with children. The Boys often modeled their male behavior after the men in their lives (e.g., their fathers, uncles, brothers, etc.). There were women who became Boys in prison to try and move up their status in the gang both in and out of prison. The Boys were targeted by guards as troublemakers and security threats.

Conclusion

This chapter provided an overview of girls in gangs, gender, and violence. Although there are significant differences among girls and boys in gangs, there are also many similarities. There are huge differences across girl gangs and there are huge differences across boy gangs. Research on gangs shows that overall there have been no meaningful

increases in gangs in recent years, and this appears to apply to both girls and boys. Second, although there are a number of gender similarities in gangs, one of the most pronounced is that boys' gangs tend to be more criminal and violent than girls' gangs. This does not mean that no girl gangs are very violent and no boy gangs have little violence. In terms of violent victimizations of gang members, girls are more likely than boys to join gangs to escape abusive childhood home, and they are far more likely to experience rape while being gang members. Indeed, in some cases girls are required to have sex with any number of boys in a gang to become full members. The limited research on gang boys and parenthood indicates that combined with other factors (e.g., access to legitimate work that will pay the bills and an attachment to their children) boys may quit gangs upon fatherhood. The research indicates, as expected, that this exit from gang membership due to parenthood is far stronger for girls, and even finding out they are pregnant results in some girls leaving gangs. Although the research on girls in gangs has grown significantly since the 1980s, there is still much work to be done to understand the dynamics of gang membership and how this is related to gender, race/ethnicity, class, sexual orientation, gender identity, and violent victimization and violent offending.

Finally, the original descriptions in this chapter (also referenced in Box 12.1), allow for a group of gang girls and women who are rarely discussed; those who are incarcerated. These observations by the second author, over a period of five years of incarcerations, emphasize the significance of understanding the intersections of gender, race/ethnicity, sexual and gender identities, to understand gang members overall, and how this is related to their use of violence. Notably, the incarcerated White gang women were primarily organized around their racism toward people of color. Future research needs to address this in more detail and more systematically.

Note

1 Furthermore, the terms "women" and "men" are inappropriate for members younger than 18, "young women" and "young men" are too unwieldy, and "female" and "male" are too biological. Fleisher and Kreinert (2004) use the term "gang women" to include adult and adolescent young women in gangs, but this chapter uses "boy gangs," "girl gangs," and "boys in gangs" and "girls in gangs" although some gang members are over 17 years old.

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13

School Violence and Bullying

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School violence is an issue that has gained increasing attention in the United States since the 1990s, driven in part by high-profile school shootings such as the one at Columbine High School in 1999. Although homicides are relatively rare events in schools (Robers, Zhang & Truman, 2012), students nonetheless encounter other less serious but more chronic forms of violence on a regular basis within the school setting. In 2010, 359 000 students in the United States experienced violent victimizations, 91 400 of which were characterized as serious in nature (e.g., aggravated assault) (Robers et al., 2012). Among high-school youth, 7.4% reported being threatened or injured with a weapon while on school property in 2011, with boys reporting more of these incidents than girls (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2012). In addition, 11% of high school students indicated that they had engaged in a physical fight at least once in the last 12 months on school property (Robers et al., 2012). The presence of gangs in US schools is also significant; nearly one in five middle- and high-school youth reported a gang presence at their schools (Robers et al., 2012).

One of the most pervasive forms of school violence is bullying. Bullying has unique features not shared by other forms of youth violence in that while it consists of aggressive acts, most definitions (e.g., Olweus, 1993) stipulate that this aggression also must be repeated over time and involve a power imbalance. Further, although bullying behaviors can be physical in nature, they can also be verbal or relational, or occur within an electronic context (i.e., cyberbullying). With respect to student involvement in bullying, primary roles include victims, bullies, and bully victims (i.e., individuals who both are victims and perpetrators of bullying behavior). The goal of this chapter is to provide an overview of bullying, including information about its prevalence, associated risk and protective factors, correlates, and to discuss prevention and intervention efforts to date. As detailed below, discussions are guided by the social-ecological framework, which asserts that youth behaviors are shaped by individual characteristics and a range of nested contextual systems such as schools, families, and neighborhoods (Benbenishty & Astor, 2005; Bronfenbrenner, 1977).

Bullying Prevalence in K-12 Settings

One of the first national studies to provide prevalence data on bullying was conducted by Nansel and colleagues (2001), with findings indicating that approximately 30% of the sixth to tenth graders surveyed were involved in bullying in some capacity. Based on moderate to frequent involvement, 13% of the students were classified as bullies, 10.6% as victims, and 6.3% as bully victims. Similar rates of bullying have emerged from more recent national samples. For instance, Spriggs and colleagues (2007) found that among their nationally representative sample of sixth to tenth graders, 9% were bullies, 9% were victims, and 3% were bully victims. In addition, according to the most recent administration of the Youth Risk Behavior Survey, 20.1% of students in grades 6–12 had been bullied on school property during the past 12 months (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2012). Rates have been replicated across other diverse samples in both the United States and other countries (e.g., Dinkes et al., 2006). Notably, the prevalence of bullying varies depending on the type under consideration. For instance, in a US-based national study bullying rates were 20.8% for physical, 53.6% for verbal, and 51.4% for social manifestations of bullying (e.g., social exclusion, rumor spreading) (Wang et al., 2009). Studies on cyberbullying have found widely ranging rates, from roughly 10–35% for victimization and 5–20% for perpetration (e.g., Finn, 2004; Kowalski & Limber, 2007; Wang et al., 2009; Williams & Guerra, 2007).

Rates of bullying also vary somewhat based on youth demographic characteristics. In general, boys are more likely to be involved in bullying than girls (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2012; Espelage & Holt, 2001). However, some research suggests that girls are more likely to be involved in relational aggression than boys (Wang et al., 2009), though it may be that this discrepancy does not emerge until children are 10 or 11 (Bjoerkqvist, Lagerspetz, & Kaukiainen, 1992; Zimmer-Gembeck, Geiger, & Crick, 2005). This might be due to the increased relational focus among girls during this time period. Fewer studies have examined how bullying involvement varies by race/ethnicity. Some studies have found that African American youth are more likely to perpetrate bullying and less likely to be victimized by bullying than White youth (Juvonen, Graham, & Schuster, 2003; Nansel et al., 2001; Wang et al., 2009). Another study found higher rates of bullying for Hispanic youth than for Black and White youth (Nansel et al., 2001). Finally, from a developmental perspective research indicates that bullying behaviors are most common during middle school (Robers, Zhang, & Truman, 2012), which may be due to adolescents shifting away from parents and to peers for social connections, and to their subsequent desire to form identities within a peer social context.

Beyond demographic characteristics, there are groups of youth that are at particularly high risk for bullying involvement. Increasing evidence indicates that students with disabilities are more likely to be involved in bullying than students without disabilities (e.g., Kaukiainen et al., 2002). For instance, among middle and high school students 10.2% of youth without disabilities reported engaging in bullying perpetration, in contrast to 15.6% of students with disabilities in inclusive settings and 20.9% of students with disabilities in self-contained settings (Rose et al., 2009). Similarly, whereas 6.8% of youth without disabilities from this same sample reported bullying victimization, among students with disabilities 14.3% in inclusive settings and 18.3% in self-contained settings had been targets of bullying within the past

30 days (Rose et al., 2009). Evidence suggests that the association between disability status and bullying involvement is nuanced, in that factors such as the nature of the disability (e.g., speech language impairment, specific learning disability, behavioral disorder) and the type and visibility of special education received influence the strength of the relation (McLaughlin et al., 2010; Swearer, Wang, Maag, Siebecker, & Frerichs, 2012).

Gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgendered (GLBT) youth also are at higher risk for bullying involvement, particularly in terms of victimization (e.g., Birkett, Espelage, & Koenig, 2009; Kosciw, Greytak, & Diaz, 2009; Robinson & Espelage, 2011). For instance, in a sample of high school students 10.1% of self-identified lesbian/bisexual girls reported being victimized at school 10 or more times in the past year in comparison to 1.1% of heterosexual girls (Bontempo & D'Augelli, 2002). Similarly, in this sample 24.0% of gay/bisexual boys reported in-school victimization occurring 10 or more times in the past year in contrast to 2.7% of heterosexual boys. This increased risk has been supported through a recent meta-analysis on peer victimization, which found that sexual minority youth were 1.7 times more likely to be physically assaulted at school and 2.4 times more likely to miss school due to fear than their heterosexual peers (Friedman et al., 2011). Emerging evidence suggests that rural communities and ones in which there is lower adult educational attainment might present particular challenges for GLBT youth (Kosciw, Greytak, & Diaz, 2009).

Risk and Protective Factors

Social-ecological theory provides a framework for understanding ways in which youth behaviors are shaped by individual characteristics and a range of nested contextual systems (Benbenishty & Astor, 2005; Bronfenbrenner, 1977. Within this framework, microsystems contain structures directly affecting youth, such as schools, peer groups, and families. In contrast, mesosystems comprise interrelations among these microsystems. This framework has been applied to a wide range of youth behaviors including bullying (e.g., Swearer & Espelage, 2011). Moreover, research suggests that school victimization can be predicted by factors at multiple levels of the social ecology, including neighborhood, culture, school organizational, and student variables (Benbenishty & Astor, 2005). Factors at every level can operate as risk or protective factors, and systematically examining such factors in key social-ecological domains will allow for the development of more effective prevention and intervention efforts in schools.

Perpetrators of Bullying: Risk Factors

Although bullies are a heterogeneous group of individuals, research points to particular characteristics at multiple levels of the social ecology (i.e., individual, peer, family, school, and neighborhood) that have been found to be associated with bullying perpetration. One line of research addressing individual-level influences has considered ways in which bullies approach interpersonal relationships and problem solving within the context of these relationships. Findings suggest that bullies are more likely to lack effective problem-solving skills and to instead externalize their problems (O'Brennan, Bradshaw, & Sawyer, 2009), with externalizing behaviors in fact being one of the strongest risk factors for bullying perpetration according to a recent meta-analysis

(Cook et al., 2010). Similarly, in comparison to their nonaggressive peers bullies were more likely to indicate that they would use destructive strategies (e.g. reacting aggressively) in response to hypothetical scenarios (Stevens, De Bourdeaudhuij, & Van Oost, 2002). Further, bullies are more inclined to resort to violence to resolve conflicts (Crick & Dodge, 1999). The fact that bullies are also more likely to have high emotionality (Baldry & Farrington, 2005; Pellegrini, Bartini & Brooks, 1999), poor impulse control (Haynie et al., 2001), and hyperactivity (Gini, 2008) might contribute to the problems some bullies experience when interacting with peers.

Cognitive empathy (i.e. perspective taking) and affective empathy (i.e. ability to sense feelings of others) have also been examined as potential risks factor for bullying perpetration, and mixed findings have emerged. Some studies have found that bullying is related to lower levels of cognitive empathy, specifically among females (Espelage, Mebane, & Adams, 2004), whereas other studies have found that bullies do not demonstrate deficits in cognitive empathy (Jolliffe & Farrington, 2006). Extending this line of research, Gini (2006) found that while bullies did not demonstrate social cognition deficits, they did report higher levels of moral disengagement (e.g., justifying the use of aggressive behaviors), suggesting that rather than being socially challenged bullies might be skillfully engaged in manipulating situations to their benefit. Other research has supported the idea that bullying behavior may be a product of moral disengagement, with one study finding that cognitive restructuring, specifically self-justification, was associated with individuals' pro-bullying behavior (Pozzoli, Gini, & Vieno, 2012). The authors suggest that cognitive restructuring leads children to become habituated to bullying behaviors and in turn view it as an acceptable means to an end, such as high peer status. Evidence that bullies also lack affective empathy (Jolliffe & Farrington, 2011) potentially helps to explain the tendency of bullies to justify bullying behavior, in that they have difficulty identifying with victims' feelings. In sum, it appears that distorted perceptions about how one's behavior affects others and the tendency to justify one's own aggressive behaviors are associated with bullying perpetration.

The extent to which youth perpetrate bullying behaviors is also shaped by their peers, which is in line with the broader literature on aggression (Cairns & Cairns, 1994). Indeed, a meta-analysis found that one of the strongest contextual predictors of bullying perpetration was peer influences (Cook et al., 2010). With respect to specific studies, one investigation found that high school football players were more likely to engage in bullying behaviors if their peer group norms supported it (Steinfeldt, Vaughan, LaFollette, & Steinfeldt, 2012). Similarly, Espelage and colleagues (2003) found that among middle school youth, peer group bullying predicted individual youths' bullying behaviors over time, even after controlling for baseline levels of bullying, a finding which held true for both males and females. Similarly, peers may reinforce bullying behaviors. Some research shows that male and female bullies benefit from greater popularity (Reijntjes et al., 2013a), and bullies have been shown to be generally well accepted by their peers (Reijntjes et al., 2013b). The maintenance and potential increase of bullying behaviors based on peer group influences might in part be attributed to bullies' perceptions that such behaviors will help them to maintain their status within the peer group (Prinstein & Cillessen, 2003). In fact, one longitudinal study that followed youth from late childhood to early adolescence found high levels of bullying to predict increases in social dominance (Reijntjes et al., 2013a).

At the family level of the social ecology, research suggests that certain familial characteristics increase risk for bullying perpetration. Structurally, one study found that British adolescents who did not live in a two-parent household reported more bullying behaviors (Flouri & Buchanan, 2003). Bullies, in comparison to their peers, also tend to characterize their family environments as ones with poor family cohesion, low levels of organization, control, and warmth, and more family conflict (Connolly & O'Moore, 2003; Stevens, De Bourdeaudhuij & Van Oost, 2002). Emotional support and maternal responsiveness and empathy also are more likely to be lacking in bullies' families (Rigby, 1994; Curtner-Smith et al., 2006; Georgiou, 2008a). In terms of parental characteristics, bullies are more likely to have parents who are authoritarian and who condone fighting (Baldry & Farrington, 2000; Espelage, Bosworth, & Simon, 2000). Further, bullies tend to report a lack of parental involvement, including as it relates to schooling (Flouri & Buchanan, 2003). Finally, parent use of physical discipline is associated with bullying perpetration (e.g., Curtner-Smith et al., 2006), and compared to uninvolved youth bullies are more likely to come from homes in which child maltreatment occurs (Holt, Finkelhor, & Kaufman Kantor, 2007).

The school environment and climate also strongly influence students' bullying involvement. For instance, students in third to fifth grade classrooms in which collective social norms were characterized as aggressive demonstrated increases in aggressive behavior through the duration of a school year (Mercer, McMillen, & De Rosier, 2009). Also, bullying was found to be more likely in classrooms characterized by a collective attitude endorsing the minimization of one's role in bullying, distorting the negative consequences of bullying, as well as blaming and dehumanizing the victim (Pozzoli, Gini, & Vieno, 2012). Behavioral norms may also emerge in hierarchical classroom structures that are densely populated, environments in which aggressive children are more likely to be popular (Ahn, Garandeau, & Rodkin, 2010).

Finally, while little research has addressed neighborhood influences on bullying perpetration, there is reason to believe that they could be salient. For instance, Pettit and colleagues (1999) found that living in an unsafe community was a significant risk factor for externalizing behaviors, including aggression, among youth. Further, an Italian study found that adolescent bullies and bully victims were more likely to live in neighborhoods in which they were exposed to dangerous and violent situations (Bacchini, Esposito, & Affuso, 2009). Finally, findings from a nationally representative sample of youth from England and Wales indicated that having problems with neighbors increased risk for being a bully victim (Bowes et al., 2009). Additional research is still needed, however, to understand how neighborhoods might serve as risk factors for bully perpetrators.

Victims of Bullying: Risk Factors

A wide body of research has focused on discerning what factors might increase a youth's risk of being victimized, with studies addressing multiple levels of the social ecology. At the individual level, in addition to factors discussed previously (i.e., GLBT and disability status) studies have found that children who are obese are more likely to be bullied than their average weight peers (Jankauskiene, Kardelis, Sukys, & Kardeliene, 2008). Further, victims tend to be perceived as vulnerable (Naylor, Cowie & del Rey, 2001; Veenstra et al., 2007), and are more likely to act in submissive, avoidant,

or passive ways which might convey that the victim is unable to defend him or herself (Bollmer et al., 2005; Card & Hodges 2008).

Relatedly, anxiety has been found to independently predict peer victimization among youth, and was a stronger predictor than social skills or friendship quality for both children with anxiety disorders and a nonanxious comparison group (Crawford & Manassis, 2011). Interestingly, it is not the case that only internalizing behaviors result in increased bullying victimization. Rather, a recent meta-analysis found that externalizing problems can also contribute to the continuation of peer victimization (Reijntjes, et al., 2011). Similarly, emerging evidence also suggests that the inability to regulate emotional reactions to a negative stimulus is a risk factor for victimization (Rosen, Milich, & Harris, 2012).

With respect to social interactions, victims of bullying often struggle with social problem solving, which may in part be related to their lowered self-esteem and self-efficacy (Cook et al., 2010). For instance, one study of six to eight year old boys found that victims of bullying were less likely to initiate conversations with peers and more likely to lack assertiveness (Schwartz, Dodge, & Coie, 1993). Another study of nine to 11 year olds found that social skill problems predicted an increase in peer victimization over six months (Fox & Boulton, 2006). As suggested by Perry and colleagues (2011), while some victims of bullying may have good social skills and the ability to solve social problems, when confronted by a bully their impaired sense of self might limit their ability to successfully employ such skills. Challenges in interpersonal relationships also extend beyond the victim/bully relationship. Specifically, despite victims viewing social support as particularly salient, they tend to experience less social support and lower friendship quality than their nonvictimized peers (Bollmer et al., 2005; Demaray & Malecki, 2003). Finally, friends of victims also tend to be victimized and have internalizing symptoms, which makes it less likely that the friends could effectively protect one another against bullying (Hodges, Boivin, Vitaro, & Bukowski, 1999).

Family dynamics and parent characteristics also can serve as risk factors for bullying victimization. A study of elementary school students found that maternal depression was positively related to bullying victimization (Georgiou, 2008a). In addition, victims of bullying are more likely to be sheltered by their parents, which may either be a risk factor or consequence of being bullied (Olweus, 1993). Some research also suggests that parents of children who are bullied provide few opportunities for their child to speak out for themselves, which could result in the child being fearful of advocating for him/herself (Smith & Myron-Wilson, 1998). Victims of bullying also tend to describe their parents as overprotective and their families as controlling (Georgiou, 2008b; Stevens, De Bourdeaudhuij & Van Oost, 2002). Further, compared to uninvolved youth, targets of bullying are more likely to report child maltreatment (Holt, Finkelhor & Kaufman Kantor, 2007). In fact, a recent meta-analysis shows that children exposed to maladaptive parenting and neglect are more likely to be bullied by their peers, although only a small effect was found for victims and a moderate effect for bully victims (Lereya, Samara, & Wolke, 2013). Relatedly, in some families the victim role might be reinforced; one study found that that victims were more likely to be teased by their families about their appearance (Jankauskiene, Kardelis, Sukys, & Kardeliene, 2008). Similarly, it has also been posited that parental maltreatment may play a role in the development of maladaptive social styles that characterize targets of bullying (Duncan, 2004).

In terms of school context, students victimized by peers tend to feel lower levels of school connectedness and belonging (Cook et al., 2010; Glew et al., 2005). With respect to school characteristics that might promote bullying victimization, one study found that students who experienced the highest levels of bullying victimization also reported the least teacher support (Furlong, Chung, Bates, & Morrison, 1995). Further, some evidence points to classroom structures that could promote victimization. For instance, one study found that victims in primary school are more likely to remain victims in secondary school when their primary school classrooms have a strong hierarchical structure (i.e. low-status children were clearly delineated from high-status children) (Schafer, Korn, Brodbeck, Wolke, & Schulz, 2005). This might be due in part to a low-status label preventing the formation of new friends and identifying the child as a bullying target. Finally, there is some evidence to suggest that even after considering additional influences such as family characteristics, victimization and school size are positively related (Bowes et al., 2009).

Perpetrators of Bullying: Protective Factors

In contrast to research on risk factors, there is a relatively limited body of literature focused on factors that serve to reduce risk for bullying perpetration. Socially, one potential protective factor for bullies may be high-quality friendships, which have been found to moderate the relationship between externalizing behaviors and bullying behavior (Bollmer et al., 2005). Specifically, study findings indicated that among children who exhibited externalizing behaviors those with high-quality friendships bullied less often. Further, a study of Italian adolescents found that problem solving coping skills were associated with lower levels of bullying perpetration (Baldry & Farrington, 2005). Parenting characteristics can also serve as protective factors against bullying behavior. For instance, lower levels of bullying are associated with having parents who know about the youth's activities (Haynie, et al., 2001). Maternal responsiveness, but not overprotective parenting, was also found to be a protective factor for improved social adjustment (Georgiou, 2008a). Further, there is some evidence that paternal involvement may be a protective factor against bullying perpetration in case in which the child experiences little maternal involvement (Flouri & Buchanan, 2003). In addition, a study of Italian high school students found that supportive and authoritative parenting was related to less bullying behavior (Baldry & Farrington, 2005), which mirrors findings from a US study indicating that greater parental support was related to less bullying perpetration (Wang et al., 2009). Protective adult influences can also extend beyond the family; having a positive adult role model who promotes prosocial rather than aggressive strategies to responding to peers was found to be a predictor of being uninvolved in bullying (Espelage, Bosworth, & Simon, 2000). Finally, the school environment can serve to reduce bullying. For instance, a positive classroom and school climate have been found to reduce bullying and aggression (Kasen et al., 2004; Somersalo, Solantaus & Almqvist, 2002).

Victims of Bullying: Protective Factors

Social support is one of the primary protective factors examined to date for victims of bullying as both having friends and being liked by peers may be protective factors against victimization (Pellegrini, Bartini & Brooks, 1999; Wang et al., 2009). A recent

study found that moderate to high levels of perceived peer social support decreased the likelihood of being bullied among adolescents (Rothon, Head, Klineberg, & Stansfeld, 2011). Friendship quality is also salient, with one study finding that higher quality friendships were related to lower levels of victimization (Bollmer, Milich, Harris, & Maras, 2005). However, it might be that the buffering effect does not exist when the victims' friends are also victimized (Pellegrini, Bartini & Brooks, 1999). Familial support is another factor associated with reduced peer victimization (Wang et al., 2009).

In terms of additional protective factors, at the individual level problem solving coping skills have been found to be negatively associated with victimization (Baldry & Farrington, 2005). Within the family context, maternal and sibling warmth, as well as a positive home environment, have been found to promote positive behavioral adjustment (Bowes, Maughan, Caspi, Moffitt, & Arseneault, 2010). Further, among Italian high school students supportive and authoritative parenting, coupled with low levels of punishment, were associated with less bullying victimization (Baldry & Farrington, 2005). Meta-analytic findings indicate that high parental involvement and support, warm and affectionate relationships, and good family communication and supervision offer a small protection against victimization, and moderate protection against being a bully victim (i.e., someone who both perpetrates and is victimized by bullying (Lereya, Samara, & Wolke, 2013). Finally, the school environment can serve to reduce bullying by being responsive to it. Victims are more likely to seek support and report bullying when they believe that the bullying will ultimately stop and that positive outcomes will come about (Hunter, Boyle, & Warden, 2004) and less likely to do so when school climate is perceived to be tolerant of bullying (Unnever & Cornell, 2004).

Psychological, Educational, and Health-Related Correlates of Bullying Involvement

Psychological

Studies have found a range of psychological factors to be correlated with bullying involvement. Bullying perpetration, for instance, is associated with a range of other externalizing behaviors, such as increased rates of gang involvement, bringing weapons to school, and fighting (Fitzpatrick, Dulin & Piko, 2007). Bullying involvement also is linked to a constellation of internalizing behaviors including depression and anxiety, particularly for victims (Kaltiala-Heino, Frojd, & Marttunen, 2010; Klomek et al., 2008; Winsper et al., 2012). Research suggests that anxiety in particular can be both a precipitating factor and consequence of peer victimization (Kamphuis et al., 2010). Notably, it appears that when bullying occurs in multiple contexts (e.g., cyber and school) psychological distress is particularly heightened (Schneider, O'Donnell, Stueve, & Coulter, 2012). Conversely, for some youth involved in bullying, factors such as social support can buffer its deleterious psychological effects (Holt & Espelage, 2007; Malecki, Demaray, & Davidson, 2008; Rothon et al., 2011).

The link between bullying and suicide in particular has garnered significant attention recently. According to a recent systematic review, bullying involvement in any capacity is associated with higher rates of suicidal ideation and behaviors (Kim & Leventhal,

2008). The extent to which the association varies by sex is unclear; whereas some research findings suggest a greater risk for girls (e.g., Klomek et al., 2009) others have found the association to only hold for boys (Laukkanen et al., 2005). There is also mixed evidence about whether one type of bullying involvement is more associated with suicidal ideation, with some studies finding a stronger association for victims (e.g., Rigby & Slee, 1999) and other studies finding a stronger association for perpetrators (e.g., Kaltiala-Heino et al., 1999). Similarly contradictory findings have emerged with respect to the experiences of bully victims relative to those of uninvolved youth, bullies, and victims (Herba et al., 2008; Klomek et al., 2007). Nonetheless, given the consistent finding that youth involved in bullying in any capacity are at greater risk for suicidal ideation or behaviors than uninvolved youth, it is clear that there is a pressing need to address the issue.

Educational

Given the often chronic nature of bullying and the fact that it occurs in the school environment, where youth spend much of their time, it is not surprising that there can be significant educational effects.

With respect to bullying perpetration, one study of middle school students found that being a bully was associated with poorer academic achievement (Nansel et al., 2001), a finding that has also been replicated in studies of elementary school youth (Glew et al., 2005). Indeed, meta-analytic findings support the strong link between poor academics and bullying perpetration (Cook et al., 2010). Moreover, findings from a national longitudinal study of US adolescents indicated that being a bully negatively impacted academic competence above and beyond demographic background, including sex and maternal education, and prior year academic competence (Ma, Phelps, Lerner, & Lerner, 2009). Factors such as bullies' tendencies to have negative perceptions of their relationship with teachers might contribute to these documented academic challenges (Bacchini, Esposito, & Affuso, 2009).

Study findings have been more mixed with respect to the association between bullying victimization and academic performance. One recent meta-analysis did not find poor academic performance to predict bullying victimization (Cook, Williams, Guerra, Kim, & Sadek, 2010) whereas another meta-analysis found the converse (Nakamoto & Schwartz, 2010). Similarly, findings from a longitudinal study indicated that some victims of bullying reported low academic achievement whereas others reported high achievement (Hanish & Guerra, 2002). It might be that victim type is relevant; in a study of inner city elementary school students, aggressive victims (i.e., who are victimized but also aggress toward others) were most likely to experience academic failure (Schwartz, 2000). It also could be that student sex informs the association. For instance, in one study of high school students, bullying victimization was associated with lower grades for girls but not boys (Hammig & Jozkowski, 2013). Evidence also suggests that despite a general association between victimization and academic challenges, in cases in which the youth has adequate social support academic achievement might not be as compromised (Rothon, Head, Klineberg, & Stansfeld, 2011). Psychological functioning might also play a role, with studies finding depression to mediate between victimization and academic competence (Juvonen, Nishina, & Graham, 2000). Regardless of mixed findings it is clear that victimized youth would have good reason to have difficulty focusing on school work, and might instead be

oriented toward guarding themselves against bullying (Card & Hodges, 2008), which would be consistent with their elevated levels of anxiety, and therefore to promote better academic functioning the bullying first needs to be stopped.

Health

The association between bullying involvement and risky health behaviors and physical health is a newer area of research. To date, studies have found an association between bullying involvement and alcohol and drug use (e.g., Tharp-Taylor et al., 2009) and cigarette smoking (Morris, 2006). Further, there is a link between being a victim of bullying and somatic complaints, with evidence that this association is causal (Fekkes, Pijpers, Fredriks, Vogels, & Verloove-Vanhorick, 2006; Hansen, Steenberg, Paic, & Elklit, 2012). For girls specifically, involvement in bullying in any capacity is associated with increased risk for eating disorders (Kaltiala et al., 2000). In might be that particularly subgroups of youth involved in bullying are at greater risk. For instance, one study found that bully victims were at particularly high risk for alcohol and drug use (Radliff et al., 2012). Similarly, in comparison to youth who experienced general harassment and bullying or no harassment, youth who reported bias-based harassment reported the highest rates of substance abuse (Russell et al., 2012). Finally, emerging evidence also suggests that youth involved in bullying are more likely to engage in sexual risk taking than uninvolved youth (Holt et al., 2013).

Long-Term Effects

A growing body of literature suggests that the effects of bullying involvement in any capacity are not necessarily time limited, and for some individuals might persist into adulthood. For instance, in a Finnish study boys who at age 8 were frequent bullies were more likely to be depressed at age 18, even after controlling for initial symptoms of depression (Klomek et al., 2008). In this case, similar associations did not exist for victims of bullying. For victims of bullying, studies have found an increased risk for borderline personality disorder symptoms later in life, even after controlling for sexual abuse and parenting behaviors (Wolke et al., 2012). In addition, girls who were classified as frequent victims at age 8 had increased risk of psychiatric treatment and psychopharmacological drug use at age 24, even after controlling for baseline psychopathology (Sourander et al., 2009). There is also evidence of an association between childhood peer victimization and adult anxiety disorders, including Social Anxiety Disorder, Panic Disorder, and Obsessive-Compulsive Disorder (McCabe, Miller, Laugesen, Antony, & Young, 2010), as well as a greater likelihood of agoraphobia, generalized anxiety, and panic disorder even after controlling for psychiatric problems and family hardships in childhood (Copeland, Wolke, Angold, & Costello, 2013). Further, both victims and bully victims are more likely to experience psychotic symptoms at some point in their lives than their peers (Kelleher et al., 2008; Schreier et al., 2009). For some, effects extend beyond the psychological domain. Lehti and colleagues (2011) found that girls identified as bullies or bully victims at age 8 were more likely to be teenage parents at age 20. Among girls bullying victimization and perpetration also predicted social withdrawal five years later, although the association did not remain significant once controlling for other risk factors (Lösel & Bender, 2011).

A number of studies have examined whether for bully perpetrators' antisocial behaviors continue into adulthood. Findings indicate that adolescent bullying is indeed associated with antisocial behavior in adulthood, with potentially a stronger association for males (Renda, Vassallo & Edwards, 2011). Further, one study found this association to hold even after controlling for individual and family risk factors (Bender & Friedrich, 2011). Moreover, bullying perpetrators face a greater likelihood of criminal involvement in adulthood (Olweus, 2011). In a prospective study of Finish children, boys who were involved in moderate or frequent bullying perpetration at age 8 were at greater risk for a violent, traffic, and property offenses when in their early 20s (Sourander et al., 2011). Similarly, a meta-analytic review of 28 published and unpublished longitudinal studies found bullying perpetration to be a strong risk factor for offending 11 years later (Ttofi, Farrington, Lösel, & Loeber, 2011).

Prevention and Intervention

There have been increasing efforts over the past 10 years in the United States to implement and evaluate bullying prevention programs. This impetus is likely in part a reflection of increased recognition of the negative effects of bullying and also due to bullying prevention being mentioned as part of antibullying legislation. However, while 49 states have adopted antibullying policies, only about half of the states explicitly encourage bullying prevention within the legislation, and only 14 states mandate bullying prevention programs (Srabstein, Berkman, & Pytikova, 2008). Further, legislation most often does not provide specific recommendations of programs or features of programs (Srabstein et al., 2008). That said, the emerging evidence base on the effectiveness of bullying prevention programs is mixed, and further evaluations are needed to best guide school districts as they address bullying.

The increase in bullying prevention program has been coupled with efforts to summarize evaluation findings to determine whether on average programs are effective, and beyond that, whether particular programs or program components are most associated with bullying reductions. To that end, three meta-analyses are described here. Smith and colleagues (2004) completed a meta-analysis focused on 14 school-wide bullying prevention programs, which primarily contained fundamental components of the Olweus approach. This approach consists of a long-term, system-wide intervention targeting school culture (e.g., develop bullying prevention committee, conduct staff trainings), classroom dynamics (e.g., post/enforce rules, parent meetings), individual components (e.g., individualized intervention for students), and community norms (e.g., spread antibullying messages). Findings suggested that there were only small program effects (Smith, Schneider, Smith, & Ananiadou, 2004). The authors provided several possible reasons why the programs may not have been successful. First, implementation of the programs may have varied across schools. Also, programs increase awareness of bullying incidents which may in turn lead to increased reporting (vs. a true increase in incidents). Further, programs were most successful in Finland and Italy, which may be accounted for by a higher quality of schooling that could allow for interventions to be more effectively implemented. A more recent and comprehensive meta-analysis included 16 studies, for a total sample of 15 386 students from kindergarten through high school in European and US schools (Merrell, Gueldner, Ross, & Isava, 2008). Analytic findings

suggested little evidence of reductions in bullying behaviors, although decreases in knowledge, attitudes, and self-perceptions about bullying were found. Meaningful change among the majority of the outcome variables, however, was not found. Most recently, Ttofi and Farrington (2012) completed a meta-analysis of 44 program evaluations of school-wide antibullying programs, which revealed that these programs were generally effective. Specifically, bullying and victimization decreased on average by 20–30% and 17–20%, respectively. Programs modeled after the Olweus Bullying Prevention Program demonstrated the greatest reductions, and several program components were most associated with decreases overall (e.g., parent meetings, improved playground supervision, firm disciplinary methods, classroom management, teacher training, and cooperative group work).

Given the degree to which peers in general and bystanders in particular implicitly and explicitly contribute to the maintenance of bullying behaviors in the school context (Fekkes, Pijpers and Verloove-Vanhorick, 2005; O'Connell, Pepler & Craig, 1999; Salmivalli, 2010), it is clear that prevention programs also need to address these youth roles. Indeed, one of the more widely used programs in the United States – Second Step – addresses bystander behavior, and results from a randomized control trial suggest that students in the intervention group demonstrated positive changes in areas such as beliefs about bystander responsibilities (Frey et al., 2005). Second Step is a curriculum with built in resources and materials for teachers to teach students social and emotional skills such as empathy. More broadly, a recent meta-analysis found that bullying prevention programs are successful at increasing bystander interventions, with strongest effects found at the high school level (Polanin, Espelage & Pigott, 2012). Given this, programs should integrate information and skill building that will promote positive bystander behaviors, such as increasing students' self-efficacy around helping to stop bullying situations (Gini, Albiero, Benelli, & Altoè, 2008).

A particularly promising program from Finland – Kiva – might provide additional insight into key effective program elements. Kiva is a program that builds antibullying and pro-social norms within school and attempts to leverage positive bystander behaviors. However, given differences between the United States and Finland it is not necessarily the case that results would be generalizable. Nonetheless, the Finish Ministry of Education mandated the development of an antibullying program to be offered to all schools countrywide, the result of which was Kiva (Salmivalli, Kärnä, & Pskiparta, 2011). It is in the process of undergoing a series of comprehensive evaluations, largely focused on fourth- to sixth-grade youth. To date, findings suggest that among fourth- to sixth-grade students there were significant reductions in bullying and peer victimization in the intervention schools (Kärnä et al., 2011). These findings also held when considering particular forms of bullying (e.g., verbal, physical, cyber); each form of being bullying decreased in intervention schools, in contrast to control schools in which either bullying increased or decreased significantly less than evident in intervention schools. A more recent evaluation of this program that included 7741 students from 78 schools found reductions in internalizing problems and improved peer-group perceptions in the intervention but not control groups (Williford et al., 2012). Notably, reductions in victimization were found to predict the changes in anxiety, depression, and positive peer perceptions. This is essential given the clear links between victimization and internalizing problems described previously.

Moving forward with bullying prevention efforts, a number of key elements can be gleaned from what is known to date. Collectively, the elements of antibullying

programs should encompass a social-ecological approach (Hong & Espelage, 2012). This approach is characterized by a focus away from punitive measures and instead emphasizes patterns of bully, victim, and bystander behaviors, the classroom environment, and additional key contexts such as the home and community (Furlong, Morrison, & Grief, 2003). From a similar contextual framework, Leff (2007) has recommended the use of participatory action research for assurance that prevention implementation is both evidence-based and meets the specific needs of the local community. Guided by these framing principles, and coupled with implementing what are known to be effective prevention program components, bullying prevention efforts will yield more positive outcomes for youth.

Summary and Future Directions

Bullying is a pervasive problem in United States' schools, and associated with a range of deleterious effects across a number of domains. Increasing research points to factors at multiple levels of the social ecology that serve as risk and protective factors for bullying involvement, which in turn provides valuable information about what could be addressed in prevention programs to effectively reduce bullying. As the bullying field moves forward new areas are being explored, such as cutting edge research on the physiology and neuroscience of bullying. For instance, brain abnormalities have been found in young adults who reported peer verbal abuse as children but had no other victimization exposures (Teicher et al., 2010), and peer victimization also appears to be associated with lower cortisol secretion, even after controlling for confounds such as depression and anxiety (Knack, Jensen-Campbell & Baum, 2011; Vaillancourt et al., 2008). There is also new evidence that adults who were bullied as children may be at risk for biological markers of inflammation, which has implications for impaired physical health (Copeland et al., 2014). Such findings offer new insight into the constellation of factors that need to be considered, and serve to highlight that bullying has widespread and serious consequences for involved youth.

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14

Juvenile Violence

Interventions, Policies, and Future Directions

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Introduction

Policymakers across societies, governments, and criminal justice systems have long sought to create interventions to prevent violence (Friedman, 1993),[1] yet doing so with juvenile violence has been especially problematic (Flannery, 2000). Not only are causes of juvenile violence complex and difficult to determine but debates about approaches to youth justice oscillate between emphasizing rehabilitation and punishment, a process fueled by societal and media perceptions that laws and administrative practices are either too hard or soft on offenders (Bernard, 1992). The issue of "rehabilitation versus punishment" resurged in the 1980s and 1990s when many social commentators characterized the United States as having a "youth violence epidemic" (Cook & Laub, 1998; Heide, 1999) as exemplified by reports of increasing youth violence and mass shootings (Muschert & Spencer, 2009). The perceived saliency of this issue was in part media driven, whose attention to "an emotionally charged image for the public and the authorities to react to" (Estrada, 2001, p. 652) in tandem with "moral panics" contributed to policymakers emphasizing and the public demanding more punitiveness. Many began casting juvenile offenders *en masse* as "superpredators" who engage in violence as a matter of choice (Estrada, 2001; see also Cohen, 1972). While understanding juvenile violence became a topic of considerable interest, understanding (and remedying) the fundamental causes of violence seemed a distant concern.

However, many of the direst predictions regarding escalating juvenile violence never materialized. Instead, in the late 1990s and early 2000s, juvenile violence declined, as did overall crime rates (Blumstein & Wallman, 2000; Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2000).[2] Simultaneously, many academic, political, and social actors undertook two efforts. First, they cast the issue in public health terms, which at its core concerns *diagnosis* and *treatment* of problems affecting public safety (see Rosenberg et al., 1992). Second, they issued calls for interventions and policies to prevent youth violence (see University of Colorado Boulder, Boulder Center for the Study and Prevention of Violence, 1998 as an example).

Recent high profile acts of youth violence present an invitation to examine interventions, policies, and potentials for future research. However, given the public health focus in juvenile violence studies and the need to diagnose *before* treating, it is necessary to detail the complex tableau of implicated structural, cultural, biological, psychological, and psychiatric factors. From there, it is possible to discuss and assess treatments, policies, and future directions.

This chapter has four sections. First, we examine trends of youth violence, specifically homicide, during the past several decades. Second, we use public health as a lens to discuss the various ways scholars have studied the problem of juvenile violence. Third, we review strategies for addressing juvenile violence. Fourth, we offer suggestions for future research.

I: The Basics and Scope of Youth Violence: A Focus on Homicide

Before reviewing the diagnosis and treatment of youth violence, it is important to provide context regarding epidemiology and demographics on homicide, the ultimate act of juvenile violence (see Shumaker & Prinz, 2000). Further, as demonstrated in other chapters in this volume, the perpetration of homicide, especially among juveniles, is usually a culmination of prior issues, such as gang violence, school violence and bullying, impoverished upbringings, interpersonal problems, poor affective control, and even psychopathy. However, while fatal violence is often one of the best reported statistics, the figures below do not capture the full effects of juvenile violence, especially nonfatal violence, which is often measured indirectly in reports that detail arrest rates but not overall activity, and are likely subject to underestimation due to unwillingness to report crimes and damages in which juveniles are involved (Eitle & Eitle, 2010; Miller et al., 2001; Pinheiro, 2006).

One valuable source of information is offered by Cooper and Smith (2011) who presented data from 1998–2008 on homicide victimization rates and homicide offending rates per 100 000 persons for juveniles and young adults. Several important trends emerge. First, youth homicides for those aged 14–17 as well as 18–24 peaked in the mid-1990s yet have been on a steady decline to 2008. Second, minority boys and girls are more likely to be involved in homicides (as either the perpetrator or the victim). Third, homicide patterns for those under 14 remained relatively stable.

However, these figures aggregate different racial groups and sexes, and patterns become even more striking when disaggregated.[3] First, the problem is especially pronounced for both black male and female youth in that black male youth are much more likely than white youth to be homicide victims (Cook & Laub, 1998), yet there is little media coverage of these homicides.[4] In general, males and older youth are usually at increased risks for both offending and victimization,[5] and as demonstrated by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (2012), which provided data on the racial/ethnic disparities regarding the leading causes of death in 2010,[6] homicide is often a leading cause of death for juvenile males.[7] Second, homicide victimization amongst blacks has dropped but is still higher than victimization for other groups (Cooper & Smith, 2011). Third, homicides are usually intraracial (i.e., the victim and offender were members of the same race) (Cooper & Smith, 2011).

Diagnosis – Youth Violence as a Public Health Problem: Structuring our Knowledge

During the "youth violence epidemic" of the 1980s and 1990s (as demonstrated by the trends noted in the previous section), many scholars argued that juvenile violence is a public health issue (Dahlberg & Mercy, 2009; Mandel et al., 1993, December 13; Moore, 1995). At a minimum, this approach emphasizes diagnosing problems that threaten the health and safety of society and designing treatments to benefit the greatest number of people (see Krug et al., 2002; Mandel et al., 1993). Diagnosis of violence usually includes community-based methods and epidemiological analysis (Gabor et al., 1996). Treatment requires numerous actors to develop solutions (particularly in terms of incidence, prevalence, and risk factors) and design interventions and evaluations (Silverman et al., 2001; Tremblay & Craig, 1995; see also Perry, 2009). Just as in individual health, diagnosis and treatment in public health go hand in hand.

The question becomes, "what is the diagnosis of the problem of juvenile violence leading to homicide?" The literature is replete with diagnoses on: (i) macrofactors such as urban disadvantage, community and family structure, and culture; (ii) microfactors, such as biological, psychological, and psychiatric factors; and (iii) links between these two.

In total, the literature suggests that multiple pathways lead to violence. These pathways depend upon the presence of "a host of…biological, psychological, and environmental factors …as young people transition from early childhood to adolescence to early adulthood" (Dahlberg & Potter, 2001, p. 3). These factors are particularly acute for minorities, who are more likely to live in communities that suffer from poorer resources, opportunities, and outcomes, diminished community structures, high crime, impoverished families, and many other issues (see Lamison-White, 1995). In turn, many of these problems are seeded in historically disenfranchising policies, negative social constructions, and low political power/resources (see Ingram et al., 2007). Further, biological, psychological, and psychiatric determinants related to individual, familial, and community conditions help explain that juveniles who exhibit early aggression, are born into violent families with poorly adaptable parenting styles, and who associate with violent peers are most likely to commit violence leading to homicides (see Steinberg, 2008).

Associational, Structural, Cultural, and Theoretical Explanations

Many scholars emphasize structural or cultural approaches when examining the causes of juvenile violence, although some have argued that a fruitful exploration requires exploring the intersections between both approaches (Kubrin & Weitzer, 2003). While scholars disagree on foci and explanations, there is widespread agreement that some of the roots of juvenile violence lie in inequality and inequity toward and within minority communities (Frederickson, 2010). Questions remain as to the origins of group inequality, but the disadvantages likely stem from centuries of economic, social, and political forces, especially segregation, which itself is rooted in racism.

The history of these topics is too lengthy to cover in this chapter, but the modern incarnations of racism and segregation stem into the antebellum and Reconstruction eras (see Egerton, 2014). Segregation policies were common after the Civil War

(see Horton, 1993), and in the Reconstruction eras, minority communities formed enclaves (Daniels, 2004), and both government and corporate policies often restricted minorities to low paying, low skilled jobs, and denied them access to equal education (Cates, 2012). As the US economy switched from an industrial/manufacturing economy to a service economy, many minorities who were historically dependent upon industrial jobs became much poorer (Wilson, 1987, 1996). In the modern era, in tandem with *de facto* segregation, gentrification has forced many out of their communities and has impugned groups' economic, social, and political livelihood (Lees et al., 2008). From a policy perspective, these groups, who often have low political power and negative social constructions, have not had the means to protest treatment effectively (Ingram et al., 2007; Schneider & Ingram, 2011),[8] so their concerns are frequently underrepresented, and they very often disproportionately bear costs, not benefits, of policy design (see Nowlin, 2011). Thus, racial inequity (including segregation), regardless of economic and educational backgrounds, persists (Rugh & Massey, 2010; see also Massey et al., 1994; Massey & Eggers, 1990).

The constellation of issues means that minority communities face numerous disadvantages, particularly economic inequality stemming from unemployment and low wages (Kramer, 2000). Crime (e.g., gun violence; gun and drug trafficking; youth gangs) is one possible mechanism to address impoverished resources (Krivo & Peterson, 2000; Peterson & Krivo, 1999; South & Felson, 1990; Spergel, 1995).[9] Raised in such environments, it is more likely for juveniles, particularly boys, to be led into lives of violence, lack role models, and live a survival-based "code of the street" in which violence is common in interactions over resources is a tool to foster respect and safety, structures masculine identities, attenuates traditional routes to adult roles, and creates perceptions of fear and hostility between peers (Anderson, 1999; Fagan & Wilkinson, 1998). This combined with the easy access to weapons as well as the introduction of controlled substances help to explain the fourfold rise in gunshot deaths in juveniles between 1984–1994 (Blumstein, 1995; Cook & Laub, 1998; Fagan & Wilkinson, 1998; Geraghty & Drizin, 1999). Thus, "inequality, extreme poverty, and social exclusion matter profoundly in shaping a society's experience of violent crime" (Currie, 1998, p. 114).

Police play a role in shaping a culture of violence through benign neglect (Liska & Chamlin, 1984). Violence is often more prevalent in poorer, racially segregated communities, in part due to inadequate police protection and officers being unresponsive to residents' needs and calls (Huang & Vaughn, 1996; Jacob, 1971), despite that such neglect is likely unconstitutional (Guy & McCandless, 2012). Further, police may have attitudes that certain communities have deserving victims who lead lifestyles that lead to victimization, leading police to respond less to crimes in these areas (Klingner, 1997). Police themselves might be abusive (Fagan & Davies, 2000). Thus, many neighborhoods might develop cultural codes that legitimize informal means of conflict resolution, and "at least some types of homicide may be related to residents' cynicism regarding the police as an appropriate or effective mechanism of social control" (Kubrin & Weitzer, 2003, p. 160).

Given this atmosphere, the effects on families appear to be enormous. A dichotomy between "decent" and "street" families can arise (Anderson, 1999). Decent families have "hope for the future" and emphasize saving money, working hard, and raising children to build something of themselves. Street families typically lack consideration

for others, have only superficial senses of community and family, and experience problems related to bills, food, and opportunities. Parents cannot cope with the demands of parenthood, leading to children lacking supervision and learning to fend for themselves.

These problems are associated with lack of family structures and nonviolent role models (see Parker & Reckdenwald, 2008), which are further associated with reduced opportunities of marriage, jobs, obtaining resources. Social control mechanisms within families of low socio-economic status are replaced with street cultural codes, which require children to fight to defend themselves (see Toumborou et al., 2007). Exposed to such conditions, including frequently witnessing violence, children are more likely to model aggression and see it as "normal" (see Attar et al., 1994; Parker & Johns, 2002; Sampson & Wilson, 1995; Stewart & Simons, 2006; Wilson, 1987).

This means that in some lower class communities: (i) individuals and families glorify and legitimize aggressive behavior among juveniles (which is self-perpetuating in disadvantaged communities) (see Wolfgang & Ferracuti, 1967); (ii) employ gang culture to approximate an adult life style and enshrine the idea of lower class culture (Bordua, 1961); (iii) lack religious and secular forms of civic participation (which can contribute to regional subcultures that engage in and glorify interpersonal violence) (Lee & Bartkowski, 2004); and (iv) use other cultural elements (e.g., "gangsta rap") to enshrine street codes through portrayals of violence that help to establish social identities, reputation, and social controls (Kubrin, 2005). For instance, one study of arrest rates for juvenile violence in 264 nonmetropolitan counties in four states found that rates are associated with residential instability, family disruption, and ethnic heterogeneity; larger counties had even higher rates (Osgood & Chambers, 2000). In this way, macrosocial patterns of inequity give rise to social isolation and ecological concentrations of the disadvantaged, which leads to cultural adaptations that undermine social organization (Sampson & Wilson, 1995).

The associations between these conditions and likelihood for future violence are becoming well substantiated in the literature. For instance, Brezina et al. (2004) employed data using the National Youth Survey to study the effects of the "code of the street," finding that youths who abide by this code are more likely to engage in violence. Further, families abiding by this code appear to socialize children into the code (Stewart & Simons, 2006). Parents who have higher social capital (e.g., nonviolent, friendly connections with other parents) are more likely to raise children who are *less* likely to be violent (McNulty & Bellair, 2003) whereas parents living in areas with social control problems are more likely to passive give the power of social control to youths perceived as ruthless and dangerous (Wilkinson, 2003). Further, racial segregation and impoverished resources for public services, especially schools (see Mensah & Schoderbek, 2013), magnify differences between affluent and impoverished communities (see Downey et al., 2004) and lead to reduced opportunities for minorities, which can often lead to a causal chain of greater likelihood of violence and increased incarceration (Eitle & Eitle, 2010; LaFree & Arum, 2006).

Several theories help capture how these conditions lead some juveniles into violence (see Table 14.1). Many theories are either exclusively structurally or culturally oriented (see Kubrin & Weitzer, 2003). However, several patterns emerge. First, poor material conditions, primarily in segregated, minority communities, make competitions over resources more likely. Second, violence is a tool to gain respect, status, and resources.

Table 14.1   Several theories of juvenile violence.

Theory name	Explanation
Conflict theory	Conflicts over material conditions contribute to crimes amongst minorities
	Fights are means to gain power and economic resources
	Dominant groups seek to suppress less powerful have influence disproportionate to other groups (Gallo, 2012; Kubrin & Weitzer, 2003)
Differential association theory	Focuses on group context and how peer pressure and gangs lead juveniles into crime
	Juveniles learn criminal skills from others, which might be mitigated by marriage (see Bruinsma, 1992)
Functionalist theories	Examines impact of social practices on society and individuals
	Social practice: any occurrence that has a pattern and is repetitive (e.g., social roles, social structures, social norms, and social institutions)
	Juveniles use violence and crime to belong to a group, obtain defense, reap monetary benefits, and even to filter rage (see Khromina, 2007; Tetlack, 1984)
Labeling theory	Examines social context rather than individuals
	Those labeled to be most likely to offend *will* be more likely to offend and associate with those similarly labeled (Murray &Farrington, 2014)
Phenomenological theories	Emphasizes individual's subjective experience of events, objects, and feelings in consciousness, namely how consciousness of everyday life develops
	Youths engage in socially constructed systems and engage in crime through spontaneous reactions shaped by the construction of ideas in consciousness, not rational thought (see Wolff & Ollendick, 2010; see also Murrihy et al., 2010)
Rational choice theories	Individuals made rational choices based upon norms, beliefs, and values and make choices to maximize utility (i.e., a positive outcome)
	While incarceration is not rational, a life of crime could be rational if crime is a way to mitigate factors that prevent success in life (see Deschenes & Greenwood, 1998; Knoester & Haynie, 2005; Maimon et al., 2012)
Relative deprivation theory	Structural inequalities among disadvantaged groups produces frustration and hostility
	Inequitable access to opportunities and resources fosters feelings that engender violence (see Logan & Messner, 1987)
Social control theory	Individuals exploiting socialization processes and social learning reap benefits of self-control, thus reducing inclinations to engage in crime (Wiatrowski et al., 1981)

Table 14.1 (Continued)

Theory name	Explanation
Social development theory	Risks and protective factors are influenced by how communities, families, schools, peer groups, and other individuals cultivate them, all of which can foster violence
	Examples: communities' legal and normative behavioral expectations, institutions' attitudes towards addressing inequity, families' parenting styles and antisocial histories, and individuals' associations with similarly minded peers, early behavioral problems, and lack of impulse control (see Hawkins et al., 1992; Vassallo et al., 2002)
Social disorganization theory	Socioeconomic and ecological factors contribute to juvenile violence
	Could be compromised structures that guide juvenile behavior or opportunities for economic, education, and social advancement (e.g., loans, housing, schooling) (Kornhauser, 1978; Shihadeh & Flynn, 1996; Wilson, 1987)
Strain theory	Societies have institutionalized success paths
	Crime results through the poor having difficulty attaining goals through legitimate means (e.g., educational and job opportunities)
	Five adaptations are available: (i) innovation (i.e., those who accept socially approved goals but not the means to get there); (ii) retreatism (i.e., those who reject both goals and means to reach them); (iii) ritualism (i.e., those who pursue means but lose sight of goals); (iv) conformity (i.e., those who conform to means and goals); and (v) rebellion (i.e., those who create new acceptable goals and means) (see Agnew, 1992; Sigfusdottir et al., 2012)
Structuration theory	Social structures (e.g., economic deprivation and dangerous living conditions) help to foster levels of violence by interacting with normative pressures and social psychological processes (see Bruce et al., 1998; Giddens, 1984)
Symbolic interactionism theory	Humans act based upon ever changing meanings formed through interpersonal relations assigned to things
	Youths engage in lives of violence through looking to other relationships as guides for behavior
	If many are surrounded by violence, then it is more likely that they will become violent themselves (see Harter, 1999; Patchin, 2006)

Third, communities create unique cultural adaptations that can legitimize and normalize the occurrence of violence. Fourth, social context and individuals interact and co-condition one another such that violent systems tend to perpetuate violence. All likely contain some piece of the puzzle regarding how structures, individuals, and cultures interact to create juvenile violence.

Biological, Psychological, and Psychiatric Factors

Alternatively, many scholars have focused on biological, psychological, and psychiatric factors in juvenile violence leading to homicide. These factors usually complement and not compete with structural and cultural theories. The central assumption many scholars employ is that, overwhelmingly, most forms of violence committed by juveniles are not events that are simply in "heat of passion" or accidents (although these will occur) but likely have deeper roots (Heide, 1999; see Fontaine, 2009). Typically, the most empirically validated and consistent indicators of juvenile violence are related to parenting style and association with violent peers (Pratt et al., 2010), but other factors include academic failures, childhood exposure to crimes, drugs, previously existing psychological conditions, weak social ties, among many others (US Department of Health and Human Services, 2001). It is becoming more common to see research on how these various risk factors influence one another.

Many risk factors likely begin in early childhood since how children learn to control aggression is a function of both biological and environmental factors (Damon & Lerner, 2006). Childhood development is important in shaping emotional, neuro-logical, and social development, and an impoverished environment with numerous stressors can lead to several cognitive problems, such as poor attention and reduced impulse control (Mirsky & Siegel, 1994), all of which can be linked to aggression throughout childhood into adulthood (Coie & Dodge, 1998).

These risk factors often develop in the home. Most studies indicate that lack of effective monitoring, supervision, and cognitive-behavioral shaping of behavior are associated with later delinquency (Hoeve et al., 2009). Without parental strategies to guide behavior, children often develop social control problems or low social maturity that lead to delinquency (de Ridder et al., 2012). Further, abuse and neglect are strong predictors of later problems (Heide, 1992, 1999, 2001a, b; Heide & Solomon, 2009; Heide et al., 2011; McGowan et al., 2006), and several studies have suggested that children who do not form secure attachments (e.g., maternal attach-ment) have compromised brain development (Giedd, 2004; Schore, 2003) and learn that they cannot depend upon others, which is associated with later violent behaviors (see Raine et al., 1994). Witnessing of and exposure to violence, particularly trauma (Heide & Solomon, 2005), which early on can have neurophysiological, sexual, and psychological impacts that affect brain development (Runyan et al., 2002; see also Osofsky, 1999), usually means that children are at an increased likelihood of com-mitting violence themselves (Herrenkohl et al., 2009; see also Crick et al., 2006).

These issues help contribute to aggressive tendencies, which often affect the ability to create relationships with individuals who are not aggressive and can increase likelihood of becoming a bully to vent aggressive tendencies, another predictor of violent behavior later in life (Brunstein Klomek et al., 2006; Twemlow & Sacco, 2012). These aggressive tendencies are particularly acute for boys in that they are five times more likely to be delinquents (Eadie & Morley, 2003) with African American and Latino boys having the highest risks (Children's Defense Fund, 2015), which some suggest may be due to boys being biologically and psychologically more prone to aggression, societal pressures (e.g., pressure to be masculine), or treatment in fami-lies (Walklate, 2003).

At the very least, the presence of such aggressive tendencies means that many at risk juveniles, particularly those will become repeat offenders, typically exhibit early, active,

and escalating offending during adolescence (Howell et al., 1998) and are more likely to seek out and associate with those who are like them, thus reinforcing violent, antisocial behavior (Lipsey & Derzon, 1998). However, most juveniles do not become lifetime offenders as most either engage in such violence once or for a limited time: many outgrow aggression (Loeber & Stouthamer-Loeber, 1998) and find more "pro-social styles" when they find they yield better results (Moffitt, 1993, p. 686; see also Cernkovich & Giordano, 1992). In this way, many juvenile offenders are likely reactive killers (Connor et al., 2004). Since stress and aggression reinforce one another, humans under stress become quick to aggress and find it difficult to suppress rage once it has begun (Kruk et al., 2004). Thus, most juveniles likely kill because of being under extreme stress, having a stress disorder (see Papanastassiou et al., 2004), or possessing poor psychological control mechanisms that play out in "symbolic contests of dominance" (Griffiths et al., 2011, p. 61).

However, some juveniles become predatory killers (Connor et al., 2004), which is likely more rooted in psychopathy (see da Silva et al., 2012; Van Patten & Delhauer, 2007) and psychiatric disorders (Ono & Pumariega, 2008). Many high frequency recidivists exhibit signs of psychopathic features (Vaughn & DeLisi, 2008) like being callous, self-centered, exploitative in interpersonal relationships, and having difficulties forming affectional bonds (Vaughn & Howard, 2005). Criminal justice scholars have become more interested in this population and in charting their career trajectories (e.g., DeLisi, 2009), often finding that youths who exhibit more psychopathic traits (e.g., callous, unemotional traits) in tandem with other criminological correlates (e.g., low self-control) are most contacted by police, engage in more violence overall, and are more likely to have increasingly violent behaviors (Flexon & Meldrum, 2013; Frick et al., 2005; Lynam et al., 2008).

Treatment – Interventions and Policies Addressing Youth Violence

As seen above, several factors are associated with or cause juvenile violence. While the most consistent predictors of violence are related to parenting and peer association (Steinberg, 2008), it is likely that deeper, underlying causes are at work. However, given that many studies posit relationships between risk factors, several questions regarding treatment emerge. First, at which level (e.g., individual, familial, community, societal) should interventions and policies aimed at treating youth violence be directed? Second, which risk factors should be targeted, and how should they be targeted? Third, who are the actors who should be involved? Fourth, which tools and programs for intervention are already available? Fifth, what is the efficacy of these programs? These are not easy questions to answer given that "[p]reventing violence requires a comprehensive approach that takes into account developmental needs, tasks, and supports" (Dahlberg & Potter, 2001, p. 3). However, the literature has noted several possibilities and largely has discussed such approaches as occurring either at the level of society or at the levels of communities, families, and individuals (see Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2011), but most of these approaches involve collaborative governance between multiple, networked public, private, and nonprofit actors (Sirianni, 2009).

Basics of and Problems with Intervention Approaches

Any prevention effort "should aim to reduce factors that place youth at risk for perpetrating violence, and promote factors that protect youth at risk for violence" (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2011, para. 2). Despite this simple statement, designing interventions is difficult, not the least of which due to concerns regarding whether interventions are even possible and which approaches will likely (or have) work best. Any intervention needs clear understandings of risk, yet assessments of risk factors can suffer from methodologies that lead to reductionism (i.e., oversimplifying or overgeneralizing causes), determinism (i.e., assume juveniles as passive victims of risk without assessing their ability to mitigate risk), and imputation (i.e., assuming homogeneity of factors, arguing causality when only correlations exist, and assuming that risks apply to individuals based upon aggregate data) (Case & Haines, 2009). Without a clear understanding of risk and causal pathways, program designers might overstate whether risk factors can be targeted effectively. Further, since most risk factors are complex and likely have overlapping causes, dealing with one risk factor implicates others (Agnew, 2001).

Given this difficulty, many proposed treatments are focused on particular populations, behaviors, and timings of interventions. According to the US Department of Health and Human Services (2001), prevention and intervention strategies occur in three ways (i.e., primary, or universal; secondary, or at risk; and tertiary, or ex post). Primary strategies, which largely concern identifying at risk populations and designing programs to prevent violent behaviors from arising in the first place (see Rivara & Farrington, 1995), include behavioral, occupational and social skills training, changing school capacity to deal with violent behavior, facilitating cooperative learning programs, and fostering youth development programs. Secondary strategies, which usually target older children and adolescents who are already showing signs of having tendencies toward violent behavior (see Prothrow-Stilth, 1992), include behavioral modification training for parents, home visitations, training in moral reasoning and social problem solving, and fostering critical thinking skills. Tertiary training, which usually is for juveniles who have already committed violence, includes behavioral parent training interventions, social skills training vis-à-vis marriage and family counseling, job skills training, and strategies to deal with aggression. Tertiary interventions have been the most common as they deal with "the young person after the fact, that is, when an offense has been committed, when someone has been victimized" (Welsh, 2005, p. 26; see also Kovandzic et al., 2009; McCord et al., 2001).

Most programs come in one of two varieties: (i) nonscientific and legal means of punishment rooted in retribution and deterrence; and (ii) scientific approaches rooted in biology, neurology, and neuropsychiatry (see Jeffery, 1998 as an earlier example). Many scholars indicate that the first variety results in questionable effects on recidivism and deterrence (Jeffery, 1998). Scientific approaches, on the other hand, emphasize *preventing* antisocial behaviors through teaching skills, offering therapy, redesigning urban design and ecology to prevent opportunities and reasons to commit crimes (Medina Ariza, 2011). However, programs that emphasize teaching social skills usually have only short term effectiveness (i.e., 2–3 years), meaning that any effective prevention technique should be rooted in improving family, school, and community conditions, must have some distinction between "one time offenders" and "high risk offenders," and should promote some form of social control, such as internal

(i.e., youths refrain from delinquency through conscience), indirect (i.e., identification with those who might be harmed), or satisficing of needs (i.e., if needs are met, then crime is not necessary) (see Jeffery, 1998; Wiatrowski et al., 1981).

The Minnesota Department of Health (2003/2014) noted four large strategies to combat youth violence. First, it is necessary to promote safe, supporting home environments (e.g., to increase parents' capacity to raise nonviolent youth; decrease chemical dependency; promote family-community connectedness). Second, schools must be involved (e.g., to implement programs; promote screening; create inclusive climates). Third, community organizations must be improved so as to foster protective factors (e.g., provide opportunities to discuss and develop healthy relationships; reduce access to alcohol and firearms; strengthen community standards against violence). Fourth, social conditions and system practices related to violence must be improved (e.g., policy initiatives to improve income, housing, food/nutrition, childcare; better training for professionals; decrease institutional racism; promote preventive health services; ensure safer housing and neighborhoods).

However, in the design of any program to address juvenile violence, at least two (large) problems become evident (see Dahlberg & Potter, 2001). First, implementation issues can abound, including how to utilize resources and management capacity to bring programs to scale, address developmental needs and barriers, determine timing, intensity, and duration, handle external events, and learn from implementation failures (see Birkland, 2011; Goggin et al., 1990; Kettl, 2014; Lipsky, 1980). Second, issues remain regarding selecting target groups, identifying which risk factors to address, and determining how to pay for interventions (Heide et al., 2011; Williams et al., 1997). Regardless, broadly, speaking, "good reasons exist for casting nets more broadly" since the populations most at risk "face more barriers and require more support systems for healthy development" and likely require periodic reassessment of "needs and support as young people move through the various stages of development" (Dahlberg & Potter, 2001, p. 12). Given this, the question now becomes what is possible at societal, community, familial, and individual levels.

Societal

Addressing violence at the societal level is often more difficult than at other levels given the difficulty of creating and implementing large-scale policies (see Sabatier & Weible, 2007). Most successful interventions and policies are at the level of communities, families, and individuals, not the societal, but the basic options remain the same and range from doing nothing, emphasizing draconian measures, or creating broad policy objectives and programs to target particular behaviors preemptively (Welsh, 2005). The danger with any public policy is that responses and interventions to public ills can lead to unintended consequences or encouraging more of the behavior the policy is designed to avoid (Feld, 2006; Forrant et al., 2001).

It might come as no surprise that given the difficulty of implementation, punitive approaches, including trying juveniles as adults or instituting curfews, can appear logical and easy to implement (Fried, 2001; Hagan & Foster, 2001; McCall, 2001). For instance, incidents of gang warfare and mass shootings (e.g., Columbine) have led to stricter laws concerning juvenile crimes, including "three strikes" laws or states making it easier to try juveniles as adults (Hubner, 2006; Roberts & Brownell, 1999). However, draconian measures likely will not achieve policy objectives for two broad

reasons. First, there is little evidence that threat of incarceration or even prison time are viable deterrents (Hemphill et al., 2006; MacKenzie, 2002; Pettit & Western, 2004). To wit, the Task Force on Community Preventive Services (Task Force on Community Preventive Services, 2007b) cautioned against transferring juveniles to justice systems as a means to reduce violence, noting that such policies are widespread amongst the states, transfers are associated with increased violent crime after release, and data on the efficacy of such transfers are both inconclusive and insufficient (see Harris et al., 2002; McGowan et al., 2007).

Second, youths serving time in jail are much more likely to become recidivists (likely due to prisons lacking reentry programs to prepare youth and not considering youth educational and social development needs) (Jenson & Howard, 1998; Myers, 2001; Petitclerc et al., 2012; Shubik & Kendall, 2007), become associated with gangs (Patchin et al., 2006), develop stronger antisocial tendencies (Christian, 2003), and remain in the justice system for their lifetimes (Huizinga et al., 2003). For instance, Langan and Levin (2002) examined recidivism among incarcerated offenders in 15 states. Findings indicated that of 816 juveniles aged 14–17 at the time of the release, 669 (82%) recidivized within three years, 56% were reconvicted, 39% returned to prison with a new sentence, and 57% returned to prison with or without new sentences (e.g., parole violations)(see also Aos, 2002). However, if the desire of national policy makers is to reduce violence, and since punitive programs' unintended consequences have become extensively documented in the literature, then more logical approaches would be to design *preventive* programs (Beneitez & Franco, 2013) that unify national and subnational approaches (see National Forum on Youth Violence Prevention, 2012).

One strategy has been to offer information on programs and rate programs' efficacy, with the task of implementation left to state, county, and local organizations (see Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2011; The US Department of Justice's Office of Justice Programs, 2014). The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention's STRYVE program (Striving to Reduce Youth Violence Everywhere) is one example and seeks to increase awareness and promotion of violence prevention approaches, including giving guidance to communities on preventing youth violence (see Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2014). Other examples include the Office of Juvenile and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) Model Program Guide (MPG)(2014) as well as CrimeSolutions.gov from the National Institute of Justice (2014), both of which are designed to provide practitioners with information about successful evidence-based practices related to youth offending. The more than 200 featured programs are aimed at preventing crime before it starts to backend programs such as reentry after prison confinement. Each is ranked in a three-tiered classification system. "Exemplary" or "Effective" programs, accounting for 24% of the programs surveyed, are those that have received the most empirical support, have found to be effective when implemented with high degrees of program fidelity, and assessed under the most stringent scientific designs, albeit usually quasiexperimental designs. "Promising" programs, accounting for 59% of program surveyed, have been found to have promising findings under conditions associated with minimal program fidelity and less rigorous evaluation designs. The last category is "No effect," accounting for 17% of programs surveyed.[10]

Other strategies are more wide reaching and range from expanding the *Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act* to foster a stronger juvenile justice system and

reduce the instances of juveniles tried in adult courts (Goshe, 2013; Merlo & Benekos, 2010),[11] fostering wide reaching tax, resource, and social development policies that result in more equitable outcomes for groups to address the socio-economic underpinnings of violence (Gianakis & Snow, 2008; Frederickson, 2010), and reducing the amount of firearms on streets (Hahn et al., 2005b; Makarios & Pratt, 2012). One example is Howard University's "Cradle to Prison Pipeline Campaign," which seeks to reverse Congressional budgeting decisions that allocate more resources to incarceration than schooling, thus allowing more of the budget to support early childhood education, mental health facilities, and job training and mentoring (Children's Defense Fund, 2015).

Other national policy options become apparent as well. These include stricter enforcement of firearm legislation, programs to educate and encourage gun dealers and owners to better secure firearms, increased resources to allow law enforcement to target gun trafficking, and more focus on high crime areas, including gun sweeps (Braga et al., 2001, 2002; Brown, 2004). Others have suggested weapons seizing programs in schools (Lizotte & Sheppard, 2001) or combating punitive school policies that displace children from schools and lead them to the streets in which there is less supervision (Decker, 2000, December).[12] In short, there are no shortage of national policy options.

Communities, Families, and Individuals

Despite national efforts, it is common wisdom amongst policy scholars that it is easier (but not *easy*) to pass and implement local level policies (see Sabatier & Weible, 2007). As such, the most successful interventions and policies to address juvenile violence have occurred at community, family, and individual levels. While measuring the efficacy of such programs can be difficult, methods are becoming more sophisticated, such as through quasiexperimental designs and increasingly (but still rarely) randomized control trials (see Blueprints for Healthy Youth Development, 2014; Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2011; University of Colorado Boulder Center for the Study and Prevention of Violence, 2014).[13] Several programs have gained national prominence, such as Communities That Care, Olweud Bullying Prevention Program, Seattle Social Development Project, and the Strengthening Families Program for Children and Youth (Hemphill et al., 2009) or the National Child Traumatic Stress Network, which seeks to improve access to and quality of care for children who have undergone significant trauma and promote evidence-based community interventions as well as educational programs (Gurwitch et al., 2007).

Data indicate that the most successful programs are those that are early or rehabilitative interventions that: (i) teach families and individuals social-cognitive and relationship skills as well as cooperative learning; (ii) provide therapeutic and mental health based measures to deal with aggression; (iii) include numerous actors across numerous public and nonprofit actors (especially mental health services) or parent volunteers and advocates; and (iv) deliver the interventions in home-based settings, schools, or even in tandem with community policing (see Heffron et al., 2003; Howell & Hawkins, 1998; Hughes, 2004; Lipsey & Wilson, 1998; Ono et al., 2004; Rohe et al., 2001; Tremblay et al., 2004). Further, programs that emphasize scaring juveniles straight (e.g., boot camp style programs) usually have weak effects, although some have no effect or negative effects (Feld, 1998).

Early intervention strategies, even those that are probation based, seem to be the most promising (see Roberts & Brownell, 1999). Any intervention must be sustained and not brief (Dahlberg & Potter, 2001): When given opportunities for nondelinquent involvement in tandem with strategies to improve family lives, delinquent behavior often declines significantly (Ayers et al., 1999). Schools can be ideal venues for programs to curtain violence, many of which can be effective programs at curtailing violence (Task Force on Community Preventive Services, 2007a; see also Wilson & Lipsey, 2007) since they allow cultivation of protective factors, namely fostering prosocial involvement, interacting with other prosocial individuals, and encouraging standards for behavior (see Catalano & Hawkins, 1996).

The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (1999/2013) recommended four strategies at the community, family, and individual levels: (i) parent- and family-based; (ii) home visitations, (iii) mentoring; and (iv) social-cognitive. As criminal justice investigations often underplay the role of home influences, these strategies can serve to target the roots of juvenile violence instead of the causes (Heide et al., 2005).

Most interventions are based in families and the home (Tolan & Guerra, 1994; Zagar et al., 2009) and address components related to family dynamics (e.g., cohesion) and capacity (e.g., parenting skills) while offering therapy, and training on parenting, communication, relationships, and dealing with aggression (Howell et al., 1995). Home-visiting strategies entails intervention staff providing "information, health-care, psychological support, and other services that participants need to function more effectively as parents," such as helping to improve maternal health and pregnancy outcomes, employment/education, reducing reliance on welfare, improving children's physical and mental health, and reducing criminal behavior (p. 81). Some data suggest that these visits can help to reduce reoccurrence of violence (Bilukha et al., 2005; see also Hahn et al., 2005a; Task Force on Community Preventive Services, 2005). Several infancy and preschool programs that involve nurses engaging in long term home visitation have found lower rates of child abuse/neglect, drug use, fewer arrests, and higher graduation rates (Olds et al., 1986, 1997). Further, behavioral management skills for family as well as cognitive management for youth appear to have had some success (Ikeda et al., 2001). Relatedly, mentoring strategies entail giving children a positive adult role model to guide a child's behavior, which can be associated with better school performance, reduced likelihood of drug use, and improvements in existing relationships (see Sipe, 1996; Sipe & Roder, 1999)

The broadest strategy is social-cognitive training. These interventions, rooted in Bandura's (1986) work in aggression modeling in children, emphasize equipping juveniles with skills to handle difficult social situations, such as providing didactic teaching, role playing, teaching nonviolent conflict resolution strategies, and screening individuals for callous-unemotional traits (Makarios & Pratt, 2012; Vaughn et al., 2008). Some strategies might include exposing teens to witnessed violence, which may diminish violence amongst those with callous-unemotional traits (Howard et al., 2012). These strategies are important as traditional therapy may not be as effective in all circumstances (Heide & Solomon, 2003). Other strategies, such as treating juveniles exhibiting psychopathic tendencies can assist with creating greater motivation and positive emotions while mitigating the effects of psychopathic traits if such strategies are long term and sustained (Salekin et al., 2010,

2012). EMDR (Eye Movement Desensitization and Reprocessing) has shown some promise as treating trauma's physiological effects and influence on the propensity to engage in violence (Solomon & Heide, 2005).

Future Directions

The discussion above reveals a complex tableau of diagnoses and treatments. It also raises questions about future directions and where to direct research in the future. While we likely need to "know more about everything," the future of this field largely concerns clarifying and better testing causal linkages between risk factors. As noted by Bushman and Newman (2013):

> Though we know a great deal about the etiology of youth violence, the changing online and gaming landscape, state level variation in access to weapons, and evolving nature of family structure, among other changes, require a forward looking research agenda to examine these changes and new challenges. Our understanding of the social relations within schools that can help youth to avoid violence as they contend with peer conflict, to develop social trust that governs levels of interpersonal conflict, and to come forward in the presence of threats, is underdeveloped. Advances in the study of large-scale datasets offer the possibility of learning about youth culture and "cyberbullying" from publically available social media that have become important forms of youth-to-youth communication. Additionally, while civil liberties implications will require further study, the potential for online intervention exists, which may prevent both cyberbullying and violent behavior. (p. 1)

The largest issue concerns combating tendencies toward reductionism, determinism, and imputation (see Case & Haines, 2009), which might be caused by poor scholarly understanding of linkages between structural, cultural, and individual factors, especially conditions that mitigate or encourage violence (see Kubrin & Weitzer, 2003). Evidence points to complex intersectionalities, especially related to gender, race, ethnicity, social class, parenting style, development of conflict resolution practices, dealing with rejection, development of relationships, and competitions over identity. Several research possibilities are evident, namely examining: (i) how structure and culture influence one another; (ii) how structure and culture influence the home (and vice versa); (iii) the impact of social institutions, especially schools and the police; (iv) the role of the policy process, social construction, and political power; (v) the effect and enforcement of gun laws pertaining to access, restrictions, and price; (vi) how home environments influence individual development; and (vii) how individual development affects structure and culture. More qualitative, ethnographic work is needed to establish better causal models that can later be tested in "large N" studies (see Anderson, 1999; Birkland; 2011; Brezina et al., 2004; Frederickson, 2010; Ingram et al., 2007; Kettl, 2014; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Seider et al., 2011).

Research that examines the biology, psychology, and psychiatry of juvenile violence is also important. Several possibilities emerge, including understanding more about: (i) whether certain youths are more prone to mental health issues and the effect these issues have on violence; (ii) the effect of gender roles, particularly masculine roles; (iii) how individuals respond to social threats and the neurological correlates of such

behavior; (iv) how self-regulation develops and the role it plays in mitigating violent behavior; (v) prenatal or early postnatal experiences and their effects; (vi) the effects of stress, trauma, environmental factors, and sex on later development; (vii) exposure to and interactions between violent media, violent fantasy, and behavior; and (viii) the role of peer rejection (see Bushman & Newman, 2013).

Regarding interventions, more research is needed on efficacy. Six areas in particular are important: (i) establishing clearer measures of efficacy; (ii) better defining results (e.g., whether and how interventions to improve self-control skills reduce juvenile violence) (iii) determining how at risk families and individuals are identified and/or access such services; (iv) the ideal places to establish interventions (e.g., schools; juvenile detention centers); (v) the effects of interventions on structural and cultural risk factors); and (vi) how these programs might affect one another.

Conclusion

It is clear that numerous structural, cultural, socio-economic, biological, psychological, and psychiatric pathways lead to juvenile violence. Numerous interventions focused on societal, community, family, and individual levels are possible, but more work is needed on studying effectiveness and access. However, given that juvenile violence is a public health problem that affects communities and destroys lives, the field has numerous potentials for future research, in particular to better diagnose the problem and to help develop efficient, effective, economical, and socially equitable treatments.

Notes

1   Throughout, operate under the following definition of "violence": the act of intentionally threatening, attempting, and/or inflicting physical harm (Reiss & Roth, 1993).
2   The overall US homicide rates, including among juveniles, are still higher than other developed nations (Dahlberg & Potter, 2001; Schiraldi, 1999).
3   Membership in a youth gang is also a risk factor (see Pyrooz, this volume). The relationship between youth gangs and violence encompasses both offending and victimization. Overall, approximately one-quarter of gang-related homicide victims between 1980 and 2008 were under the age of 18 (Cooper & Smith, 2011).
4   For Black youth, the problem is especially pronounced. For non-Hispanic Black females, homicide was the fifth leading cause of death for those aged 10 to 14, but the second leading cause of death for those aged 15 to 24. Finally, for non-Hispanic Black males, homicide was the second leading cause of death for those aged 10 to 14 and the leading cause of death for those aged 15 to 24. However, in the mid-1990s, homicide rates peaked for both blacks and whites.
5   Most research on juvenile homicide offenders focuses on males (Roe-Sepowitz, 2007), although juvenile murders perpetrated by young women is a fast growing problem (Smith, 2000). For instance, in 2005, girls constituted 18.4% of juvenile arrests for violent crimes, 23% for aggravated assault, 10% for murder and robbery, and 1% for rape (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2006). However, a common finding is that boys and girls kill for different reasons. For instance, females often exhibit more mental health symptoms and more difficulties with substance use (although males reported higher overall rates of substance

use) (Roe-Sepowitz, 2009). Snyder and Sickmund (2000) found that girls are more likely to kill those they know (e.g., family, acquaintances) whereas boys are more likely to kill those they do not know. More specifically, Loper and Cornell (1996) found that girls are more likely to kill children than are boys and that girls are more likely to kill using knives and body parts whereas boys use firearms. Both boys and girls can kill to end abuse, conceal pregnancies, eliminating witnesses to a crime, supporting a loved one, being in a gang, or having a mental illness (Heide, 2003). Girls, for instance, overwhelmingly committed violence due to domestic stress and relational conflicts (Loper & Cornell, 1996). For instance, of the 4828 youths aged 10 to 24 who were victims of homicide in 2010, 86% were male (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2012). Additionally, most of those killed by youth were older and most of the killers of youth were older, as well (Cook & Laub, 1998). Further, the predictive strength of these and other demographic risk factors, however, is less than attitudinal and behavioral ones. Additionally, while knowing that males and older youth are at increased risk can help in terms of targeting prevention efforts to those who are the most in need (i.e., at greatest risk), these factors are not malleable. Instead of focusing primarily on demographic factors, then, the most successful efforts are those that target risk factors that can be reduced and protective factors that can be enhanced. Further, these figures do not take into account school shootings. While most perpetrators are usually white adolescent males who extensively plan the killings in rural or suburban schools who often use assault rifles, shotguns, and handguns with high capacity magazines, it is becoming more common to see non-White school shooters (see Langman, 2009).

6 Information about leading causes of death was retrieved from the WISQARS data system available at the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention web site.

7 For instance, it was the sixth leading cause of death for non-Hispanic white and fourth for those aged 15 to 24. For non-Hispanic females, aged 10 to 14, homicide was the seventh leading cause of death and fourth for those aged 15 to 24. For Hispanic males (of any race), homicide was the third leading cause of death for male youth aged 10 to 14 and number two for youth aged 15 to 24. For Hispanic females, homicide was the fourth leading cause of death for those between 10 to 14 and 15 to 24.

8 The social construction framework (SCF) literature is valuable to examine here. In short, the SCF charts benefits of public policies tend to gravitate toward to those with positive social constructions and high political power (or at least high political power) whereas costs are given to those with negative social constructions and/or low political power (Ingram et al., 2007). The SCF creates four typologies based upon social construction and political power: (i) advantaged (i.e., positive social construction and high political power, exemplified by the middle class and small business; (ii) contenders (i.e., negative social construction and high political power, exemplified by the rich, corporations, and gun owners); (iii) dependents (i.e., positive social construction and low political power, exemplified by mothers and children); and (iv) deviants (i.e., negative social construction and low political power, exemplified by felons and terrorists) (Schneider & Ingram, 2011).

9 One study found evidence of a negative relationship between racial segregation and arrest rates for violent crimes (Stolzenberg et al., 2004), but this is an atypical result.

10 The MPG web site allows interested parties to search for programs by name, risk/protective factors addressed, and/or program type. The web site is very user friendly, clearly delineating the elements of important programs and the evidence of program support found in empirical studies of the programs. Due to its comprehensive focus and user-friendly interface, the MPG is a valuable resource.

11 This act has numerous implications on addressing youth violence, specifically: (i) deinstitutionalization of status offenders (i.e., targeted preventions against runaways, truants, or curfew violators being debated in juvenile detention or adult jails); (ii) "sight and sound"

(i.e., juveniles cannot have contact with or must be separated from adult offenders); (iii) jail removal (i.e., under some circumstances, juveniles cannot be placed in adult jails); and 4) disproportionate minority confinement (i.e., states must address the issue of minority youths being overrepresented in the justice system). Readers should also examine the precedent established by *In re Gault et al.* (1967) 387 U.S. 1, regarding extending constitutional protections to juveniles.

12 Suspending troublesome students from school is likely not a good policy as suspended students are more likely to drop out, be disengaged from school, and use drugs (American Academy of Pediatrics, 2003; Arcia, 2006; Butler et al., 2005).

13 Many ratings of efficacy and success are based upon rates of recidivism, self-reports from program attendees, estimates of likelihood of committing crime as compared to programmatic outcomes, comparisons to national and/or community averages, linkages to socio-economic indicators such as arrest and crime rates or health expenditures, or some indication of sustained effect for 12 months or more.

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Part Four
Family Violence

15

Child Maltreatment

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Introduction

Child maltreatment (abuse and neglect) is estimated to affect as many as 1 in 10 children in the United States (Finkelhor et al., 2009). Maltreated children are at higher risk for a range of later problems, including substance abuse and antisocial behavior. Research also links various forms of child abuse and neglect to physical health impairments and disease and mental disorders. (Herrenkohl, 2001). Various theories help to explain how these consequences come about, although it is increasingly well recognized that child maltreatment affects children's development in multiple ways and that no one theory has sufficient explanatory power to address the myriad ways in which child maltreatment undermines children's development. In this chapter, we review current evidence on the correlates and consequences of child maltreatment. We also discuss several of the theories that help explain these consequences. We end with a brief discussion of various implications for research and practice. First, in the section below, we define the different types of abuse and neglect that characterize the major forms of child maltreatment. In this section, we also address some of the historical developments in federal and state policy guidelines that now inform child protection and child welfare practices.

Defining Child Maltreatment

Although there is evidence of cruel and demeaning treatment of children throughout recent history, it was not until the middle of the twentieth century that state or federal guidelines were developed to protect children from harm. The first primary piece of federal legislation was the Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act (CAPTA), which

was passed in 1974. CAPTA defined child maltreatment as any act that compromises a child's health and welfare and that can result in physical or mental injury, including physical or sexual abuse, as well as neglect. The original CAPTA legislation mandated that states have clear guidelines to identify and act on suspected cases of abuse and neglect. CAPTA was amended and reauthorized by the CAPTA Reauthorization Act of 2010, which defined child abuse and neglect even more comprehensively:

> Any recent act or failure to act on the part of a parent or caretaker which results in death, serious physical or emotional harm, sexual abuse or exploitation; or an act or failure to act which presents an imminent risk of serious harm (Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act (CAPTA) Reauthorization Act of 2010, S. 3817, 111th Cong. (2010), https://www.govtrack.us/congress/bills/111/s3817, accessed September 1, 2015).

Under CAPTA, states are allowed to develop their own definitions of abuse and neglect (which shape child welfare practice within the states). However, these definitions must conform to some overarching principles. For example, CAPTA requires that state guidelines on physical abuse prioritize nonaccidental behaviors toward a child that result in one or more visible injuries.

Emotional or psychological abuse[1] refers to any behavior by a caregiver that damages a child's sense of self-worth or emotional development, including ongoing threats of severe punishment, intentional withholding of affection and warmth, and outright rejection of a child. By its very nature, emotional abuse is far more difficult to identify in children than is physical abuse, although research shows it to be no less damaging to a child over the long term (Herrenkohl, 2011).

Child sexual abuse is "the employment, use, persuasion, inducement, enticement, or coercion" (S. 3817 – 111th Congress, 2010) of a child that involves direct sexual contact or exposure to sexually explicit content. Acts of sexual abuse include, but are not limited to, fondling or forcing sex on a child, exposing a child to pornography, or prostituting a child.

Neglect is defined as a pattern of behavior that fails to provide for a child's basic needs, as in depriving a child of food and shelter; withholding medical care; depriving a child of an education; or failing to attend to a child's emotional needs. Like emotional abuse, neglect is generally harder than physical or sexual abuse to identify and prove in a court of law. Thus, neglect can be overlooked. Cultural or religious practices can sometimes complicate the assessment of abuse and neglect, although such choices cannot determine whether or not authorities investigate a report (Child Welfare Information Gateway, 2013). Neglect is an underassessed and poorly understood form of child maltreatment that has become an issue of major concern for child welfare experts.

Reports of Child Maltreatment

In 2012, nearly 3.4 million referrals (on behalf of 6.3 million children) were made to child welfare agencies in the United States for suspected child abuse or neglect. After formal investigations, 678 810 cases of child abuse and neglect were substantiated in 2012 (US Department of Health and Human Services, 2013). Child neglect, despite its rather ambiguous nature, is nonetheless the most common form of child maltreatment recorded by child welfare agencies. Approximately 78% of substantiated child maltreatment cases in a given year are for neglect; 18% are for physical

abuse; 9% are for psychological or emotional abuse; and about an additional 9% are for sexual abuse (US Department of Health and Human Services, 2013).

Official estimates of child maltreatment are based in part on data from the National Child Abuse and Neglect System (NCANDS), a federal tracking database that was formed after the passage of CAPTA. NCANDS captures official reports made to child protective service (CPS) agencies (US Department of Health and Human Services, 2013). Not all cases of child abuse and neglect come to the attention of authorities and, for this reason, estimates of child maltreatment based on NCANDS and other such datasets likely underestimate the scope of the problem to a certain extent. Accordingly rates of the very same forms of child maltreatment in population-based studies can be ten times greater than those derived from official records (Finkelhor et al., 2009).

Overlapping Forms of Child Maltreatment

There is increasing evidence that children are often maltreated in more than one way. In research terms, this means that various forms of abuse and neglect overlap or co-occur (Dong et al., 2004; Edwards, Holden, Felitti, & Anda, 2003; Fergusson et al., 2008; Herrenkohl & Herrenkohl, 2009). Indeed, one study found that in one of every two cases, a child who is the victim of one form of maltreatment simultaneously experiences at least one additional form of maltreatment (Higgins & McCabe, 2000). Adding to the burden of risk experienced by many children, abuse and neglect often co-occur with other developmental risk factors, such as poverty and parental unemployment, violence between adult caregivers, parental substance use, and or mental illness in the household (Dong et al., 2004; Drake & Pandey, 1996; Felitti et al., 1998; Stith et al., 2009; World Health Organization (WHO), 2002). As one would suspect, research is clear that as the number of adversities in the life of a child increases, so does his or her risk for significant, long-term impairment (Finkelhor et al., 2009; Gorman-Smith, Henry, & Tolan, 2004; Herrenkohl, Sousa, Tajima, Herrenkohl, & Moylan, 2008).

Risk Factors for Child Maltreatment

Child maltreatment is more likely, but not typical, in families that are living in poverty; where parents are young and poorly educated; where there is conflict among family members; and where drug and alcohol use is present and parents have a history of substance use (Herrenkohl, Sousa, Tajima, Herrenkohl, & Moylan, 2008). Certain characteristics of children also can make them more vulnerable to abuse. For example, children who are excessively irritable or prone to distress are more likely to elicit negative responses from their caregivers and, thus, be at higher risk for abuse. Qualities of a parent (e.g., having a mental illness or substance use problem) can add as much or more to the likelihood of child abuse within families, particularly if a family lacks necessary resources and/or sources of support in times of need (Herrenkohl, 2011). When a parent and child are in conflict and unbound by the strength of nurturing and reciprocally caring relationship, abuse of a child is also more likely (Fergusson et al., 2008; Hussey et al., 2006; Stith et al., 2009), leading some to conclude that the prevention of child maltreatment should very intentionally focus on strengthening parent-child relationships.

Studies that have examined risk factors for child maltreatment have in some cases found interesting differences in the characteristics of abusive parents and other caregivers (Fergusson et al., 2008; Higgins & McCabe, 2000; Stith et al., 2009). For example, Fergusson et al. (2008) found that while most risk factors were similar for sexual and physical child abuse, certain risk factors, like parental education, were more strongly related to the perpetration of physical abuse than it was for other forms of abuse, whereas parental drug use was more strongly associated with the perpetration of sexual abuse. A review of over 150 studies by Stith and colleagues (2009) found that neglect is strongly related to parental unemployment and family size, as well as parents' feelings of self-worth and their levels of stress.

Developmental Outcomes of Child Maltreatment

The literature suggests that child abuse and neglect are salient risk factors for a number of health risk behaviors in adolescents and young adults, including substance abuse and antisocial behavior. Research also links various forms of child abuse to physical health impairments and disease and mental disorders. Further, there is some evidence that children who are abused are at risk for perpetrating abuse of their own children in what researchers call the intergenerational transmission of abuse. Research on these issues is summarized below. In each section, we give a wide overview of research from across studies, and particularly highlight a few key results from research that is longitudinal or that examines particular nuances of the issue.

Substance Abuse

A number of studies have documented a link between various forms of child maltreatment and substance abuse in youth and adults (Downs & Harrison, 1998; Norman et al., 2012). Child abuse victims are at higher risk than are others for cigarette use, regular use of alcohol, binge drinking, and marijuana use (Clark et al., 2003; Downs & Harrison, 1998; Fergusson et al., 2008; Herrenkohl, Hong, Klika, Herrenkohl, & Russo, 2013; Hussey et al., 2006; Norman et al., 2012; Widom, Ireland, & Glynn, 1995; Widom, Mormonstein, & White, 2006). Several longitudinal studies illustrate the extent to which child maltreatment affects substance abuse throughout the lifecourse. For instance, in one longitudinal study of over 350 people who were assessed from childhood into adulthood, results showed that being maltreated as a child increased an individual's risk for moderate to high risk of substance abuse by three times the rate of others in the sample (Herrenkohl, Hong, Klika, Herrenkohl, & Russo, 2013). In another longitudinal study (N = 892) results showed that individuals with a history of child maltreatment were at significantly higher risk than controls for illicit drug use (Widom et al., 2006). Multiple studies also highlight how the effects of child maltreatment on substance abuse remain even after accounting for other risk factors that commonly predict substance use. For example, according to a review of over 100 studies, the increased risk for substance use due to maltreatment tends to persist even after accounting for substance abuse by others in the family (typically a major risk factor for substance use in children) (Simpson & Miller, 2002). In addition, Shin et al.'s longitudinal study of more than 12 000 adolescents found that youth who had experienced neglect, physical abuse, or sexual abuse were more likely to engage in binge drinking, after controlling for age, gender, race, parental alcoholism and parental monitoring (Shin, Edwards, & Heeren, 2009).

Notably, some research shows that women with a history of child maltreatment are at higher risk for substance abuse than are men with similar backgrounds. For instance, in Widom et al.'s (2006) mixed-gender longitudinal study, women who had been maltreated were significantly more likely to report drug use than were controls, whereas for men, the risk for drug use was not significantly different for maltreated and non-maltreated participants. Within large-scale studies that focus on women specifically, there seems to be a consistently elevated risk for substance use associated with a maltreatment history. In one such study (N = 8000 women), Thompson et al. (2002) found that women who reported physical or sexual abuse in childhood experienced higher rates of drug use than did others. Women who reported physical abuse also reported higher rates of daily alcohol use (Thompson et al., 2002). In addition, Thompson et al. (2002) found that, when compared to women with a single form of abuse, women with a history of both physical and sexual abuse were at a particularly increased risk for drug use.

Findings of a recent review, however, suggest there is insufficient evidence to conclude that women are in fact at higher risk for substance abuse. In that review, Kristman-Valente and Wells (2013) pointed to definitional and methodological differences (and weaknesses) in research on the topic, which make it very difficult to draw substantive conclusions on gender as a moderator of child maltreatment in relation to later substance abuse. For instance, authors concluded there are few longitudinal studies that examine gender as a moderating force within the relationship between child maltreatment and substance abuse; among those that do, it is difficult to make broad substantive conclusions about the role of gender across studies due to differences in the ethnic diversity of the samples, the scope of the child maltreatment measured, and the type and severity of outcomes examined.

While the more standard approach has been to investigate the overall effects of child maltreatment on later substance use, researchers have begun to differentiate substance use risks by the type of child abuse an individual experienced. For example, in a 25-year longitudinal study in New Zealand with over 1000 individuals at three different time points (ages 16–18, 18–21, and 21–25) Fergusson and colleagues (2008) found that both child physical and sexual abuse significantly increased the odds of substance dependence in adulthood. After accounting for various other risk influences, such as parental history of drug abuse, however, the effects of abuse on later substance dependence held only for sexual abuse, suggesting that the association for physical abuse appears more tenuous (Fergusson et al., 2008). In yet another study by Lo and colleagues that used data from the National Youth Survey (NYS), results showed that physical abuse, but not sexual abuse, predicted later substance use (Lo, 2007). In their review of research, Norman et al. (2012) found that child physical abuse and emotional abuse were both significantly related to problem drinking; physical abuse, emotional abuse, and neglect all were significantly related to drug use. Norman et al. (2012) report that the effects of abuse and neglect on drug use in particular appear stronger in retrospective studies than in prospective studies – a reflection, perhaps, of how measurement differences can influence substantive findings. In addition, some research has focused on the effects of the frequency of abuse experienced on substance abuse. For instance, one study of more than 12 000 adolescents showed a strong relationship between the frequency of neglect and physical abuse and patterns of binge drinking (Shin, Miller, & Teicher, 2013).

There has also been some research on the comparative effects of single versus multiple forms of abuse. Bensley et al. (1999) found that while single types of maltreatment increased the odds of substance abuse, the relationships between maltreatment and substance abuse were far stronger for youth who had experienced multiple types of maltreatment. In their study of almost 5000 youth, children who had been exposed to both physical abuse and sexual molestation were eight times as likely to report heavy drinking in 8th grade when compared to those with no history of maltreatment (Bensley, 1999). Similarly, Shin et al (2009) found that adolescents who had experienced combined forms of maltreatment were more likely than those who had not been maltreated to binge drink. Further analyses of these data showed that the frequency with which youth experienced the combination of physical abuse and neglect further increased the risk of later binge drinking (Shin, Miller, & Teicher, 2013). These results from adolescents are similar to the effects of multiple types of maltreatment seen in adults' patterns of substance abuse. For instance, Rodgers et al. (2004) (N = 221 women) examined the additive effects of five types of maltreatment (physical, sexual, and emotional abuse; physical and emotional neglect). They found a positive association between the number of types of maltreatment and respondents' reports of current tobacco use, problems with alcohol use (e.g., feeling bad or guilty about drinking; needing an "eye opener"), and driving while intoxicated.

Antisocial Behavior

Research shows a consistent relationship between child maltreatment and various forms of antisocial behavior (i.e. violence perpetration, nonviolent offences such as robbery and vandalism) later in life, including interpersonal violence and aggression (Maas, Herrenkohl, & Sousa, 2008; Smith, Ireland, & Thornberry, 2005). Hussey et al.'s (2006) large, nationally representative prospective study of over 10 000 young adults (ages 18–26) found that each type of child maltreatment (including child neglect, physical abuse, or sexual abuse), significantly (though differentially) increased the risk for adolescent violence (specifically for getting into a serious fight and hurting someone badly enough to require medical attention).

Lansford et al. (2007) conducted a study of 574 youth who were assessed annually from kindergarten until age 21 on various topics, including antisocial behavior and crime. They found that those who had experienced physical abuse were more likely to have a court record for both violent and nonviolent offenses, after controlling for covariates of socio-economic status, single-parent status, child temperament, and childhood exposure to other types of violence (Lansford et al., 2007). Interestingly, there was particularly strong effect of physical abuse on later offending for African American youth (Lansford et al., 2007). In yet another longitudinal study, it was shown that adults who had experienced abuse and neglect were more likely to be arrested than non-maltreated adults, after controlling for neighborhood characteristics (Schuck & Widom, 2005). In this study, authors also tested for interactions between maltreatment and concentrated disadvantage in the neighborhood; authors found that the effects of neighborhood adversity on the relationship between maltreatment and later offending were most acute for people who had experienced neglect. The authors conclude that poor parenting, including the lack of supervision, modeling, and support for children (characteristics of neglect) are particularly influential in higher risk neighborhoods (Schuck & Widom, 2005).

There are few studies in this area that investigate how certain combinations of the different types of maltreatment impact a child's risk of engaging in antisocial behavior. In one study, researchers found that, after controlling for family stressors and socio-economic status, along with child gender, a combined measure of different forms of child abuse and neglect predicted adolescent externalizing behaviors. Child physical and sexual abuse were shown to have unique effects on the outcome, suggesting that some but not all the variance of those indicator variables was shared with other measures of child maltreatment (Herrenkohl & Herrenkohl, 2007). Additionally, findings from both cross-sectional and longitudinal studies point to the role of both severity and chronicity of child maltreatment in increasing risks for violence and aggression in children and adolescents (Jaffee & Maikovich-Fong, 2011; Manly, Cicchetti, & Barnett, 1994; Smith & Thornberry, 1995). Findings such as these suggest the need for more investigation into how various factors that characterize the experiences of child maltreatment (i.e., overlapping types, duration, developmental timing, and seriousness of the maltreatment) may differentially affect outcomes.

Physical Health and Disease

Both cross-sectional and longitudinal studies show that child maltreatment increases the risks for obesity; sexual risk taking; pain symptoms and disorders; asthma; and diseases of the heart, liver, and lungs (Arnow, 2004; Batten, Aslan, Maciejewski, & Mazure, 2004; Rodgers, 2004; Springer et al., 2007). Findings from one large-scale, retrospective study (N = 2000 men and women) found a relationship between physical abuse in childhood and poor physical health in adulthood; after controlling for multiple other factors, such as sex, age, and family background, physical abuse was shown to predict physical symptoms and medical diagnoses reported by adults (Springer et al., 2007).

In addition to predicting poorer health as indicated by symptoms and diagnosis, maltreatment has also been connected to poorer perceptions and self-ratings of health. For instance, in one study of 8000 women, after controlling for age, marital status, education, race, employment status, victimization in adulthood, and the other forms of victimization in childhood, women who had been physically or sexually abused in childhood had more subjective complaints about their health than did others without an abuse history (Thompson, 2002). In another, prospective study of over 10 000 subjects, aged 18–26, after controlling for gender, age, race, parent's education, family income, immigrant generation, and US region, neglect, physical abuse, and sexual abuse were all related to poor self-reported health (Hussey et al., 2006). In another previously mentioned study of adults first assessed as preschool children, child maltreatment effects were sustained after controlling for child gender and childhood socioeconomic status. Participants with histories of child maltreatment (officially recorded abuse and neglect) reported lower physical functioning, more bodily pain and somatic symptoms, and poorer general health than those in a comparison group (Herrenkohl, Hong, Klika, Herrenkohl, & Russo, 2013). Even after controlling for adult age, marital status, and education level, effects of child maltreatment on certain health outcomes, namely general health and somatic complaints, were maintained (Herrenkohl, Hong, Klika, Herrenkohl, & Russo, 2013).

Interestingly, some literature shows that the effects of child abuse on physical health can vary by gender. For instance, one large nationally representative study of over 5000 men and women found significant relationships between child maltreatment, including

neglect, sexual or physical abuse, and cardiovascular disease (CVD) for women, although not men. In that study, even after controlling for depression, a known risk factor for CVD, women who had a history of child maltreatment were more than five times as likely as others to develop CVD (Batten, Aslan, Maciejewski, & Mazure, 2004).

Mental Disorders

Mental health is among the most often studied outcome related to child maltreatment. There is evidence of an association between abuse and neglect and mental disorders, such as depression, anxiety, post traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), eating disorders, psychosis, and suicidality (Batten, Aslan, Maciejewski, & Mazure, 2004; Duncan et al., 1996; Fergusson, 2008; Herrenkohl, Hong, Klika, Herrenkohl, & Russo, 2013; Herrenkohl, Klika, Herrenkohl, Russo, & Dee, 2012; MacMillan et al., 2001; Norman et al., 2012; Read et al., 2005; Springer et al., 2007; Widom, 1999). A 2005 review provides strong evidence of an association between physical, sexual, and emotional abuse and later symptoms of symptoms of schizophrenia, thereby linking these forms of abuse to even the most serious mental disorders (Read et al, 2005).

Regarding risks for suicidality, Norman et al.'s (2012) systematic review focused on the long-term effects of child maltreatment on health found that physical abuse, emotional abuse, and (to a lesser extent) neglect, all increased the odds of suicidal behavior when compared to non-maltreated others. These results reflect those of an earlier longitudinal study by Fergusson and colleagues (2008), which found that both child physical abuse and sexual abuse increased the odds of later suicide attempts after accounting for gender, the other form of abuse (physical or sexual), parent education, and a number of other factors (Fergusson et al., 2008).

Multiple studies have also shown substantial effects of child maltreatment on depression, though some of these show interesting patterns of risk based on the type of maltreatment. For instance, Batten et al.'s (2004) study of over 5000 men and women found that the experience of neglect, sexual, or physical abuse all significantly increased the odds of depression for both men and women. Other studies find particular effects for certain types of abuse. For instance, Duncan and colleagues (1996) found that victims of child physical abuse were two times as likely to experience major depression when compared to those with no such history. Norman et al.'s (2012) systematic review of over 120 studies demonstrated that the strongest risk effects for depression appeared to extend from emotional abuse and neglect, although the relationship between depression and physical abuse was also strong. Other studies have also found strong effects for the outcome of anxiety. For instance, Norman et al.'s (2012) review found a link between child maltreatment and anxiety. In another previously mentioned study by Herrenkohl and colleagues (2012), it was shown that, after controlling for adult age, marital status, and years of education, adults with maltreatment histories were twice as likely as those in a comparison group to experience both moderate to severe depression and moderate to severe anxiety (Herrenkohl, Hong, Klika, Herrenkohl, & Russo, 2013).

There is also evidence of a link between child maltreatment and post traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) (Duncan et al., 1996; Norman et al., 2012; Widom, 1999). Widom's (1999) prospective study of 1196 subjects (a matched comparison group of people who had experienced neglect or physical or sexual abuse in childhood with those who had not) found that child maltreatment (neglect or physical or sexual

abuse) increased the risk of lifetime PTSD, after controlling for several covariates, including arrests of parents, parent drug problems, behavior problems, and alcohol or drug abuse. However, in a subsequent regression model, which included each specific type of abuse rather than a composite measure, the effects of physical abuse and neglect only approached statistical significance.

As illustrated by some of the findings above, similar to the other outcomes, there is some evidence of the differential prediction on mental disorders on the basis of abuse type (Edwards, Holden, Felitti, & Anda, 2003; Higgins & McCabe, 2000; Thompson et al., 2002). Fergusson et al.'s (2008) 25-year longitudinal study of over 1000 adults found that, after controlling for other factors (e.g. the other form of abuse, parent attachment, and parent history of drug abuse), both types of abuse predicted later depression, suicide attempts, and overall number of mental disorders, but only sexual abuse predicted later anxiety, personality disorders, and suicidal ideation (Fergusson et al., 2008).

In terms of the effects of multiple versus single types of maltreatment on mental health, one retrospective study of 175 adults found a strong association between multiple types of abuse and later depression (Higgins & McCabe, 2000). Similarly, Thompson et al. (2002) found that women who had experienced both physical and sexual abuse experienced chronic mental health conditions at two times the rate of women exposed to only one form of maltreatment. This research adds to a growing body of literature on the particular mental health risks of polyvictimization, or the suffering of multiple forms of violence exposure in childhood, including not only childhood maltreatment at the hands of caregivers, but also the experiences of peer victimization, and community violence, for instance (see, for instance, Finkelhor, Turner, Ormrod, & Hamby, 2007 and Turner, Finkelhor, Shattuck, & Hamby, 2012).

Intergenerational Transmission of Abuse

A substantial body of retrospective research has supported the idea that child maltreatment is passed from one generation to the next. In part because of a growing concern about scientific rigor in child maltreatment research (Thornberry, Knight & Lovegrove, 2012), researchers are rightly focusing more attention on longitudinal studies to help generate information on this topic. Evidence from longitudinal studies shows modest effect sizes for intergenerational continuity of parenting behavior and abuse over two generations (Bailey, Hill, Oesterle, & Hawkins, 2009; Belsky, Conger, & Capaldi, 2009; Kerr, Capaldi, Pears, & Owen, 2009; Kovan, Chung, & Sroufe, 2009; Thornberry & Henry, 2013). A longitudinal study by Herrenkohl and colleagues (2013) found that, after controlling for childhood socioeconomic status and gender, harsh physical disciplining strategies of Generation 1 (G1) parents significantly increased the odds that Generation 2 (G2) parents would also use the same harsh disciplining strategies with their own children.

Of note, while there is evidence of a link between abuse in one generation and the next, there is also evidence that many children who are maltreated go on to be healthy parents themselves. In particular, safe, stable, and nurturing relationships, emphasized in the Essentials for Childhood framework of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), can help to lessen the risk of the intergenerational transmission of abuse. In their analysis of data from several longitudinal studies, Schofield, Lee, & Merrick (2013) found relationships between a parent and another adult, including a romantic partner, co-parent, or friend, to be particularly important in reducing the continuity of maltreatment. Indeed, evidence increasingly points not to the inevitability

of the transmission of violence within families throughout generations, but rather to how the quality of multiple relationships within one's social world (including relationships a parent who was maltreated as a child has with their social networks, along with their partner and their children) may be able to significantly alter the odds that a cycle of child maltreatment is continued across multiple generations.

Potential Mechanisms Explaining the Long-Term Effects of Child Maltreatment

The list of potential outcomes related to child maltreatment is extensive. Developing a comprehensive understanding of the mechanisms through which child maltreatment brings about later consequences will help advance theory and encourage new ideas for prevention and intervention programs.

Several potential mechanisms have been proposed to explain how the effects of early maltreatment may play out across the life course. These are derived from theories of attachment and trauma, as well as perspectives on stress and coping. This section briefly summarizes the ideas behind these theories and explains how each can help inform practice and policy. We also address gene-environment interactions and developmental traumatology to help explain how child maltreatment affects physiological and psychological processes and wellbeing.

Attachment Theory

Attachment theory emphasizes the importance of the parent-child relationship for the emotional and social development of a child (Bowlby, 1969). Attachment between a parent (caregiver) and child is particularly important in the early months and years of life, as a sensitive caregiver provides the essential structure to allow infants and toddlers to safely explore the world (Bowlby, 1969). According to attachment theory, children are instinctually drawn towards responsive caregivers, on whom they rely for security and guidance. While particularly important in the early years, attachment is necessary throughout childhood because learning and mastery of skills in one development stage provides the foundation for healthy growth in the next stage (Sroufe & Rutter, 1984). Throughout a child's development, strong bonds between a caregiver and child provide a relational framework within which children learn how to effectively manage emotions and stress (Sroufe, Carlson, Levy, & Egeland, 1999). Some scholars even suggest healthy attachment allows children to "borrow" cognitive processes from caregivers, as children "use the mature functions of the parent's brain to organize [their] own processes" (Siegel, 1999, p. 67). With time, children develop "internal working models" of the "self" and "other" and come to understand the basics of human connection, knowledge they will use to organize future relationships (Bowlby, 1969).

Maltreatment interrupts the processes of healthy attachment, which can impair healthy functioning and development (Baer & Martinez, 2006; Cicchetti & Toth, 2005). Curiously, even when experiencing maltreatment, a child can develop significant attachment relationships, even with those perpetrating the abuse or neglect (Main, 1996). While children may be able to affiliate with even the most maltreating caregiver, however, these the unpredictability of these relationships can ultimately promote high levels of anxiety and distress in the child (De Bellis, 2001). Consequently,

children who have been maltreated can come to view many relationships afterwards as a source of stress rather than sources of comfort and support.

Theories about the Effects of Trauma on Mental Health and Behavior

Other scholars have focused on the relationships between trauma and its effects on mental health, behavioral processes, and development. Dodge et al. (1995) for instance, propose that early physical abuse affects children's abilities to effectively process social information, such that they may be more inclined to interpret people's actions or attitudes as hostile, and may be more likely to turn to aggression as a response. This may explain, at least in part, the findings from longitudinal studies indicating that those who experience child maltreatment are more prone to anger (Herrenkohl, Klika, Herrenkohl, Russo, & Dee, 2012). Other scholars emphasize the ways that mental health in lessening impulse control may play an important mediating force between maltreatment and later outcomes (Simpson & Miller, 2002). According to this perspective, mental disorders resulting from child maltreatment (e.g., depression and PTSD) might pose problems with self-regulation (De Bellis, 2002). In turn, perhaps as an attempt at coping (Bonn-Miller et al., 2007), or due to an increased propensity towards sensation seeking (Ardino, 2012), early trauma leads to an increased risk for outcomes such as substance abuse and violence. This perspective has some empirical support; for instance, one study found depression mediated the relationship of physical abuse to alcohol and drug abuse (Lo & Cheng, 2007).

Theories about Stress and Coping

There is a growing emphasis on neurobiological responses to child maltreatment, and in particular, how early adversity can affect biological processes that control the body's response to stress (De Bellis, Spencer, & Hall, 2000; Teicher et al., 2003). Theories in this area suggest that high level stressors can trigger responses from the body that initially are adaptive in that they propel people towards an increased level of watchfulness and self-protection. Over time, however, the body is unable to regulate its stress and remains at a constantly heightened level of response, resulting in psychological and physiological "wear and tear" on the body and ultimately in an accelerated progression of disease and (McEwen, 2000, 2007). De Bellis and Zisk (2014) refer to a process of "priming," or "sensitization," where the brain becomes increasingly cued to stress and develops a growing tendency towards exaggerated biological responses, such as excessive stress hormones.

In particular, maltreatment and extreme stress in childhood has been shown to disrupt the limbic-hypothalamic-pituitary-adrenal axis (De Bellis, & Zisk, 2014). The prefrontal cortex (PFC) is the region of the brain responsible for executive function and decision making (Arnsten, 2009), and is related, in part, to the LHPA axis (Fink, 2010). The prefontal cortex (PFC) processes information and controls our thoughts, actions, and emotions through drawing on past experiences-often referred to as working memory (Arnsten, 2009). Stress has substantial effects on this essential part of the brain; both acute and chronic stress alter the normal cognitive processes that the PFC activates to produce controlled and reasoned responses to stimuli. Instead, the fear responses of the amygdala are mobilized, which tends to cause impulsive, highly reactive responses. This impaired response process manifests as a negative affect and lack of judgment. This maladaptive

response pattern, rooted in the brain's inability to effectively regulate stimuli due to stress, may connect stress (such as child maltreatment) to behavioral and psychological outcomes, such as increased anger, substance abuse, and problems with mental health (Arnsten, 2009).

Some scholars have applied these biological theories to specific studies wherein they explore the potential relationships between child maltreatment and later outcomes. For instance, contemporary neuroimaging of adult survivors of child maltreatment has demonstrated both functional and structural deficits in the brain. Many of these deficits are in the "social brain," critical systems involved in parenting, including assessing and responding to the emotional cues of an infant (DeGregorio, 2013).

Past research into the intergenerational transmission of maltreatment has not acknowledged how emerging brain science contributes to our understanding of maltreatment. The infant brain can be significantly affected by the stress of child maltreatment, impacting both function and structure. Functional deficits in the adult "social brain" could be part of a sequelae of child maltreatment, and may explain how maltreatment is passed from one generation to the next (DeGregorio, 2013).

Developmental Traumatology: Bringing Together Multiple Theoretical Perspectives

Neurophysiological research appears to show that rather than biological pathways wholly determining later behavioral and health outcomes, they may interact with a variety of factors within a person's environment and psychology to affect health. De Bellis (2002) underscored the importance of examining possible causal chains that include biological systems. In their extensive review of studies focused on developmental traumatology, they report how these maladaptive response systems may increase the risk for PTSD and depression, which in turn increases the risk of alcohol and substance use disorders as an attempt at self-medication (De Bellis, 2002). In 2014, De Bellis and Zisk further developed the notion of developmental traumatology, a framework that integrates developmental psychopathology, developmental neuroscience, and stress and trauma research for "the systemic investigation of the psychiatric and psychobiological impact of overwhelming and chronic interpersonal violence (e.g. child maltreatment) on the developing child" (De Bellis, & Zisk, 2014, p. 186). They posited that trauma in childhood leads to disruption of the body's stress response system, the impacts of which can persist for life, affecting outcomes related to behavior and emotion (De Bellis, & Zisk, 2014). Serious mental health problems, including poorer cognitive function and impaired social cognition, can result. This impaired cognitive and social functioning can then increase the risk for a variety of poor outcomes, including substance abuse, antisocial behavior, physical and mental health impairments, and the intergenerational transmission of abuse.

Conclusion

As detailed in this chapter, the impact of child abuse and neglect on the long-term health and well-being of children is evident in a number of areas. Studies continue to show that children who are physically, emotionally, and sexual abused are at higher risk for a range of problems, some of which can emerge very early in life and continue over extended periods. The same is true for children who have been severely and chronically neglected. Theories and emerging findings on developmental mechanisms help to explain how these problems

materialize, although more research is needed on the interaction between individual dispositions and the varied environmental factors shown to influence child development.

Over the past several decades, there have been major advances in prevention and intervention programs focused on reducing violence exposure in children and on repairing the wounds of those who have been victim of abuse. Primary prevention efforts have focused on lessening the risk factors that increase the likelihood of child abuse and neglect in the general population. In particular, universal intervention programs that seek to promote child safety; improve parent-child attachments; provide education for parents around parenting practices and skills; build community infrastructure, strengths and supports; and encourage the social-emotional development of children have potential to reduce the primary risks of maltreatment in families (Child Welfare Information Gateway, 2011; Cicchetti & Toth, 1998). These programs can be incorporated into multicomponent, family-based strategies to enhance parenting skills and reduce other risks within the home, such as parental substance abuse and mental illness. Broad-based efforts focused on improving the functioning of families and promoting good parenting practices are indeed beneficial and cost-effective over the long term, and, accordingly, we are seeing an increased dedication to identifying the most essential core components of effective prevention interventions (Child Welfare Information Gateway, 2011). These efforts align with the increasing body of evidence supporting the notion that far less money is needed to prevent child abuse and neglect than to try to assist families in which abuse is ongoing or has occurred in the recent past (Washington Council for Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect, 2006).

Programs that have shown effects in preventing child maltreatment include Nurse Family Partnership (NFP) of Olds and colleagues (2014) and the Triple-Parenting program (Prinz et al., 2009; Sanders, 1999). NFP, as one example, focuses on young, low-income, and first-time mothers as a particularly high-risk group for child abuse and neglect. The program attends to mothers' prenatal health and her functioning during pregnancy and immediately after her child is born. Over repeated trials, the program has shown success not only in lessening abuse and neglect risk, but also improving child outcomes and reducing health-risk behaviors for both mothers and their offspring.

This chapter provided an overview of research on various overlapping forms of child maltreatment and their developmental consequences. The chapter also provided information on several leading theories that attend to the factors that support and inhibit the onset of problems in the aftermath of abuse and neglect. Advances in prevention and intervention programs require ongoing attention to the all of these issues in the context of well designed etiological studies that allow for theory-driven tests of developmental processes. Research on programs and practices that build from existing knowledge of not only risk, but also vital sources of protection (as described above) will also help advance the field by adding to an already compelling body of evidence that shows the potential gains of investing additional resources in the care of vulnerable children and their families.

Note

1   Some prefer the term "psychological abuse" over "emotional abuse" because the former "denotes a category that is sufficiently broad to include both the cognitive and affective meanings of maltreatment (psychological) as well as perpetrator acts of both commission and omission (maltreatment) (Hart, Brassard, Binggeli, & Davidson, 2002, p. 79)."

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Destructive Sibling Aggression

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Destructive sibling aggression is presumably the most widespread form of interpersonal hostility and it is associated with a wide array of negative consequences (Caffaro, 2011; Caspi, 2012). Yet, compared to other forms of aggression, it has been relatively overlooked by researchers, educators, and practitioners. The disconnect between its high prevalence and severity, and the little attention it received can be mostly explained by the unique psychology tied to this form of interpersonal violence. Unlike other types of victimization, when between brothers and sisters it is generally considered an expected, normal and inconsequential part of child life (Finkelhor et al., 2005; Hardy, 2001). It is often thought of as playful behavior or rationalized as beneficial. Simply put, many believe that aggression is "what siblings do." Acts considered harmful and abusive in other relationships are frequently thought of as normal sibling behavior. For example, hitting, belittling, and threatening to do harm are considered unacceptable and even unlawful in parent-child, partner, and stranger interactions, but not when applied to siblings. In short, the normalization of sibling aggression supports and perpetuates it, and keeps it invisible (Kettrey & Emery, 2006).

This chapter will provide an overview of sibling aggression, highlight its different types and estimates of prevalence, its links to negative developmental outcomes, describe the factors that support it, and present prevention and intervention considerations. While less severe forms of sibling aggression will be briefly addressed, the focus will be on destructive sibling aggression – i.e., harmful conflict, violence and abuse. The chapter begins with a discussion of sibling aggression as a unique form of interpersonal violence because of a social "psychology" that views it is as acceptable and harmless.

Normalization of Sibling Aggression

Throughout modern history, family violence has been socially protected. Parents were free to abuse and neglect their children until only the mid-twentieth century. It was legal and considered "private business" – parents had the right to raise their children as they saw fit without interference from outsiders, particularly the government. Similarly,

it was not until the end of the twentieth century that laws against wife battering started to take hold. The treatment of wives was best decided by their husbands, again, not by outsiders. Today, few would argue that violence directed toward children or wives is acceptable, harmless, or private business. We recognize that violent acts within families have significant negative consequences for society at large. Currently, antibullying programs and laws have become increasingly present with the aim of stopping the widespread victimization of children by children. Perhaps the only remaining form of socially sanctioned violence against children is when it is perpetrated by a brother or sister.

Research has demonstrated this widespread perception that sibling violence is normal (Hardy, 2001; Hardy et al., 2010; Kettrey & Emery, 2006; Skinner & Kowalski, 2013). For example, Kettrey and Emery (2006) reported that the language used to describe violent acts between siblings tempers its perceived severity. As a whole, their sample of college students used less harsh labels for behaviors that would be categorized as violent using the standardized Conflict Tactics Scales. Moreover, this perception that sibling physical aggression is normal seems to influence parenting. For example, Tucker and Kazura (2013) found that parents intervene less with physical than with nonphysical forms of sibling conflict.

Even when perceived as serious, Khan and Rogers (2012) reported that sibling violence was viewed as less problematic than other types of interpersonal aggression, such as date, peer, or stranger. Participants' personal experiences shaped this perception. Those with more sibling victimization experiences during childhood viewed sibling violence as less severe, and victims more blameworthy, than respondents with no sibling victimization.

This view that sibling aggression is normal reflects social beliefs as a whole, but experiencing a violent sibling relationship directly also shapes perceptions of acceptance. For example, Hardy, Beers, Burgess and Taylor (2010, p. 69) reported that sibling violence perpetrators of both sexes, but particularly females, viewed the hostility as more acceptable than victims. Comparatively, male victims were found to view the violence as more acceptable than female victims. Viewing sibling violence as acceptable likely minimizes the perception of its impact. For example, in a study by Skinner and Kowalski (2013), perpetrators underestimated the effects of their victimizing behavior. Their long-term effect on their victims' (i.e., siblings') self-esteem was significantly greater than what they assumed. Viewing sibling aggression as normal may likely be a widespread strategy for rationalizing violent experiences.

Perhaps the most common rationalization to support sibling aggression is that it fosters "toughness" and readies them to deal with peer aggression, despite the lack of any empirical evidence to support this (Caspi, 2012, p. 7). In fact, victimization does not produce "tough" people but rather is injurious to self-esteem and social relationships, among its many detriments (p. 7). Moreover, support for sibling aggression for this purpose risks hurting sibling relationships. Positive sibling relationships have many developmental benefits (Kramer, 2011) which are more useful than potential but improbable toughness.

The "psychology of sibling violence" is unique in that it creates a different standard for what we view as violent behavior – one that is dependent on who the perpetrator is. The very same behaviors that are considered violent in one relationship are dismissed as normal in another. The outcome of this double standard is that it obstructs the development of coherent research, treatment, and education practices, further confounded by the lack of a common language.

Definitions and Subtypes

No universal definition for what constitutes sibling violence exists. Instead, the literature contains a wide array of terms to refer to problematic aggression between siblings. These include violence (Reid & Donovan, 1990), conflict (Graham-Bermann et al., 1994), abuse (Caffaro & Conn-Caffaro, 1998; Morrill & Bachman, 2013), bullying (Skinner & Kowalski, 2013), hostility (Stocker, Ahmed, & Stall, 1997), rivalry (Prochaska & Prochaska, 1985), antagonism (Murphy, Troop, & Treasure, 2000), agonistic behaviors (Goodwin & Roscoe, 1990), victimization (Finkelhor & Jones, 2006) and maltreatment (Whipple & Finton, 1995). These terms have been used interchangeably with little consistency creating challenges for understanding the nature and prevalence of sibling aggression (Krienert & Walsh, 2011a, p. 332). Childhood aggression in general is complex with diverse conditions, etiologies and consequences, which in part may explain the numerous constructs used to describe it (Connor, 2002). Sibling aggression suffers the same challenges.

In an effort to begin achieving some consistency in the sibling violence discourse, and because sibling aggression is unique from other forms of interpersonal hostility (e.g., domestic violence, parental abuse of children), Caspi (2012) offered the term *sibling aggression* as an umbrella construct to refer to potentially problematic behaviors that rage from nonviolent competition to abusive domination. The construct is divided into four subcategories that distinguish degrees of a severity that progress from milder to more severe forms; competition, conflict, violence, and abuse. As an important aside, the popular "sibling rivalry" is seen as problematic as it does not differentiate the mild from extreme aggression, nor does it distinguish conflict over shared living space with competition for parental investment. It is not a useful construct or measure because it does not make such distinctions. As such, Caspi (2012) recommends the term be put to rest in favor of more discrete constructs.

The four subtypes of sibling aggression are briefly reviewed here, beginning with nonviolent forms and progressing incrementally in severity to the most problematic type, abuse. Below is a continuum that illustrates for the four sub-types of aggression with severity increasing from left to right that represents and extension of Caspi's (2012) conceptualization. It highlights that competition and conflict can be constructive or destructive, while violence and abuse are both destructive. Finally, it distinguishes sibling violence and abuse in regard to whether or not the aggression reflects a mutual or unidirectional process.

Continuum of Sibling Aggression

Competition	*Conflict*	*Violence*	*Abuse*
Constructive or combative*	Constructive or destructive*	Mutual and destructive	Unidirectional and destructive

*Possible precursor to violence

Competition

"Sibling competition generally involves nonviolent behaviors aimed at winning in a particular area or activity, without the intent to physically or psychologically harm the other" (Caspi, 2012, p. 2). Competition between siblings is considered developmentally normal,

important, and healthy. However, the view that it is beneficial in sibling relationships represents another unique feature of the psychology of sibling violence. Competition in other family relationships (e.g., spouses, parents and their children), and between romantic partners, have been noted (e.g., Laner, 1989) but not considered beneficial. Laner (1989) viewed competitiveness as efforts to exert relational control, but also distinguished between "pleasant" and "unpleasant" competition. Unpleasant competition was considered to be *combative* and problematic.

Sibling competition has developmentally important benefits, including enhanced skills, motivation, and social competence (Davis & Meyer, 2008; Sulloway, 1996). The famous professional football quarterbacks, Eli and Peyton Manning are examples of how sibling competition may contribute to success. Having a sibling who is more adept in a particular endeavor (e.g., baseball, gymnastics, music) is typically not injurious, and often a source of pride. Experiencing competition encourages self-appraisal of competence and contributes to making realistic choices about both current and future endeavors. Competition can be experienced as supportive and include the shared objective of mutual growth. It can also promote bonding.

Conversely, combative competition can be harmful as the objective is to raise one's own perception of self-worth by diminishing another's. When sibling competition is combative it is about exerting relational control and diminishing the other's self-esteem. Sibling combativeness fosters negativity and risks escalation to destructive conflict and violence (Caspi, 2012). Finally, overly competitive siblings are often an ongoing aggravation to parents and contribute to unpleasant family environments, resentment and lack of support between members (Davis & Meyer, 2008).

Conflict

Similar to competition, conflict can be both constructive and destructive (Howe et al., 2002). Ross and colleagues (2006) distinguish both types of conflict by defining destructive conflict as hostile, unresolved, and actions that hurts relationships, whereas "constructive conflict includes reasoning, resolutions of differing goals, and enhanced interpersonal understanding" (p. 1730). Conflict differs from other levels of aggression as it typically grows out of frustration rather than enacted for the purpose of systematic domination and it is typically limited to verbal attacks with sporadic brief physical acts that are not intended to do real harm (e.g., grabbing the television remote, slapping).

Conflict between siblings is exceptionally common (Recchia, Wainryb, & Howe, 2013). It is also a major source of annoyance to parents (Pakula, 1992; Ralph et al., 2003). Constructive sibling conflict has developmental advantages. It increases closeness and social and emotional competence (Bedford, Volling, & Avioli, 2000), which has many potential long-term benefits for future peer, romantic and other relationships. Destructive conflict, on the other hand, is linked to developmental detriments such as conduct problems and sibling negativity (Rinaldi & Howe, 1998; Garcia et al., 2000). Whether sibling conflict is more constructive or destructive – as all relationships likely contain both – seems to be tied to the quality of sibling relationships. Warm and supportive siblings seem to use more constructive strategies, whereas poor relationships rely more on destructive tactics (Stormshak, Bellanti, & Bierman, 1996; Ross et al., 2006; Recchia & Howe, 2009).

Most sibling conflicts are over shared living (e.g., possessions) and invasion of personal space rather than about favor and fairness (Campione-Barr & Smetana, 2010; McGuire, Manke, Eftekhari, & Dunn, 2000; Raffaeli, 1992). Not surprisingly, parents frequently involve themselves in sibling conflict and the ways in which they enter their children's disagreements often serves to complicate rather than resolve them (Perlman & Ross, 1997; Tucker & Kazura, 2013). Parental favoritism and differential treatment have been found to be increase sibling conflict (e.g., Brody et al., 1998; Updegraff et al., 2005a; Volling & Elins, 1998). It is common for parents to intervene to protect the younger child, a pattern that may increase sibling conflict (Felson & Russo, 1988).

Like other forms of interpersonal aggression, sibling hostility is prone to escalating from destructive conflict into violent behavior. Caspi (2012) recommends that practitioners and families address negativity early as a step toward preventing violence and abuse. For example, very young children lack skills of cognitive reasoning or behavioral restraint (Newman, 1994) and may resort to violent tactics (e.g., shoving, hitting) to managing disputes. Destructive conflict should be addressed early as children will likely increasingly rely on progressively aggressive strategies to manage their relational disagreements. As Caspi (2012) states, "conflict should not be taken less seriously than violence, as it can be frequent and intense, and is often a precursor to violence" (p. 4).

Violence and Abuse

This section of the chapter provides an overview of sibling violence and abuse; behaviors intended to do harm to a brother or sister. The literature typically uses these terms interchangeably and accordingly the following discussions of prevalence and consequences are derived from research that does not necessarily distinguish between these constructs. They, however, *should* reflect different levels of aggression. As indicated earlier in this chapter, Caspi (2012) makes the distinction in terms of the direction of the aggression:

> Violence reflects mutual or bidirectional aggression, in which both siblings' aim is to harm the other, in the context of a perceived egalitarian relationship. Abuse is unidirectional hostility where one sibling seeks to overpower the other via a reign of terror and intimidation and reflects an asymmetrical power arrangement. The intent of abusive behavior is control, intimidation and the overpowering of another. (p. 5)

It is probable that most sibling violence can be considered abuse. Unless siblings are twins, triplets or some other multiple, they are not the same age, and rarely the same size, or equal in terms of cognitive development. Siblings experience a complicated pseudo-egalitarian relationship where they are sometimes regarded as equals but in other contexts, such as when alone, they experience asymmetrical power. Based upon inherent power differences, most aggression is likely functionally unidirectional. What looks to observers to be two children equally engaged in a fight may actually be one child initiating the aggression and the other using violent tactics to defend himself or herself. In my over twenty years of experience as a practitioner, I have often observed older and stronger children (particularly boys) enjoy their telling of sibling clashes while their younger and smaller sibling describe the same events with great pain. The antagonists receive a payoff that the younger and weaker

one do not. Sibling violence may be an illusion of mutuality. Efforts need to be made to distinguish the direction of violence, its intent, and the role of power in sibling aggression.

The lack of consistent definitions complicates prevalence determinations. In addition, prevalence estimates are challenged by obstacles typical in the study of interpersonal aggression. Coerced secrecy, threats of further violence, or fear of family disruption interferes with disclosure and identification by children and adolescents. Parents have disincentives for reporting as well. They may believe it is normal, transient (e.g., "just a stage they are going through"), or fear reporting may lead to the intrusion of institutions (e.g., schools, child protective services, mandated therapy). Moreover, there is some evidence that parents actively obstruct efforts at determining its incidence by minimizing serious violence, blaming the victim, and even ardently defending the perpetrator (Randall, 1992; Rosenthal & Doherty, 1984). Further complicating estimates of prevalence are that there are no true systematic mechanisms for tracking sibling aggression. There is no consistent category for sibling violence to be recorded by child protective institutions and determinations of what constitute sibling abuse vary widely (Kominkiewicz, 2004). Occurrences of sibling physical abuse are often recorded as "parental neglect" – the failure of parents to protect a child from harm.

Although all the above suggest that rates may be underestimated, prevalence may be overestimated due to confusing problematic sibling aggression from "rough and tumble play" (Tannock, 2008). Further complicating the determination of prevalence is related to inconsistencies in research methodology and definitions (Krienert & Walsh, 2011a, p. 333), which may result in overestimation or underestimation. Most prevalence reports have been based upon findings from small clinical and retrospective studies, and have relied on only a few examples of national sample, large-scale, research (Finkelhor, Turner, & Ormrod, 2006; Krienert & Walsh, 2011a; Straus, Gelles, & Steinmetz, 1980; Tucker et al., 2013, p. 213). Nevertheless, it is clear that sibling violence and abuse are highly prevalent.

Forms of Sibling Violence and Abuse

As in other forms of interpersonal violence, there are four forms of sibling aggression; physical, sexual, psychological, and social. Each is briefly described here. Definitions, prevalence and the dynamics of each are reviewed.

Physical

Physical violence is the use of deliberate force to inflict physical injury or pain (Caffaro & Conn-Caffaro, 1998; Wiehe, 1997). These include behaviors that range from shoving and slapping to more severe acts such as punching and attacking with a weapon (e.g., gun, knife, blunt object). Estimates of prevalence vary widely but are fairly consistent in suggesting that it occurs in well over a third of all sibling relationships, and throughout the life course. It is most frequent in early childhood and declines with age. This pattern of decrease may be due to living increasingly separate lives and utilizing less physical and more verbal and relational tactics (Tucker et al., 2013, p. 214). Physical injuries increase as sibling age peaks

in adolescence when children are stronger and more likely to utilize weapons (Finkelhor, Turner, & Omrod, 2006; Tucker et al., 2013, p. 220).

Serious attention to sibling violence essentially began with Straus and colleagues' (1980) landmark study which reported, with surprise to many, that it was the most prevalent form of family violence. Approximately 80% of their national sample of 2143 families reported that serious acts of sibling aggression took place within the past year. Since they reported their findings, there has been an array of estimates, many using the "within the past year" criteria as a way of establishing prevalence. For children, prevalence rates have ranged from 30% to 96% (Kolko, Kazdin, & Day, 1996; Miller et al., 2012, p. 172; Roscoe, Goodwin, & Kennedy, 1987), with the highest rates seeming to occur between the ages of six and nine (Tucker et al., 2013). By comparison, the prevalence rates for older adolescents and college-age samples are slightly lower and range between 28–70% (Button & Gealt, 2010; Duncan, 1999; Finkelhor, Turner, & Ormrod, 2006; Goodwin & Roscoe, 1990; Graham-Bermann et al., 1994; Hardy, 2001; Kettrey & Emery, 2006; Rothman et al., 2010; Straus, 1979). Even a focus on only the lowest reported rates still suggests that victimization at the hands of a sibling is experienced by millions of children, adolescents and young adults each year, and is a widespread problem. Sibling physical assault in adulthood has received little attention, but remains a prominent feature of sibling life and too often includes violence and abuse (Caspi, 2012).

A frequent challenge for practitioners, parents and researchers has been deciding whether behaviors are problematic aggression and rough play. Rough play between parents and their children or between intimate partners is widely considered problematic (Sanders, 2004). Sibling rough play, however, is seen as normal, developmentally beneficial, and a socially acceptable strategy for boys to show affection (Gnaulati, 2002). Caspi (2012) recommends allowing playful aggression (e.g., wrestling) but with clear rules for behavior (e.g., wrestling must end immediately when one becomes angry, when one child says the encounter should end the other child stops) because "rough play often quickly changes from fun to anger and violent domination" (p. 7). The objective is to set parameters to prevent escalation from healthy to harmful aggression.

Criteria for distinguishing abusive and nonabusive behaviors have been put forth (Morrill & Bachman, 2013, p. 1696; Wiehe, 1997), which include assessing the frequency, duration, and degree of victimization, and both the actual intent and participants' perceptions of the aggressive acts. If either member perceives the interaction to be harmful, the behavior is problematic (Morrill & Bachman, 2013, p. 1696).

Sexual

Like physical assault, sibling sexual abuse lacks clear and consistent definitional criteria (Carlson, Maciol & Schneider, 2006; Krienert & Walsh, 2011b, p. 355; Morrill, 2014, p. 206). Morrill (2014, p. 206) defines sibling sexual abuse as "sexual behavior between siblings that is not age appropriate, not transitory, and not motivated by developmentally appropriate curiosity" (p. 206). Examples include forced fondling, touching, leering, indecent exposure, forced watching of pornography, sodomy and rape. As with all interpersonal abuse, sibling sexual abuse is an act of domination and an abuse of power (Caspi, 2012, p. 7). To maintain power and secrecy, perpetrators often rely on threats of physical harm or death to the victim or the victim's family, pets or prized belongings, and often include the use of weapons, drugs and alcohol (Krienert & Walsh, 2011b).

As an important aside, recent discussion of what constitutes abuse and whether or not some sibling sexual experiences are normative (e.g., based upon natural curiosity) and mutual, has given way to more focus on inherent power differentials. There is increased recognition that sexual encounters between siblings are more typically borne out of these power differences and coercion, and that framing sexual experiences as "playing doctor" may serve to hide and perpetuate abuse (Caspi, 2012, p. 8; Krienert & Walsh, 2011b, p. 369). Accordingly, Caspi (2012, p. 8) recommends abandoning the term *sibling incest*, which suggests potential mutual agreement and participation and serves to confound the destructive nature of encounters, in favor of *sibling sexual abuse*, which implies power differences and exploitation.

Sibling sexual abuse is also plagued by limited research and, consequently, fairly little is known about it (Krienert & Walsh, 2011b, p. 355; Morrill, 2014, p. 206). Evidence suggests, however, that sibling sexual abuse is the most widespread of the intrafamilial sexual abuses (Flanagan, 2003; Welfare, 2008), and may be the most common form of child sexual abuse in general (Morrill, 2014, p. 209). Goldman and Goldman (1988) reported that over half, and Rudd and Herzberger (1999) reported that about a fourth, of child sexual abuse in families was perpetrated by a sibling. Although father-daughter sexual abuse has received the most attention, sibling perpetration seems to be more prevalent (Cawson, Wattam, Brooker, & Kelly, 2000; Krienert & Walsh, 2011b, p. 354).

Between 5–17% of women and approximately 10% of men report having been sexual abused by a sibling (Finkelhor, 1980; Hardy, 2001). Reports have suggested that the most common pattern involves older brothers sexually victimizing their younger sisters (Caffaro & Conn-Caffaro, 1998; Krienert & Walsh, 2011b, p. 363). Morrill and Bachman (2013), however, refer to this understanding as a "gender myth." In their study of 335 college students, sisters were more likely to be perpetrators than brothers (p. 1701). Same-sex sibling sexual abuse has received almost no attention (Krienert & Walsh, 2011b, p. 358), although some evidence suggests it may account for 20–25% of cases (Caffaro & Conn-Caffaro, 2005; Krienert & Walsh, 2011b, p. 363).

Krienert and Walsh (2011b) used eight years of nationally aggregated data from the National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS) to examine sibling sexual abuse. Because NIBRS involves data culled from police reports, it relies on legal definitions of criminal incidents. Of the 13 013 incidents of sibling sexual abuse reported to law enforcement, most victims were female (71%), were younger than the offender (95%), under the age of 13 (82%) with a mean age of 8 years old, and involved biological siblings. About one-fourth of the incidents included a stepsibling. Offenders had a mean age of 12 years, and for about ¼ of the sample age spacing was less than 5 years. It is interesting to note that 10% involved multiple offenders, suggesting that sibling victimization is more complex than the single offender-single victim. Little exploration of the number of offenders and the factors that support this phenomenon exists in the literature.

Krienert and Walsh (2011b) provides the only sibling sexual abuse study using national data, and provides perhaps the most comprehensive report about this form of victimization. However, because it used police reports, it does not offer insight into the nature or prevalence of unreported cases. Fear of disclosure and family disruption, changing perceptions of the meanings of sexual encounters, and inconsistent and unclear notions of what constitutes sibling sexual abuse, all complicate understandings of sibling sexual abuse. Child victims of sibling sexual abuse are less likely to disclose

than victims of other types of sexual abuse (Carlson, Maciol & Schneider, 2006). Victims are often confused by sexual encounters with siblings, and whether or not they are abusive (Carlson, Maciol, & Schneider, 2006; Hardy, 2001), or whether they were coerced or willing partners, particularly if they are young and do not comprehend the implication of the interaction and the act brings about stimulating physical responses (e.g. "feels good") (Caspi, 2012, p. 8).

Males are less likely to disclose (Lisak, 1994) and may be victimized in ways that are not understood as sexual abuse or captured by research definitions. As an example, male victimization can often include genital assault (Finkelhor et al., 2005). However, this behavior may not be readily understood as sexual violence, as it would be with female victims (Cantalupo, 2014). Moreover, a common "game" between boys, even when friends, is to try to cause harm to each other's genitalia (e.g., punching, throwing a ball at the pelvic area). Given the power dynamics of sibling relationships, such aggression may constitute sexual rather than physical abuse. There is some indication that girls may more frequently than boys be the perpetrators of pelvic assault against male youth (Finkelhor & Wolak, 1995), and that siblings are perhaps the most common perpetrators (Finkelhor et al., 2005), however no research has yet to specifically examine male genital assault perpetrated by siblings.

Consequences   The negative effects of sibling sexual abuse are taken up here and separate from those linked to physical aggression (which are reviewed later in this chapter) as they represent related but considerably different phenomenon. Sibling sexual abuse has known negative effects that include guilt, shame, lower self-concept, low self-esteem, promiscuity, age-inappropriate knowledge of sexual behavior, substance abuse, eating disorders, revictimization, high anxiety and post-traumatic stress reactions (Carlson, 2011; Carlson, Maciol, and Schneider, 2006; Hardy, 2001; Morrill, 2014). Long-term consequences, which were mostly derived from research using females, include distrust of men, and the perception that a normal life is not possible, post-traumatic stress disorder, eating disorders, substance abuse, low self-esteem, suicide, and problems with intimate relationships in adulthood (Canavan, Meyer, & Higgs, 1992; Cafarro, 2011; Finkelhor, 1980; Phillips-Green, 2002; Morrill, 2014; Wiehe, 1997). Despite evidence of these consequences, sibling sexual abuse remains a seriously underexamined form of maltreatment.

Psychological

Psychological, also referred to as verbal and emotional, abuse involves nonphysical behaviors that aim to psychologically injure the victim. Behaviors include name calling, belittling, mean teasing, and threatening injury to others, pets, or property (Caspi, 2012). It has received very little attention by researchers (Martin et al., 1997), but is arguably the most prevalent behavior in sibling conflict (Stormshak, Bellanti, & Bierman, 1996), perhaps occurring at some time in every sibling relationship. In a retrospective study of 27 sibling pairs by Skinner & Kowalski (2013, p. 1730), 83% of victims and 91% of perpetrators reported the use of hurtful teasing. While some have reported low rates of sibling psychological aggression (Tucker et al., 2013, p. 220), it is hard to conceive of physical violence done without an accompanying harmful dialogue, that is, disentangling physical and verbal aggression is challenging. Moreover, it is difficult to separate acts of verbal domination from simple expressions of frustration (Caspi, 2012).

Nevertheless, recipients find verbal assault to be hurtful (Myers & Bryant, 2008). Psychological aggression reaches the level of abuse when it involves repetitive hurtful themes in order to diminish and overpower siblings.

Psychological sibling aggression has been associated with problems of relationship trust, satisfaction, and high anxiety (Mackey, Fromuth, & Kelly, 2010; Martin et al., 1997; Teven, Martin, & Neupauer, 1998). There is some evidence that females are more often victims than males (Teven, Martin, & Neupauer, 1998). Keery et al. (2005) reported that female victims were found to have higher body dissatisfaction, lower self-esteem, higher depression, and bulimic behaviors. The hurtful words of childhood are often internalized and stay with victims throughout their life (Wiehe, 1997). Because aggression typically escalates, Caspi (2012) highly recommends that practitioners and parents institute "no name calling, insults, or threats" rules and teach prosocial behavior as a means for preventing physical forms of sibling violence and abuse.

Threats and Injury to Personal Property A form of psychological aggression involves threats to, and actual, property damage. Most conflicts between siblings, particularly when close in age, involve conflict over shared living, which includes items of ownership (Finkelhor et al., 2005; Martin & Ross, 2005), which can involve personal property damage and theft (Tucker et al., 2013). Finkelhor et al. (2005) reported a "considerable quantity" of property vandalism and robberies by siblings (p. 14). It seems to be most common in early childhood before the cognitive skills of sharing, problem solving, and recognizing boundaries of ownership are developed. However, the threat of property damage is often terrorizing, and involves intent to cause psychological harm and to overpower. Property violations are associated with lower sibling relationship quality (Campione-Barr & Smetana, 2010).

Social

Social aggression, also called relational and indirect aggression, is recognized as a unique form of interpersonal hostility. It involves nonphysical behaviors that intend to injure victims through tactics to socially isolate them. It differs from psychological maltreatment in that it is typically not done face to face and its occurrence is sometimes unknown to the victim. Examples include starting rumors, persuading a group to ignore the victim, restrict the victim out of social events (e.g., not invited to a large party), pranking the victim in public places, and posting humiliating information or images using cyberbullying tactics.

Although most research has investigated social aggression between peers, a few studies have included sibling data. For example, Stauffacher and DeHart (2005) found that preschoolers used more relational aggression with siblings than peers, and suggest that siblings teach such behavior via modeling. O'Brien and Crick (2003) reported that school-aged children utilized social aggression more frequently with siblings than physical or verbal tactics. There does not seem to be significant gender differences in its use with siblings (Card et al., 2008), although children's sex and sibling birth may influence social aggression with peers (Ostrov et al., 2006). Yu and Gamble (2008) reported that positive family environment is linked to less sibling social aggression, whereas perceived maternal psychological control that involves shaming and conditional approval, has more.

Interestingly, research on peer social aggression suggests that it is associated with higher prosocial behavior (Card et al., 2008). This may have implications for sibling

relationships in that social aggression behaviors may be enacted by more socially sophisticated children, who are often found more likeable to both peers and adults. Being openly and directly hostile to siblings in front of parents comes with risks. Socially astute children may utilize indirect methods to preserve their social standing with parents while doing harm to their brothers and sisters.

Causes and Consequences

Why do siblings engage in aggressive acts? A comprehensive theory to explain sibling aggression is still yet to be fully developed (Caspi, 2012). A few frameworks have been applied to explain sibling hostility including evolutionary (Sulloway, 1996), psychodynamic (Adler, 1964; Levy, 1939), and behavioral (Patterson, 1986), perspectives. Hoffman and Edwards (2004) put forth an integrated theory, with some empirical support (Hoffman, Kiecolt, & Edwards, 2005), that draws upon feminist, conflict, and social learning frameworks. While the focus of sibling research has not been to inform theory development, a review of factors linked to sibling aggression demonstrates that it is mostly "all in the family" (Erikson & Jensen, 2006). Accordingly, Caspi (2012) put forth a sibling theory that integrates primarily family systems and evolutionary perspectives. It focuses on five family dynamics that support sibling aggression, such as parental differential treatment and favoritism, comparison, ineffective supervision, parental support for aggression, and family negativity.

Factors Linked to Sibling Aggression

The mechanisms and processes that underlie sibling aggression are not well understood or researched (Tucker et al., 2013). The factors presented here were derived from the extant literature which varies widely in methodologies, definitions, foci, and rigor. Factors are conceptually different from consequences in that they are intended to reflect causes or reciprocal associations that exacerbate sibling aggression. The following review attempts to arrange factors into conceptual categories that include family system, parenting, individual, constellation and contextual. The factors presented here can be considered to be risk factors that can inform practice and research.

Family System Factors

Most factors that support sibling aggression seem to be linked to family dynamics such as negative and conflictual parent-child relationships (Hoffman, Kiecolt, & Edwards, 2005), parent hostility (Williams, Conger, & Blozis, 2007), low family cohesion and family chaos (Brody, Stoneman, & McCoy, 1994; Eriksen & Jensen, 2006; Kretschmer & Pike, 2009), and financial stress (Hardy, 2001; Williams et al., 2007). Marital dissatisfaction, conflict, violence and abuse have been linked to problem sibling aggression (Haj-Yahia & Dawud-Noursi, 1998; Hotaling, Straus, & Lincoln, 1990; Stocker, Ahmed, & Stall, 1997; Stocker & Youngblade, 1999). Couples' conflicts commonly involve family triangulation, crossgenerational parent-child coalitions, and split-parent identification (Schachter, 1985; Vuchinich, Wood, & Vuchinich, 1994). Such patterns present a potent risk factor for child maladjustment (Fosco & Grych, 2010), and likely

connected to sibling hostility (Haskins, 2003; Kerig, 1995; Kiselica & Morrill-Richards, 2007). Parents who act to protect children from their siblings are engaging in problematic triangulation and side-taking behavior that risks exacerbating sibling aggression (Felson & Russo, 1988).

Research on family structure and sibling aggression provides inconsistent findings. Biological siblings have been found to be more aggressive than half- or step-siblings (Deater-Deckard, Dunn, & Lussier, 2002; Hetherington & Stanley-Hagan, 1999). However, Finkelhor, Ormrod, & Turner (2007) found that polyvictimization, which may include harm perpetrated by siblings, occurs more in step- and single-parent families than traditional two-parent and single-parent families. Deater-Deckard, Dunn, & Lussier (2002) also found support for higher sibling hostility in single-mother families, while others found no link with marital status (Hardy, 2001; Tucker et al., 2013).

Parenting Factors

Parenting involvement in their children's lives can be both helpful and hindering to sibling relationships. Problematic involvement, such as parental differential treatment, particularly when its reasons are not understood by the children, is linked with sibling aggression (Boll, Ferring & Filipp, 2005; Brody et al., 1998; Kowal & Kramer, 1997; Kowal, Krull & Kramer, 2006; Updegraff, Thayer, Whiteman, Denning, & McHale, 2005b). Differential treatment is likely exacerbated by family stress (Crouter, McHale, & Tucker, 1999). Sibling aggression also appears linked to active parent comparisons of their children, particularly using polarized or complementary labeling such as bad/good and easy/difficult (Feinberg & Hetherington, 2001; Schachter, 1985; Schachter & Stone, 1985). Comparisons may be more intense when parents encourage sameness (Caspi, 2012), and when children – often encouraged by their parents – employ similar strategies for winning parental attention (Sulloway, 1996).

Low parental involvement also appears problematic. Lack of supervision (Whipple & Finton, 1995), not intervening in sibling conflict (Bennett, 1990), dismissing child-voiced claims of maltreatment (Wiehe, 1997), and not teaching, giving attention to, or praising prosocial behaviors (Bryant & Crockenberg, 1980; Kramer, 2011; Caspi, 2012) all likely exacerbate sibling aggression. Boredom, which arises from poor supervision and lack of stimulation, is also a likely predictor (Prochaska & Prochaska, 1985).

Siblings' use of violence has also been tied to parents who engage in violence. Parental abuse and neglect of children, parents' use of violence to resolve parent-child conflict (Button & Gealt, 2010; Graham-Bermann et al., 1994; Wiehe, 1997), parental approval of aggression (Rosenthal & Doherty, 1984), and possibly corporal punishment (Eriksen & Jensen, 2006), have all been linked to sibling aggression.

The Influence of Mothers and Fathers Research has focused on the role of mothers more than fathers, and that is reflected by the associations presented here. For example, maternal self-criticism and depression have been linked to sibling aggression (Garcia et al., 2000; MacKinnon-Lewis et al., 1997; Miller et al., 2012, p. 172; Volling & Belsky, 1992) as have coercive, rejecting, and overcontrolling maternal behaviors (Eriksen & Jensen, 2006; Yu, 2008). Although some have found low maternal education to also be linked (Ensor et al., 2010), others have reported that higher parental education may be a factor (Tucker et al., 2013).

Although understudied, fathers have been shown to be an important factor in sibling aggression (Caffaro, 2011). For example, differential treatment by fathers (Brody & Stoneman, 1994), particularly when they favor later born sisters (Updegraff et al., 2005b) are associated with sibling hostility. Low father involvement also seems connected (Updegraff et al., 2005b). Father-perpetrated violence toward their children is a predictor of sibling aggression (Miller et al., 2012; Noland, Liller, McDermott, Coulter, & Seraphine, 2004), whereas father warmth may prevent it (Caffaro, 2011).

Individual Factors

Individual factors have also been linked to perpetration of sibling aggression. For victims, individual outcomes are typically understood as consequences, which are taken up in the next section. Little is known about whether personal traits are connected with sibling victimization, however it is linked to polyvictimization from other sources (Turner, Finkelhor, & Ormrod, 2010). Psychological distress from sibling victimization and other sources is a risk factor for revictimization (Cuevas, Finkelhor, Clifford, Ormrod, & Turner, 2010). Mental health problems are also linked to sibling hostility (Linares, 2006, p. 104), although it is not clear whether they precede, follow or represent reciprocal sibling violence processes. Similarly, Krienert and Walsh (2011a) found that alcohol and drug use were frequent in adolescent sibling aggression, but again, the time order of the variables is unclear.

Perpetrators of sibling violence, as in other forms of severe aggression, often lack empathy for their victims and possess aggressive temperaments (Kahn & Cooke, 2008; Munn & Dunn, 1988; Silverman, 1999). There are conflicting findings about sibling perpetrator self-esteem with some research showing lower (e.g., Hanson et al., 1992) and others higher (Graham-Bermann et al., 1994) levels than peers. Some have suggested that perpetrators may engage in sibling violence as a strategy for satisfying unmet needs for physical contact in families where little emotional warmth exists (Bank & Kahn, 1997; Haskins, 2003). Finally, similar to peer bullying, it is not uncommon for sibling offenders to also be victims of sibling aggression (Caffaro & Conn-Caffaro, 2005).

Constellation Factors

Constellation variables refer to age, age spacing (i.e., the number of years between siblings), birth order, and gender; all of which have been linked to sibling aggression. Age is associated with problematic sibling aggression (reviewed earlier in this chapter). Siblings close in age is associated with increased conflict and physical aggression (Aguilar, O'Brien, August, Aoun, & Hektner, 2001; Krienert & Walsh, 2011a, p. 336; Noland et al., 2004; Tucker et al., 2013, p. 218). Krienert and Walsh (2011a) reported that wide age spacing (i.e., more than 5 years' difference) was associated with greater injury (334). Their research also suggested that perpetrators with wider age spacing were more likely to be female, whereas males were more likely to be offenders when sibling pairs were close in age (334). Overall, Krienert and Walsh (2011a) reported that males were far and away the most frequent offenders of serious sibling violence. Using a national database of reported incidents of sibling victimization (N = 33 066 incidents), in which there was a clear offender and victim, Krienert and Walsh (2011a) reported that 73% of offenders were male and 27% were female. Recently, however, Morrill and Bachman

(2013) have reported that perpetration was carried out by sisters more than brothers (1701). Others have reported that it is the presence of a male that significantly increases the likelihood of sibling aggression (Ensor et al., 2010; Hoffman Kiecolt, & Edwards, 2005; Lockwood, 2002; Randall, 1992). In Krienert and Walsh's (2011a) national study of police reports, both males and females offend against females (p. 339). Males were over five times more likely to use firearms, whereas female offenders more likely to use a knife (p. 339). Others have found no gender differences for sibling aggression (Dunn & Kendrik, 1981; Natsuaki et al., 2009). Findings related to gendered patterns of perpetration and victimization has been mixed and needs continued investigation.

Although limited, research has suggested that earlier birth order positions are more likely to be aggressors (Martin & Ross, 1995), which makes sense as they are typically larger and stronger. Older children are frequently placed in sibling caregiving roles, typically without much instruction or parental support and may turn to their position of larger size and strength to manage younger sibling challenges to authority. Sibling caregiving has been linked to sibling aggression (Baum, 1998). Younger children model older siblings' aggressive behavior (Patterson, 1986), and a "cascading" dynamic has been identified for sibling aggression abuse (Weihe, 1997). However, Caspi (2012) raised the potential pattern of first- and third-born coalitions against middle borns, or "jump pairs," based on evidence of first-third born similarity (Schachter, Gilutz, Shore, & Adler, 1978) and clinical observations.

Contextual Factors

Contextual factors, such as cultural, ethnic, socio-economic and geographic influences, and societal values regarding oppressed populations (e.g., LGBT, disability) seem to play important roles in sibling aggression. Cross-cultural research on sibling relationships in general, although understudied, has suggested important group differences (Caspi, 2011; Cicirelli, 1995; Goetting, 1986; Steinmetz, 1981; Updegraff et al., 2011; Zukow, 1989). Sibling aggression likely has different meanings, dynamics, and considerations across cultures and social groups (Caffaro & Conn-Caffaro, 1998; Steinmetz, 1981), as it is with other forms of family violence (Malley-Morrison & Hines, 2004). Research into cultural variations for sibling aggression has been essentially nonexistent. In a cross-cultural study of perceptions of sibling aggression, Rapoza et al. (2010) reported that their diverse group of respondents perceived physical violence to be more severe than psychological violence, except for Asian Pacific Americans who held the opposite view. South Asian Americans focused most on beating and hitting and European American on sexual abuse.

The legacy of culture practices such as primogeniture and patriarchy support power relationships that favor male domination (Sulloway, 1996; Hoffman & Edwards, 2004). A study by Finkelhor et al. (2005) reported that Hispanics along with Whites reported higher rates of assaults by siblings than other groups, attributing the differences to male domination practices such as "machismo" (p. 14). In Tucker and colleagues' (2013) national study, sibling victimization in childhood was higher among white than Hispanics or African Americans (p. 220), explaining these differences may be due to varying emphases on familism and differing thresholds for perceived violence. Krienert and Walsh (2011b) reported that female sibling violence perpetrators were more likely to be African American than white.

Violent family and neighborhood environments also influence sibling aggression. Sibling violence has been linked with observing intimate partner violence (Eriksen & Jensen, 2009; Graham-Bermann et al., 1994; Hotaling, Straus, & Lincoln, 1990). For example, in Miller and colleagues' (2012) study of Head Start families, community violence was associated with sibling aggression when high father-child aggression was also present. Caspi (2012) argues that parents from violent neighborhoods may be more likely to view sibling aggression as beneficial because it teaches their children to be "tough," and that it prepares them for what they are likely to encounter on the "streets." Finally, exposure to television violence for preschoolers was linked to sibling aggression, controlling for exposure to intimate partner violence and community violence (Miller et al., 2012, 174).

Other contextual factors, particularly those related to managing the stress of belonging to oppressed groups, can influence sibling hostility. For example, families with lesbian, gay or transgendered individuals may more prone to sibling aggression related to homophobia. Family stress related to having a child with a disability or due to economic pressures are serious considerations for sibling aggression (Goeke & Ritchey, 2011; Hanson et al., 1992; Linares, 2006; Williams, Conger, & Blozis, 2007). For example, poorer families utilize sibling caregiving, which has been linked to sibling aggression (Green, 1984), more than economically fluid families. Interestingly, higher parent education was linked to sibling aggression but this may be due to higher sensitivities to problem sibling behavior (Tucker et al., 2013, p. 220). A qualitative study that explored how siblings managed discrimination experiences reported that poor-quality sibling relationships may become more hostile, whereas good relationships may become closer in the face of bigoted practices (Szweada, 2013). Finally, changing social mores may contribute to sibling tensions as shifts in family roles cause changing expectations for sibling behavior (Sung, Lee, & Park, 2008).

Consequences

There is an emerging body of research that demonstrates that serious sibling aggression has harmful immediate and long-term consequences. A brief review of the short- and long-term effects of problematic sibling aggression is provided here. It is important to note that these consequences were culled from an extant literature which varies greatly in rigor, sampling and terminology. The intent is to provide a general overview of what has emerged in order to inform practice and research directions. As suggested earlier, the lack of longitudinal research on sibling aggression creates difficulties in making interpretations of causal direction. As such, this review attempts to include *likely* consequences based on the authors' judgments of probable direction. However, the following may in fact represent causal or reciprocal factors. Known consequences are instructive for practitioner assessment and the development of intervention programs (Caspi, 2012).

A variety of immediate consequences have been linked to sibling aggression in childhood. In addition to the high rates of physical injury (Finkelhor, Turner & Ormrod, 2006; Krienert & Walsh, 2011b), consequences include a variety of internalizing problems such as increased rates of depression, anxiety, unhappiness, helplessness, medical illness, trauma and destructive thoughts (Deater-Deckard, Dunn, & Lussier, 2002; Duncan, 1999; Ensor et al., 2010; Finkelhor, Turner, & Ormrod, 2006; Rosenthal &

Doherty, 1984). Sibling victimization is associated with having a psychiatric diagnosis (Cuevas et al., 2010). Harmful sibling relationships have been linked to poor relationships with peers (Dunn & McGuire, 1992; Stormshak, Bellanti, & Bierman, 1996;). Many negative consequences occur at school such as misbehavior, academic difficulties and peer bullying (Berndt & Bulleit, 1985; Duncan, 1999; Ensor et al., 2010; Garcia et al., 2000; Kingston & Prior, 1995; MacKinnon-Lewis et al., 1997). Of particular concern is that victims of sibling aggression are more likely to suffer both chronic and polyvictimization (Finkelhor, Turner, & Ormrod, 2006; Turner, Finkelhor & Ormrod, 2010). Recent evidence suggests that early and later childhood victimizations are equally problematic (Finkelhor, Tuner, & Ormrod, 2006), indicating that early childhood sibling aggression should be taken seriously.

Multiple problematic consequences are associated with sibling victimization in adolescence and into adulthood. Similar to childhood, a range of internalizing difficulties are associated (Garey, 1999; Graham-Bermann & Cutler, 1994; Hoffman & Edwards, 2004; Wiehe, 1997). Children who experience sibling abuse are six times more likely to experience a major depressive disorder in adulthood than nonvictims (Kessler & Magee, 1994). However, externalizing behaviors, particularly in the form of interpersonal violence in nonsibling relationships seem to dominate. Many have suggested that sibling violence is a precursor to violence in future other relationships (Caffaro & Conn-Caffaro, 1998; Ensor et al., 2010; Garcia et al., 2000; Gully et al., 1981; Williams, Conger, & Blozis, 2007). For example, there is now a fairly well supported link between sibling and date violence (Simonelli et al., 2002; Noland et al., 2004) and violence against intimate partners (Tyree & Malone 1991). Animal cruelty and assaults on school staff were associated with perpetrating severe sibling abuse that used weapons (Khan & Cooke, 2008). There are also links with substance abuse (Button & Gealt, 2010; Krienert & Walsh, 2011b), although the causal direction is unclear. Delinquency and arrests have also been associated (Bank, Patterson, & Reid, 1996; Morrill-Richards, 2010).

Investigation about the consequences of sibling victimization in late adulthood is nonexistent. It is clear that strong feelings about sibling relationships continue throughout the life course and even rise to elder abuse (Friedman et al., 2011, p. 219; Gibson & Qualls, 2012, p. 27). Whether or not elder sibling aggression represents long-term relationship retaliations, or new dynamics based upon caregiving stress and power shifts, is unknown. The immediate and long-term outcomes associated with problematic sibling aggression are likely similar to other types of childhood victimization (Caspi, 2012). That said, Green (1984) suggests that sibling victimization may be more harmful than parental abuse because victims experience two sources of abuse; from siblings and parental neglect to protect the welfare of their children.

Sibling Aggression in Practice

Few sibling aggression interventions exist despite its high prevalence and harmful consequences. Existing approaches have focused on either stopping violent interactions or promoting prosocial skill development.

Approaches for reducing problematic sibling aggression have been both empirically promising (Adams & Kelley, 1992; Caspi, 2008; Jones, Sloane, & Roberts, 1992; Kelly & Main, 1979; Olson & Roberts, 1987; Reid & Donovan, 1990), and helpful

for providing general practice considerations for severe violence (Caffaro & Conn-Caffaro, 1998; Kiselica & Morrill-Richards, 2007; Wiehe, 1997) and sibling sexual abuse (DiGiorgio-Miller, 1998; Haskins, 2003). No offerings have been put forth to explicitly address social aggression.

Attention has also been given to increasing prosocial skill to lessen sibling negativity and aggression (Brotman et al., 2005; Chengappa et al., 2013; Gentry & Benenson, 1993; Kennedy & Kramer, 2008; Kramer, 2011; Kramer & Radey, 1997; Olson & Roberts, 1987; Siddiqui & Ross, 2004; Smith & Ross, 2007; Tiedemann & Johnston, 1992). Creating positive, warm and supportive sibling relationships has many important developmental benefits (Kramer, 2011), including serving as a "buffer" for coping with difficult environments such as domestic violence, divorce, and peer isolation (Caya & Liem, 1998; East & Rook, 1992; Gass, Jenkins, & Dunn, 2007; Jenkins, 1992; Lucas, 2002).

Caspi (2012) offers a two-tiered comprehensive sibling aggression treatment approach. It includes strategies to both halt problematic interactions *and* to build positive sibling relationships. He argues that a sole focus on building sibling positivity risks continued violence. Similarly, efforts that only aim to stop aggression risk the promotion of distant relationships because siblings may be taught to avoid each other (Kramer, 2004). Substituting distant relationships for violent ones is problematic. Caspi's (2012) task-centered sibling aggression approach targets family dynamics that support problem aggression while also teaching parenting skills that support prosocial development in their children.

Prevention approaches are entirely absent and needed. As discussed earlier, social discourses regarding sibling aggression make it invisible. Prevention efforts much challenge social norms through education programs, public awareness campaigns, including sibling aggression in existing deterrence activities (e.g., antibullying programs) and dissemination of research. Preventions and interventions must be multisystemic and seek to change social climates that support sibling aggression. They must also attend to sociocultural differences (Updegraff, McHale, Killoren, & Rodriguez, 2011). However, little investigation or practice development has targeted cross-cultural and multisystemic treatment.

The Psychology of Practitioners

Professionals grew up and practice in social environments that normalize sibling violence and as such, are likely to hold this psychology of sibling aggression. Graduate programs rarely include sibling aggression content and practitioners frequently underestimate its prevalence and severity (Begun, 1995; Phillips, Phillips, Grupp, & Trigg, 2009). Consequently, it is likely that many of the problems practitioners face may be related to hostile sibling relationships but missed as such. For example, school behavior problems have been associated with sibling hostility. However, without knowing this connection practitioners are likely to view the problem as individual and school related, and not as a victimization issue. Practitioners are also taught to diagnose and understand problems as residing within individuals. As such, they risk making quick and improper diagnoses for children who show aggression towards siblings (e.g., conduct disorder) when family dynamics such as favoritism may be at play. For example, parents who step in to protect their children from older siblings position the older children as outsiders in their relationships with their parents and

siblings. Disfavored individuals and those that hold "outsider" status often behave in strange and sometimes aggressive ways (Caspi, 2012). Rather than viewing aggression as an internal problem, it may reside in such dynamics. There is strong evidence that youth violence prevention programs are not effective when they target only individuals, or view problems as residing within individuals (Mattaini & McGuire, 2006). Many practitioners need to alter their psychology of aggression as a function of individual misbehavior and evaluate sibling and other systems in which the behavior functions. Family and multisystems approaches are recommended here based upon empirical evidence demonstrating links to family and societal practices.

Conclusion

Approximately 80% of individuals grow up with at least one brother or sister (Volling, 2012), and destructive sibling aggression experiences are common. Research suggests that it is the most prevalent form of interpersonal violence with many harmful effects, and yet due to normalization processes, continues to be largely invisible. A developing body of literature is providing an increasingly sophisticated understanding of sibling aggression but much work remains. As a field of study, sibling aggression lacks consistent terminology and definitions, and is plagued by a paucity of national or large-scale data. Similarly, there is a lack of microprocess research and little is understood about the discrete processes and mechanisms that underlie hostile behavior between brothers and sisters. Research on socio-cultural and contextual influences has been almost entirely absent.

Moreover, despite its high prevalence and known deleterious consequences, there have been only a handful of treatment and prevention offerings, all of which have yet to receive substantial empirical support (Caspi, 2012). Prevention programs are non-existent and well developed, multisystemic ones are needed. Sibling aggression information must be systematically included in family violence prevention and parenting initiatives (Button & Gealt, 2010, p. 137). Treatment methods must be developed, tested, and properly disseminated. Sibling aggression has been missing from education settings and absent from policymakers' radars. Graduate programs rarely include sibling aggression content. It is hoped that this chapter highlights the importance of this foremost form of victimization and help foster ongoing research, development of practice treatments and prevention programs, education, and general attention to a serious social problem that remains largely invisible.

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17

Elder Maltreatment

The Theory and Practice of Elder-Abuse Prevention

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By 2050, one-fifth of the US population will be 65 years of age or older (Select Committee on Aging, 1984). Spearheaded by the Administration on Aging (AOA), a federally funded agency of the Department of Health and Human Services, the provision of services to the elderly has increased dramatically in recent years. These services include general services such as access to proper nutrition, transportation, safety and legal assistance, as well as social and emotional support services (Administration on Aging, http://www.aoa.gov, accessed July 19, 2015). Despite these important advances, a shortage of healthcare workers coupled with an overburdened healthcare system has made programming for the prevention and intervention of elder maltreatment difficult to implement. To be effective at meeting the demands of an increasing elderly population, long-term care providers, protective service agencies, and legal authorities must understand the scope of the problem as well as its causes and consequences. Accordingly, the purposes of this chapter are to: (i) describe the prevalence and incidence of elder abuse and neglect in domestic and institutional settings; (ii) summarize the major methodological limitations of elder abuse research; (iii) discuss the risk factors associated with elder maltreatment; and (iv) chronicle the various policy approaches to elder abuse prevention and intervention.

Conceptualizing and Defining Elder Abuse

What is Elder Abuse?

Elder abuse was first defined as "granny bashing" by two reports: Baker (1975) and Burston (1977). These early studies defined granny bashing as physical assault or abuse perpetrated against an elderly person (Steinmetz, 1978). These definitions have since evolved in order to account for alternative types of harm. Table 17.1 provides a timeline of some characteristic examples of elder abuse definitions since the mid-1970s. The American Medical Association's Diagnostic and Treatment Guidelines on

Table 17.1 Some examples of elder abuse definitions over time.

Defining body or individual	Definition	Definitional requirements
(Baker 1975)	Granny battering – physical assault or abuse	It includes physical harm but omits many form of abuse that do not involve direct contact such as neglect and financial exploitation
American Medical Association	"[A]ctions or the omission of actions that result in harm or threatened harm to the health or welfare of the elderly."	It includes battery, psychological abuse, abandonment, exploitation, and neglect and may be intentional or unintentional.
Eastman (1988)	"[T]he physical, emotional or psychological abuse of an older person by a formal or informal carer; the abuse is repeated and is the violation of a person's human and civil rights by a person or persons who have the power over the life of a dependent."	Requires the perpetrator be a caregiver
The Action on Elder Abuse (1995)	"Elder abuse is a single or repeated act or lack of appropriate action occurring within any relationship where there is an expectation of trust which causes harm or distress to an older person."	Requires an expectation of trust
(World Health Organization/ International Network for the Prevention of Elder Abuse 2002) (Bonnie & Wallace 2003)	"[A] single, or repeated act, or lack of appropriate action, occurring within any relationship where there is an expectation of trust which causes harm or distress to an older person."	Accounts for psychological, physical, sexual, economic and neglect. Does not account for domestic violence
	"Intentional actions that cause harm or create serious risk of harm, whether or not intended, to a vulnerable elder by a caregiver or other person who stands in a position of trust to the elder, or failure by a caregiver to satisfy the elder's basic needs or to protect the elder from harm."	Conduct may or may not be criminal; excludes abuse by strangers, most frauds and self-neglect
Title 42 of the Public Health and Welfare Act	"[A]ny action against a person who is 50 years of age or older that constitutes the willful (A) infliction of injury, unreasonable confinement, intimidation, or cruel punishment with resulting physical harm, pain, or mental anguish; or (B) deprivation by a person, including a caregiver, of goods or services with intent to cause physical harm, mental anguish, or mental illness.	Requires willful or intentional behavior
Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act 2010	The knowing infliction of physical or psychological harm or the knowing deprivation of goods or services that are necessary to meet essential needs or to avoid physical or psychological harm.	Requires intentional behavior

Elder Abuse and Neglect define elder mistreatment as "a single or repeated act, or lack of appropriate action, occurring within any relationship where there is an expectation of trust which causes harm or distress to an older person." No single, universally accepted definition of elder maltreatment has been adopted despite many similarities between them (Anetzberger et al., 2005; Walsh & Yon, 2012).

Limitations in Defining Elder Abuse

Efforts to build a knowledge base for effective service delivery have been constrained by the lack of consensus regarding the nature and scope of elder-abuse definitions. Because elder abuse and neglect can occur across multiple settings among a diverse set of relationships and can be committed by a range of perpetrators (Schiamberg et al., 2012), producing one consistent operational definition has proven too difficult (Walsh & Yon, 2012). Each definition incorporates an element of harm resulting from either an intentional act or the failure to protect an older adult (National Research Council, 2003). Less consensus exists with respect to (i) who is elderly; (ii) what actions constitute an injury and (iii) the nature of the victim-abuser relationship.

Who is "Elderly"?   There is no age cutoff that demarcates elder status. This lack of definitional clarity is due primarily to cultural and social myths about the aging process. Federal and state statutes designed to protect older adults from harm or to provide them with services have defined "elderly" in a variety of ways. The Older Americans Act ("OAA"), for example, defines "elderly" as a person aged 60 or over. Some tribal communities consider those who are 55 years or older to be "elderly" for legal purposes. Some states, such as California, define an older adult as a person who is at least 65 years old. The age requirement is also inconsistent in elder abuse research, which has defined "elderly" as 75 (Garre-Olmo et al., 2009), 65 (Pillemer & Finkelhor, 1998), and even as young as 55 (Zink et al., 2006).

What is an Injury?   Determining whether and/or when an injury has occurred can be challenging due to victim characteristics, which vary by age, ethnicity, race, income level, educational attainment and living arrangement (Wyandt, 2004). Health status is a key consideration in determining the infliction of harm. For example, since physical and mental abilities vary widely among this population, some policymakers define "injury" as the failure to take adequate care of an elderly person, most often through neglect. In addition, people have different tolerance levels for abuse and hence what qualifies as an injury differs across individuals. Furthermore, by focusing exclusively on one type of harm to the exclusion of others, the possibility of polyvictimization is overlooked. For example, there is often – but not necessarily – a physical component to sexual abuse, for example forcible rape, and so definitions of sexually abusive behavior can implicitly incorporate physical harm (e.g. Schiamberg et al., 2012). Similarly, the observed or documented abuse may be instrumental only, used to achieve a desired outcome. An example is when an abuser is neglectful for the purpose of coercing an elderly person to relinquish his or her assets (Brandl, 2007; Heisler, 2007). In the future, constructing relevant, comprehensive and inclusive definitions of abuse will require input from the elderly themselves (Walsh & Yon, 2012).

The Nature of the Victim-Abuser Relationship   In the past, the core element of "harm" centered around the relationship between the victim and the abuser. In particular, a perpetrator of elder abuse was considered to be anyone having a close fiduciary relationship that centered on trust. A trust relationship includes any person whom the elderly individual reasonably believes that he or she can trust, including, but not limited to, family members, acquaintances, and professionals.

Most research focusing on family abuse among community-residing adults (Walsh & Yon, 2012) has determined that the trust requirement was implicitly met. It has proven more difficult to apply the trust standard to employees of elder-care facilities because family relations are usually assumed to be more trustworthy than those between friends and/or acquaintances. This is significant because of the impact the latter has on elder health and wellbeing (Schiamberg et al., 2012). These issues are not only methodological; they are also discipline specific. The trust requirement is more of an issue in fields such as public health and nursing. Criminologists, on the other hand, tend to define harm as "injury" irrespective of whether the relationship is trusting or not.

Other Methodological Considerations

In addition to definitional issues, studies of elder abuse have employed a variety of research paradigms, including administering surveys to and/or interviewing service providers and utilizing summary agency data (e.g. Adult Protective Services) or aggregate data across multiple sites. These approaches vary in data-collection techniques, measurement instruments, and types of data used (i.e. qualitative/quantitative). They have therefore yielded conflicting prevalence estimates and conclusions regarding risk and protective factors. For example, studies based on qualitative data have concluded that physical abuse is the most common form of elder mistreatment in family settings whereas other research based on the analysis of agency data has found that neglect and financial exploitation are more prevalent (Neale et al., 1996; Pillemer & Finkelhor, 1998). Furthermore, the lack of random sampling and/or selection biases due to lack of available data has further complicated comparisons across studies (Kosberg, Nahmiash, & Baumhover, 1996; Schiamberg & Gans, 1999). For example, estimates based exclusively on prosecuted cases, which are both infrequent and subject to prosecutorial discretion (Nerenberg, 2002), are not comparable with studies that utilize different data sources. It is also difficult to distinguish "socially acceptable" or noncriminalized forms of abuse from those made punishable by the criminal justice system. Although mandatory elder abuse reporting laws exist in nearly all states, as few as 1 in 14 cases are actually reported to authorities (Lachs & Pillemer, 2004; National Center on Elder Abuse, 1998; Pillemer & Finkelhor, 1998; Rennison & Rand, 2003). In addition, the majority of studies are not generalizable to the US elderly population because their sample is drawn from smaller geographic regions. Finally, a major limitation found in many studies is the reliance on nursing home and support staff or primary caretakers to report the abuse or neglect they witnessed or perpetrated themselves (Pillemer & Moore, 1989; Post et al., 2010). Because of these limitations, data based on official estimates underestimates the prevalence of elder mistreatment. As a result, most scholars have concluded that elder mistreatment is more extensive than reported. To date, existing literature provides no clear guidance about how to remedy these methodological problems.

The Nature and Scope of Elder Abuse

The six major areas of abuse identified by both the World Health Organization (World Health Organization/International Network for the Prevention of Elder Abuse, 2002) and National Center on Elder Abuse (2009) are physical abuse, sexual abuse, emotional or psychological abuse, neglect, abandonment, and financial or material exploitation. Many researchers have called for broader definitions of elder abuse that include self-neglect, domestic violence late in life, spiritual abuse, and medical and healthcare fraud (Beaulieu, Leclerc, & Dube, 2003; Bomba, 2006; Joshi & Flaherty, 2005; McDonald & Collins, 2000; Walsh & Yon, 2012). Some forms of maltreatment are commonly omitted from definitions of abuse. For example, self-neglect is frequently left out on the grounds that it does not involve a perpetrator. Other definitions are clearly overlapping. Domestic violence against older persons can be considered physical elder abuse whereas abandonment is similar to extreme neglect. Furthermore, any form of abuse can occur by itself or in combination with another type of harm (Perel-Levin, 2008). A comprehensive list of the various categories and subcategories of elder abuse frequently found in the literature is given below:

- Physical abuse is defined as an intentional infliction of physical pain or injury sustained from hitting, biting, slapping or striking an elderly person (Jesso & Tutty, 2005; Joshi & Flaherty, 2005; McDonald & Collins, 2000). Physical abuse encompasses a range of different types and victim-offender relationships including parent, spouse, or patient abuse, and violent crimes committed by nonrelatives including homicide.
  - Misuse of restraints includes the chemical or physical control of a resident beyond physician's orders or not in accordance with accepted medical practice (Joshi & Flaherty, 2005).
- Sexual abuse includes a range of nonconsensual sexual acts, including but not limited to physical sex acts, showing an elderly person pornographic materials, forcing someone to watch sexually explicit acts, or to undress.
- Neglect is the failure of a caregiver to meet the needs of an older adult who is unable to meet those needs alone. It includes behaviors such as denying food, water, clothing, shelter, social contact, personal care and hygiene, medical treatment and health aids (Jesso & Tutty, 2005; McDonald & Collins, 2000). This category is sometimes differentiated as follows:
  - Physical neglect is defined as disregard for necessities of daily living. Examples include failure to provide necessary food, clothing, clean linens, or daily care of the resident's necessities (Joshi & Flaherty, 2005).
  - Medical neglect/healthcare fraud/medical abuse consists of the failure to provide medical services for existing medical problems. Examples include ignoring a necessary special diet, not calling a physician when necessary, not being aware of the possible negative effects of medications, or not taking action on a medical problem, for example by withholding medication, over-medicating, or not complying with prescription instructions (Jesso & Tutty, 2005; Joshi & Flaherty, 2005).
  - Abandonment consists of the desertion of an older person by a caregiver.

- ○ Passive neglect is defined as the unintentional mistreatment of the elderly due to the inability of a caregiver to provide proper care. The inability to provide adequate care can be the result of insufficient training, illness or the stress of meeting a frail or dependent person's needs.
- ○ Active neglect is the intentional deprivation of services to the elder person by the caregiver that causes them discomfort and exacerbates any health and psychological issues. This type of behavior derives from deliberate withdrawal of goods and services essential for the wellbeing of the older person such as medicine or food, which results from the caregiver's desire to inflict pain and suffering.
- ○ Self-neglect refers to situations when individuals fail to provide care to themselves. It includes failing to take medication, not eating, bathing or any other behavior that causes harm to oneself.
- ○ Rights abuse is the denial of civil and constitutional rights to a mentally competent older adult (as determined by the legal system).
- Financial abuse involves the unauthorized exploitation of an elderly person's funds or property. Four general types of elder financial abuse include exploitation by individuals in a close relationship with the victim, nursing home theft by employees, fraud, and other types of property crimes (for example, involving material goods or personal property – Payne, 2002). It involves frauds, scams and the misuse of money or property, including convincing the person to buy a product or give away money, stealing money or possessions, misusing bank or credit cards, or creating joint banking accounts, forging a signature on pension checks or legal documents, and misusing a power of attorney (Jesso & Tutty, 2005; Joshi & Flaherty, 2005; McDonald & Collins, 2000).
- Psychological abuse is defined as infliction of mental or emotional suffering, which diminishes the identity, dignity, and self-worth of the older person and may also provoke intense fear, anxiety, or debilitating stress. Psychologically or emotionally abusive acts include forcing older people to do degrading things, controlling their activities, treating them like children, attacking their self-esteem, and intentionally frightening them (Jesso & Tutty, 2005; Joshi & Flaherty, 2005; McDonald & Collins, 2000). This category of violence and abuse is sometimes broken down into the following subcategories:
  - ○ Emotional abuse is the "infliction of anguish, pain or distress through verbal or nonverbal acts" (National Center on Elder Abuse, 2002). The types of harm it encompasses include using derisive and derogatory language, name calling, and exerting control over certain aspects of their time and freedom. It can include treating the older person "like a child." It often includes trying to control a situation by making decisions for the older person.
  - ○ Psychological: When someone uses threats and causes fear to gain control; threatening to harm the person or his or her family if the person leaves; threatening to harm themselves.
  - ○ Verbal: When someone uses language, whether spoken or written, to cause harm to the person. Criticism, cursing, name calling, insults, recalling the person's past mistakes, expressing negative expectations, yelling, and expressing distrust are all forms of verbal abuse.
- Spiritual abuse means restriction or loss of a person's spiritual practices, customs or traditions. It also includes using an older person's religious or spiritual beliefs to exploit them; attacking a person's spiritual beliefs and not allowing

the older person to attend the church, synagogue, or temple of his or her choice (Bain & Spencer, 2009).

- Cultural violence involves harm against a person as a result of practices condoned by his or her culture, religion or tradition, including female circumcision, rape-marriage and sexual slavery. Honor crimes against women are tolerated in many parts of the world; women are maimed or killed for falling in love with the wrong person, seeking divorce, committing adultery or even for being raped (Bain & Spencer, 2009).

Prevalence / Incidence of Elder Abuse

Given the methodological limitations discussed above, the incidence and prevalence of elder abuse is difficult to estimate (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2012). Nevertheless, research has shown that approximately 2 million Americans 65 and older are victims of abuse and mistreatment by someone on whom they depend for care or protection (Bonnie & Wallace, 2003). Estimates of annual elder abuse prevalence lie somewhere between 2% and 32% (see Desmarais & Reeves, 2007, for a review of studies), but most studies report a narrower prevalence, which ranges between 7% and 10% (Biggs et al., 2009; Kurrle, Sadler, & Cameron, 1992; Kurrle et al., 1997; National Center on Elder Abuse, 1998; World Health Organization/ International Network for the Prevention of Elder Abuse, 2002). Elder abuse varies by region as well. An older study based on a random sample of adults in New Jersey found a 1% incidence of abuse (Gioglio & Blakemore, 1983); in Connecticut, Lachs and his colleagues (1997) similarly found that 1.6% of seniors were victims of abuse. Higher rates have been reported in other states such as Maryland (4.1%) and North Carolina (6.2%). The differences are explained by mandatory reporting requirements in recent decades (Gorbien & Eisenstein, 2005), by variations in measurement, and by more-or-less inclusive definitions of abuse (Lachs & Pillemer, 2004). Almost two-thirds of elder-abuse reports involve family members as perpetrators (usually adult children or spouses), and over half represent self-neglect and neglect as the most common forms of elder maltreatment (Teaster, 2006).

Estimates Based on Agency Data

Irrespective of the nature and form of the abuse, agency reports are commonly utilized for exploring the prevalence and incidence of abuse. In the case of elder abuse and neglect, Adult Protective Services (APS) data have been heavily utilized to determine the nature and extent of maltreatment. And, as in the case with agency data in general, regardless of abuse type, APS data yield lower estimates of elder abuse than self-report. The National Elder Abuse Incidence Study (National Center on Elder Abuse, 1998) was the first major investigation of elder mistreatment in the United States. The study, which was based on APS data, found that more than 500 000 persons aged 60 and over were victims of domestic abuse (Lachs, 1998) while 449 924 had been physically abused, neglected or mistreated (Acierno et al., 2010). In a more recent national survey of APS data, Teaster (2006) found that 565 747 reports of elder abuse were made in the preceding year. Thirty-two states had a total of 253 426 reports, or 8.33 reports of abuse for every 1000 people over the age of 60 (Teaster, 2006). According to the National Research Council Panel to Review Risk and Prevalence of Elder Abuse and

Neglect, the best available estimate of elder abuse prevalence is between one and two million Americans over the age of 65, but given significant underreporting the Senate Special Committee on Aging reported that as many as five million Americans are victims of elder abuse, neglect, and/or exploitation every year (Connolly, 2011).

Research has shown that nearly 1 in 3 nursing homes are cited for actions that have the potential to cause harm in violation of federal regulations. On the other hand, about 1 in 10 nursing homes – a smaller but still significant number – were cited for violations that caused serious injury or significant risk of death. In 2010, National Ombudsman Reporting System (NORS) data showed that nursing home complaints most often resulted from physical abuse (29%), followed by psychological abuse (21%), gross neglect (14%), financial exploitation (7%) and sexual abuse (7%) (US Department of Health and Human Services, 2010).

Estimates Based on Self-Report

Elder abuse prevalence estimates based on self-report data are substantially higher than those reflected by official data (i.e. Long-term Care Ombudsman Program). In a study based solely on nursing home residents, 44% said they had been abused and 95% said they had been neglected or seen another resident neglected. More than 50% of nursing home staff who were queried about their own abusive behavior admitted to mistreating older patients within the past year and two-thirds of those incidents involved neglect (Natan, Matthews, & Lowenstein, 2004). A survey of certified nursing assistants found that 17% were physically abusive towards a resident (i.e. pushed, grabbed or shoved), 51% yelled at a resident and 23% had insulted or sworn at a resident (Pillemer & Hudson, 1993). In a study of family reports of abuse, Zhang et al. (2011) identified resident-to-resident abuse in nursing homes as being even more common than staff abuse. In particular, they found that over a 1-year period 10% of nursing home residents were abused by nonstaff (i.e., visitors or other residents). Schiamberg et al. (2012) suggested that nursing home residents who suffer abuse from a fellow resident may be more vulnerable to abuse by a staff member (Schiamberg et al., 2012), and, further, that these interactions do not necessarily occur contemporaneously.

Family reports of abuse in elder care facilities have produced even higher prevalence estimates than those based on self-report. In a random representative study of family members with primary responsibility for an older person in a nursing home in Michigan, 74.2% claimed that a staff or other caregiver perpetrated at least one incident of physical mistreatment, 82% claimed at least one incident of caretaking mistreatment, 83.5% claimed at least one act of verbal mistreatment, 79.5% claimed at least one incident of emotional or psychological mistreatment, 86.9% claimed at least one incident of neglect, 40% claimed at least one incident of sexual abuse, and 71.9% claimed at least one incident of material exploitation (Griffore et al., 2009).

Self-report data are frequently collected in noninstitutionalized settings as well. In an investigation of more than 2000 older Bostonians, Pillemer, and Finkelhor (1998) estimated that between 701 000 and 1 093 560 adults are abused each year, or 32 out of every 1000 elders. Another study found that 4.3% of women aged 50 and older were currently in an abusive relationship (Mouton et al., 1999). In one of the most comprehensive community-based studies of abuse types to date, Acierno et al. (2010) interviewed almost 6000 older adults about a variety of mistreatment experiences including potential neglect and emotional, physical, sexual, and financial abuse. They

found that 1 in 10 respondents reported emotional, physical or sexual mistreatment or neglect in the previous year. Past year prevalence of financial abuse (5.2%) was highest followed by neglect (5.1%), emotional abuse (4.6%), physical abuse (1.6%) and sexual abuse (0.6%). Within each major category of abuse, reports were highest with respect to family members spending money (3.4%), neglecting home or yard (3.4%), being humiliated (4.9%), being hit (1.2%) and being raped (0.4%).

Risk Factors for Elder Abuse

Prior work identifying risk factors for elder abuse and neglect has identified a broad array of individual and contextual correlates. In addition to demographic characteristics, cognitive impairment and depression (Dyer et al., 2000; Podnieks, 1992), mental illness, alcohol abuse, social isolation, and shared living arrangements (Dyer et al., 2000; Hansberry, Chen, & Gorbien, 2005; Lachs et al., 1997; National Research Council, 2003; Shugarman et al., 2003) have received substantial support in the empirical research. Moreover, because risk factors vary with type of abuse, it is important to distinguish the type of maltreatment when discussing risk factors whenever possible.

The Abused: Risk Factors for Elder Abuse Victimization

Sociodemographic variables that have been shown to make a significant and independent contribution to elder abuse and neglect are the victim's age and gender. The few studies analyzing the impact of race, marital status, and living arrangements have produced conflicting results. On this basis, many researchers have concluded that the association between demographic characteristics and abuse is an area in which further investigation is critical. Each risk factor is considered in more detail below.

Socio-Demographic Characteristics

Gender has repeatedly been shown to be associated with elder abuse. Since the 1970s, researchers have reported that women are the most likely victims of elder abuse in general (Wyandt, 2004). In 2002, the World Health Organization's IPNEA study of elder abuse found that gender was a key factor in virtually all forms of abuse. According to a national survey, more than 65% of elder abuse victims are women (NYSCEA, 2011). Females are not only more likely to be abused – they are more likely to be severely abused (Pillemer & Finkelhor, 1998). Variables that confound the relationship between gender and victimization are the association of being female with lower mortality, higher poverty rates (Se'ver, 2009), and the tendency to stay mired in abusive relationships. Pillemer's study, which found that men are more likely to be victims of abuse in nursing homes, is one exception to research showing that women are more commonly victimized than men (Payne & Cikovic, 1995; Pillemer et al., 2003). This finding may be the result of the higher reporting of abuse against women. Nevertheless, abuse among elderly male victims is both real and substantial (Kosberg, 1998).

In addition to gender, some research has shown that race, marital status, presence of children and living arrangements are also related to abuse profiles. Younger "older"

individuals, particularly those under age 70 (Acierno et al., 2010) are believed to experience emotional, physical, and financial mistreatment at lower rates than "older" elderly. In their analysis of APS data, for example, Jackson and Hafemeister (2010) found that the risk of financial exploitation increased 2% with each additional year the victim aged. Few studies consider the role of racial and ethnic identification of the victim, however one such study conducted by Laumann and his associates did find a relationship between being African American or Latino and elder victimization. In particular, they found that elder African Americans, especially those in poor health, were at an increased risk of victimization while similarly situated Latinos were at a decreased risk as compared to elderly from other ethnic groups (Laumann, Leitsch, & Waite, 2008). Finally, victims of physical abuse and financial exploitation have been shown to be more likely to be widowed, childless and living alone while victims of physical abuse are more likely to be living with others.

Individual Characteristics of Abuse

Cognitive Ability

One of the most consistent findings in the elder abuse literature is that individuals who are severely cognitively impaired are more likely to be both abused and neglected. According to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (2011), individuals with a cognitive impairment have trouble remembering, learning new things, concentrating, or making decisions that affect their everyday life. Cognitive impairment ranges from mild to severe, and is often related to other health issues such as depression, vitamin deficiency, Alzheimer's and related dementias. Research has shown that elderly people with mental health issues are as much as 31% and 23% more likely to be physically abused and neglected, respectively. Abuse prevalence among dementia patients in nursing homes is also significantly higher than it is in the general population aged 65 and older (Anetzberger, 2000). More specifically, Jackson and Hafemeister (2010) found that victims suffering from confusion/dementia were 40% more likely to be neglected than those without confusion/dementia. Individuals with communication deficits, commonly found among the elderly who are afflicted by dementia, have been shown to be 60% more likely to be neglected than those without communication deficits.

Physical Health

Several studies have documented the relationship between activities of daily living (ADL), instrumental activities of daily living (IADL), general poor health, and elder mistreatment. Beach and his colleagues found that increased older adult needs for assistance with ADL/IADL limitations is significantly associated with potentially harmful caregiver behavior (Beach et al., 2005). In addition, inability to perform ADL activities and limitations on mobility have both been shown to be strongly related to the use of physical restraints (Bredthauer et al., 2005; Hamers, Gulpers, & Strik, 2004). More recent studies found that poor health and functional impairment predicted neglect but not physical abuse (Fulmer et al., 2005; Podnieks, 1992). The precise role of the victim's physical status remains unclear (Lachs & Pillemer, 2004). On the other hand, certain medical conditions such as diabetes or hypertension have not been associated with an increased risk for abuse (Dyer et al., 2000).

Behavior Problems

Problematic behavior is related to the likelihood of being abused, especially in nursing homes. In particular, provocative or disruptive behavior, such as hitting, pinching, kicking, scratching, grabbing, inappropriate touching, making verbal threats, pulling hair or throwing objects has repeatedly been shown to be characteristic of victims (Pillemer & Moore, 1989). Verbal provocation or physically aggressive behaviors that are symptomatic of, but not exclusive to, individuals with severe cognitive impairments such as Alzheimer's disease are known risk factors for harmful caregiver behavior (Cohen-Mansfield & Werner, 1999). Results from interviews with nursing-home professionals have shown that stress, patient conflicts, and patient aggression toward staff were contributing factors to the physical abuse of residents. In addition, several studies have found that individuals with substance abuse issues have an increased risk of being both a victim (Homer & Gilleard, 1990; Hwalek, Goodrich, & Quinn, 1996; Shugarman et al., 2003) and a perpetrator (Reis & Nahmiash, 1998) of abuse.

Relational Correlates of Abuse

In addition to physical/mental health and abusive behavior, social factors such as dependence on the abuser and lack of social connections and support are risk factors for abuse.

Social Connections and Support

Healthy social connections with family and peers have consistently been shown to be integral for overall health and wellbeing. A significant body of research has found support for the association between lacking social networks, social isolation and elder abuse (Lachs & Pillemer, 2004; Shugarman et al., 2003). In one study, victims were three times more likely to be isolated from family and friends as compared to nonvictims (Acierno et al., 2010; Schiamberg et al., 2012). Lack of social support networks can strain relationships and increase feelings of hopelessness and depression. There is abundant evidence for the link between elder abuse and limited social connections of older adults in community settings (Lachs, 1998; Lachs & Pillemer, 1995). Fewer studies have addressed this link in nursing homes (Nerenberg, 2002; Tarbox, 1983). One study did find that social isolation was a risk factor for elder abuse in nursing homes, especially for older adult without significant contact with family or peers (Menio, 1997).

Dependence on Abuser

The quality of a victim's relationship with his or her abuser and the nature of the elder-caregiver role are both relational risk factors for abuse. In particular, individuals who perceive themselves as dependent on their caregiver have been found to be significantly more likely to be either neglected or abused compared to those who do not. The dependency that derives from a history of being abused is also a major consideration of risk. In one study, for example, elder abuse victims have been shown to be more likely to have experienced childhood family violence. The victim's history of and length of time experiencing childhood family violence (either witnessing or directly

experiencing this violence) is an indicator for both presence and type of abuse. Physical abuse victims, for instance, are more likely to be victims of child or spousal abuse and tend to have longer histories of abuse. Elderly persons with a history of being abused may also be more prone to displays of psychological or physical aggression towards a caregiver, which may in turn provoke an abusive response.

The Abusers: Risk Factors for Perpetrating Elder Abuse and Neglect

A large and expanding body of research documents the psychological and emotional toll associated with providing both informal (Beach et al., 2005) and formal care (Stacey, 2005) to the elderly. However, the association between negative caregiver outcomes and abuse perpetration has received less attention. Documenting the characteristics and risk factors of perpetrators is fraught with difficulties due to the fact that abusers will generally not admit abuse. In addition to the nature of the victim-offender relationship, risk factors for abusers are generally categorized as inability to cope with stressful situations (i.e. the burdens associated with being a caregiver), psychological or mental illness (i.e. antisocial behavior, substance abuse) and social support or dependency issues (i.e. financial difficulties, economic dependence, being abused as a child, social isolation; Ansello, 1996; Kosberg, 1998; Schiamberg & Gans, 2000).

Demographic Characteristics

Males are slightly more likely than females to be abusers (Biggs et al., 2009; Kurrle, Sadler, & Cameron, 1992, Kurrle et al., 1997, National Center on Elder Abuse, 1998). Ryan, for example, reported a 56% to 44% split between male abusers and female abusers. Having less than a high-school education has been shown to have a moderate association with the likelihood of endorsing at least one of ten potentially harmful caregiver behaviors in research conducted by (Beach et al., 2005). Lack of education has been shown to be associated in particular with medication abuse, or intentionally overmedicating or undermedicating (Lamy, 1984). Other demographic factors shown to increase the risk of committing elder abuse are family composition and employment status. In particular, researchers have found that financially exploitative and physically abusive individuals are more likely than nonabusers to be both childless and unemployed (Jackson & Hafemeister, 2012).

In 1988, the National Elder Abuse Incidence Study (National Center on Elder Abuse, 1998), reported that family members accounted for 90% of abusers while nonfamily members accounted for 10%. Among family members, adult children were the most frequent offenders (47%), followed by spouses (19%), grandchildren (9%), other relatives (9%), and siblings (6%). Among nonfamily members, abuse was perpetrated most often by friends or neighbors (6%), in-home service providers (3%), and finally out-of-home service providers (1%) (Baker, 1975). Different studies, however, have found higher rates of spousal abuse (see, for example, Biggs et al., 2009) and lower rates of abuse among adult children. Nevertheless, investigations of abuse across different settings are generally in agreement that elder victimization occurs most often in domestic settings between relatives. Risk factors are also associated with type of

abuse. In particular, unrelated individuals, such as professional care providers, are more likely to perpetrate physical abuse and financial exploitation whereas financial abuse is most common between family members.

Personal Characteristics of Abusers

Stress, Coping and Tolerance

A significant body of research on nursing home abuse or quality of care in institutions has focused on the social, behavioral and personal problems of institutional caregivers (Payne & Cikovic, 1995). Caregivers must frequently balance a heavy and potentially stressful workload with their own personal stressors such as family problems, physical and emotional exhaustion, substance abuse, or in some cases a history of domestic violence (Conlie Shaw, 1998). Institutional abuse has frequently been cited to be the result of feelings of burn out due to pressures at work such as not having enough time to perform one's expected duties (Maslach, 1982). In addition, nurse's aids often have poor morale and little motivation to perform work-related duties, which can result in potentially abusive behavior. Shaw (1998) has identified workers' personality traits coupled with a tolerance of handling patients' aggressive behaviors as a factor contributing to abuse. He posits that individuals with a higher tolerance level for aggression by residents assume personality traits such as resilience, patience, and placing value on caring for others. According to Shaw (1998), nursing home staff abusers have never developed immunity to residents' aggression and therefore react to their behaviors in abusive ways. Factors contributing to lower levels of tolerance include fatigue, financial stress and substance abuse.

Despite the fact that caregivers are more detached than family members, the nature of the work, shortage of nursing staff, burnout and inadequate training all have the potential to create a stressful work environment and can in extreme cases lead to elder abuse and/or neglect. Stressful work environments have also been associated with cultural differences and racial/ethnic conflict or intolerance between patients and staff. A study of this phenomenon was undertaken by Ramirez, Addington-Hall, and Richards (1998) who found that racial tensions were significantly related to staff burnout, demoralization, and dissatisfaction. The presence of racism in nursing homes has also been associated with certain forms of provocative behaviors among residents, including discriminatory language and use of racial slurs (Mercer, Heacock, & Beck, 1993, 1994). For example, elders may maintain racial prejudices and stereotypes that were commonly accepted when they were young but are no longer socially acceptable or politically correct. Cultural belief systems that potentially conflict with minimizing abuse in institutional settings include the stigma attached to institutionalization, the importance of caring for elderly relatives at home and a generally favorable attitude towards violence (Kosberg, Nahmiash, & Baumhover, 1996).

Psychological Factors and Mental Health

Pathological characteristics of perpetrators, particularly mental illness and alcohol misuse, predict elder abuse. Caregiver cognitive status has been shown to contribute to poorer quality of care. Potentially harmful caregiver behavior is more likely when caregivers

themselves are cognitively impaired, have physical health problems, and/or are at risk for clinical depression (Beach et al., 2005). As well, higher burden and depression scores were noted among caregivers who admitted to direct physically abusive behavior towards dementia patients in their care (Coyne & Reichman, 1993). The consistent finding of higher abuse prevalence among patients suffering from dementia or Alzheimer's disease has led to speculation that the relatively high psychological and physical demands characterized by these debilitating diseases triggers abusive situations.

Interpersonal Characteristics of Abusers

Social Support Systems

Abuse is more likely when caregivers feel overwhelmed or overburdened in providing care. In one study, elders who were being taken care of by persons who reported feeling overwhelmed were 88% and 65% more likely to experience financial exploitation and neglect, respectively. Perpetrators of financial abuse were less likely than expected to have violence in their current intimate relationship(s).

Dependence

Since individuals who perpetrate elder abuse are often relatives of their victims, they are likely to be dependent on the person they are mistreating (Lachs & Pillemer, 2004). In domestic settings, offenders are more likely to be adult children who are dependent on the older adult for financial and/or housing support and/or have a history of violence or antisocial behavior, disability from substance abuse or mental illness, and/or poor social integration and financial difficulties or partners with a history of spousal abuse (Brandl & Horan, 2002; Pillemer & Moore, 1989). In a study that explored risk factors for abuse, for example, hybrid financial abusers (defined as abusers who commit financial abuse in addition to another type of abuse) were two times as likely to be financially dependent on their victims compared to nonvictimizers. Similarly, the length of the abuser-elder relationship predicted presence and type of maltreatment. Abusive individuals knew their victims for an average of 22 years in cases of financial exploitation, 34 years in cases of physical abuse, 32 in cases of neglect, and 40 years in cases of hybrid financial abuse. Finally, elderly victims with parasitic abusers, defined as an abuser who lives off of and has easy access to the victim, were 64% less likely to experience neglect and 81% more likely to experience hybrid financial abuse. Career stress, the most common early explanation for the existence of elder abuse, has been in more recent studies associated with dependency or other mediating influences (Kinnear & Graycar, 1999).

Explaining Elder Abuse

Because elder abuse is a problem with far reaching consequences – social, legal, economic and political – scholars from a wide variety of disciplines have studied it. Elder abuse can be conceptualized as a violation of criminal or regulatory law, as a socially constructed criminal act, or as a social harm (Payne, 2002). While most scholars emphasize the need for an integrated response to elder abuse, until

Table 17.2   Theories of elder abuse.

Discipline	Theoretical strengths	Theoretical limitations
Gerontology	Focus on the biological, behavioral and social aspects of aging	Tendency to emphasize abuse as a social rather than a legal problem
Sociology	Focus on the broader social environment of abuse	Research focuses more on younger individuals
Criminology and criminal justice	Focus on explaining criminal events and justice system's response	Research focuses on crimes that target younger individuals
Social work	Focuses on strategies to promote empowerment of victims, prevention and intervention	Victims resistance to social work practices; less emphasis on insights from criminology and victimology
Victimology	Focus on understanding the victimization experience and the relationship between victim and offender	Sometimes tends blame the victim; more attention given to younger victims
Medicine	Medical consequences of abuse; strong role in advocating public policies (e.g. mandatory reporting)	Overlooks the social consequences of abuse
Psychology		Overlooks social factors responsible for abuse; some forms of abuse explained better by other disciplines

Source: Based on Payne (2002).

recently, research has been fragmented and consequently theoretical frameworks for understanding its interdisciplinary nature are lacking (Payne, 2002). Despite differences in each field's underlying theory of causation, both offer useful starting points that explain elder abuse in different settings and focus on elder or caregiver dependence, personality disorders, cycles of violence, power dynamics and over-burden. Nevertheless, no single theory is sufficient to account for the complexity of elder abuse. Consequently, (Schiamberg & Gans, 1999) proposed a holistic theoretical framework that situates the multiple risk factors of family elder abuse in a socio-ecological analysis. This was later extended by Schiamberg et al. (2012) to institutional settings. Each theory is considered and expanded upon briefly below (see also Table 17.2).

Sociological Theories of Elder Abuse

Since it was acknowledged as a serious medical and health issue, the dynamics of elder abuse have been studied extensively by sociologists. Hence, sociological theories have provided the most comprehensive explanations of the dynamics of elder abuse and neglect. These theories include situational theory, exchange theory, social learning theory, political economic theory, and psychopathology of the caregiver theory (Fulmer et al., 2005).

Situational Theory

Situation theory focuses on the situational factors that lead to abuse – in particular the level of conflict, the presence of alcohol use, stress, burnout and responses to aggression and provocation. Situational theory has been applied in both institutional and domestic settings but, according to Lachs and Pillemer (2004) and Brandl and Horan (2002), situational factors are the strongest predictors of patient abuse in institutional settings.

According to situational theory, overburdened caregivers lack the necessary resources to deal effectively with the burden of caretaking, particularly when the elder is a relative, which culminates in abuse. In domestic settings, "family stress theory" asserts that elder abuse is caused by the stress brought upon family members when faced with having to care for an elderly person. The stress is particularly acute because relatives often lack the requisite caretaking skills, especially when the person being cared for has severe cognitive and/or physical disabilities. Additional stressors include the financial pressures associated with having additional dependents as well as the burdens of managing new household living arrangements and coordinating family events and activities.

As a variant of social exchange theory and caregiver stress theory, symbolic interactionism posits that humans derive meaning through a process of interpretation and actions are based on these ascribed meanings (Blumer, 1969). The emphasis is on the different roles that people adopt for themselves as they age and abuse is derivative of a person's inability to adapt to these changing roles. The process of becoming either a "caregiver" or a "patient" exemplifies this phenomenon as individuals must learn what is expected of them. The onus of blame is removed from individuals because even competent, well-intentioned caregivers may experience extreme frustration and stress during the adjustment phase, which ultimately culminates in abuse.

Social Exchange Theory

Social exchange theory posits that the financial, emotional and physical dependence of a victim on a caregiver is conducive to elder abuse and neglect. This theory is based on the assumption that abusers will continue to abuse as long as they derive some benefit. The abusive behavior results from dependence on the elder and a desire to control certain aspects of the elderly person's life. Conflict theory, useful to explain why inequality is perpetuated, also explains the etiology of elder abuse as differential access to power and resources. To retain or maintain power, the caregiver, who has control, will abuse the elderly person who does not have control. Other contributions from gender studies and feminist theory have highlighted the role of power imbalances in relationships and of the low status of women in encouraging or tolerating the abuse of older people in domestic situations (Biggs & Phillipson, 1995; Wolf, 2000). Likewise, political economy theories focus on broader societal factors such as the relatively low status and lack of economic power that is characteristic of older people and that create the circumstances in which their victimization is more probable (Setterlund et al., 2007).

Psychopathology of the Caregiver

Theories of elder abuse tend to attribute harmful behavior to the psychological characteristics of the abuser. This theoretical perspective focuses on evidence of pathology among those responsible for elder mistreatment. Physical abuse, in particular, is believed to be related to intraindividual psychopathology of caregivers and possibly also of the

elders. A number of studies have reported a high proportion of abusers with histories of psychiatric illnesses such as depression or anger issues – and problems with drugs and alcohol (McDonald & Collins, 2000). The decreased ability of the caregiver to tolerate frustration and to control behavior because of, for example, alcohol dependency, is linked to the person's violent and abusive reactions (Gordon & Brill, 2001). In addition, substance abusers commonly steal prescription drugs from the elderly they care for, which is neglectful and may lead to unnecessary pain and suffering. Critics suggest that psychopathology has not been directly and causally linked to abuse, and further that it overlooks factors such as poverty or ageism (McDonald & Collins, 2000).

Criminological Theories of Elder Abuse

The criminalization of elder abuse is a fairly recent phenomenon (Payne, 2002), which may account for the fact that criminologists have only recently applied violence frameworks to explaining it (Goergen & Beaulieu, 2010). Earlier research focused on individual deficits, dependency, caregiver stress and cycle of violence explanations for the occurrence of elder abuse, but more recent research has utilized criminological frameworks (Payne, 2002), the most prominent of which are deterrence, strain theory, social learning theory and routine activities theory. The first three theories overlap substantially with sociological explanations discussed above and hence only routine activities theory and domestic violence theory is considered in more detail below (but see Table 17.3 for a description of how these theories differ across disciplines).

Routine Activities Theory

Routine activities theory was developed in criminology and focuses on the common contexts and opportunities for illegal activity as opposed to deviant behavior. Applications to elder abuse have ranged from domestic violence to theft in nursing homes. According to routine activities theory, the opportunity for illegal activity exists when there is a convergence of a likely offender with (i) the opportunity and ability to commit elder abuse; (ii) a suitable elderly target; and (iii) the failure to protect that target from harm, as would occur by the absence of law enforcement or inadequate supervision from nurs-

Table 17.3 Criminological and sociological explanations for elder abuse.

Theory explains the occurrence of elder abuse as the result of …	*Criminology*	*Sociology*
Mental health, drug and alcohol abuse, unemployment, gender, health problems or some character fault that causes individuals to be abusive.	*Self-control theory*	*Psychopathology*
Dependency that causes abuse; either victim or perpetrator can be dependent.	*Conflict theory*	*Dependency*
An inability to deal with the stressors associated with some caregiving task.	*Strain theory*	*Caregiver stress*
A history of past abuse; living in violent families; abusers were at one time victims themselves.	*Social-learning theory*	*Cycle of violence*

ing home staff. Routine activities theory has been frequently applied and probably best explains the occurrence of financial exploitation among family members. This is due, in part, to the fact that many elderly are institutionalized and in part because older people are rarely in high-risk public places, both of which make them unlikely targets for crimes by strangers. One study on elder financial exploitation described "typical" and appropriate financial arrangements in families and how these were different when financial abuse was present. The study found that financial abuse was the result of financial need, a sense of entitlement to the assets of the older person, and an opportunity for the abuse to occur (Spencer, 1995). According to the researchers, when family members are accepted as capable guardians meaning that they have unfettered access to an older person's assets, the opportunity for financial elder abuse is heightened.

Domestic Violence Theory

Theories of domestic violence differ in how they conceive the causes of domestic abuse versus other types of abusive behavior. Some theorists have argued that the etiology of violence is the same for domestic violence as it is for any type of criminally sanctioned behavior – low self-control and antisocial personality (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990). Other theories view domestic violence as a distinct form of deviant behavior. Both approaches however emphasize keeping the elderly victim safe by criminalizing the perpetrator's behavior (Collingridge, 1993). Domestic violence paradigms are increasingly being used as a framework for understanding elder abuse, particularly after a widely cited study of homicide-suicides found that out of approximately 1500 cases annually in the United States, 83% involved spouses and intimate partners (Cohen, 2000). See Payne (2002) for a further expansion of each theory and its relevance to elder abuse.

Integrated Theories of Elder Abuse

Ecological Theory

The focus on interpersonal factors such as psychopathology and stress emphasizes the role of behavior as a key factor in the etiology and persistence of abuse. These theories often "blame the victim" by finding fault with the elderly person and by simultaneously "excusing" the perpetrator for the abuse. Rather than conceptualizing elder abuse as a phenomenon, the ecological perspective highlights the ways that multiple systems perpetuate abuse. The focus of this perspective is on the older adult–family member or institutional caregiver relationship as the focal or immediate context for identifying and organizing risk factors. In addition to emphasizing individual-level characteristics, the model includes more distal contexts such as family–older adult relationships, economic pressures, cultural belief systems, and the broader institutional environment in which the abuse occurs (e.g. monitoring of resident-on-resident abuse). Promising ecological theoretical perspectives have emerged for identifying the risk factors of elder abuse in institutional settings (Schiamberg et al., 2012) and the domestic abuse of older adults by adult child caregivers (Schiamberg & Gans, 1999, 2000) (see Table 17.4). An empirical application comes from the work of Rabiner, O'Keeffe, and Brown (2004) who proposed a conceptual framework based on an applied ecological perspective that represents financial elder abuse as an outcome of

Table 17.4 Risk factors.

Risk factors for elder victims	Risk factors for elder abusers
Female	Family members, most often a male spouse or child
"Older" elderly, 75 years and older	Cared for person for 9.5 years, on average
Physical and mental health problems. Physical and cognitive health problems such as dementia, ADLs or IADLs	Caregiver who is under stress because of the burden associated with caregiving tasks
Social isolation and lack of social networks	Inadequate social support; history of social isolation
Longstanding personality clash with caregiver (Fulmer, 1984; Quinn & Tomita, 1986)	History of longstanding interpersonal problems between the carers and their dependents. Low staff morale, negative attitudes towards the elderly, low professional status of associated with elder care
Dependency and social support. Inability to live independently because of health problems or economic insecurity.	Financial and/or emotional dependence on the abused (Fulmer, 1984 and Quinn & Tomita, 1986)
Mental illness and depression. Suffer from depression and adopt an inflexible attitude towards their carer	History of mental illness and depression
Alcohol and substance abuse	Alcoholism and drug misuses are common among the abusers
History of being abused earlier in life	History of physical abuse in the early life of the caregiver
Economic hardship; poverty	Unemployment

interactions between microattributes. Their analysis focused on financial abuse as a consequence of the dynamic interplay between victim characteristics, perpetrators and their social networks, and macroprocesses, such as policy, legislation, societal attitudes to older people, and family members' sense of entitlement to the assets of older people (Rabiner, O'Keeffe, & Brown, 2004).

Consequences of Elder Abuse

Little research has focused on the consequences of elder abuse (National Research Council, 2003; Wolf, 1998). Existing research on the effects of elder abuse suggest that it results in a variety of physical, behavioral, psychological and social dimensions (Anetzberger, 1997; Hwalek, 1987; Lau & Kosberg, 1979; O'Malley, Segars, & Perez, 1979; Pillemer, 1985; Quinn & Tomita, 1997; Sengstock & Liang, 1982; Wolf, 1997).

Physical consequences stemming from elder mistreatment result in short- and long-term health consequences existing on a continuum from moderate to severe. These include injury or pain, sleep disturbances, eating problems, and headaches and, in extreme cases, death (Lachs et al., 1997). As seen in hospital emergency departments, the most common manifestations of neglect are dehydration and malnutrition, and the most common physical injuries are bruises, lacerations, head injury, and fractures. The most extreme physical consequence of abuse is death. In 2007, 5.7 of every 100 000 deaths in the United States of people age 65 and older

were ruled homicides (Centers for Disease Control June, 2010). In a longitudinal study of elders, mortality rates among community-dwelling older adults who were referred to protective services were more than four times as high 13 years after the study began than similarly situated elder adults who had no interaction with adult protective services (World Health Organization/International Network for the Prevention of Elder Abuse, 2002). In a 2009 study of community-dwelling older adults in Chicago, those who had been reported to social services agencies as abuse victims faced an increased risk of mortality compared to those who had not been reported (Dong et al., 2009).

The physical manifestations of abuse are linked to its psychological and social effects. Research indicates that a history of potentially traumatic events, including physical or emotional mistreatment, is associated with poor physical health among adults age 60 and older (Cisler et al., 2010). It has been estimated that nearly 50% of all elder abuse incidents result in physically apparent trauma (Floyd, 1984). The psychological damage that results from traumatic injury are wide ranging and include denial, fear, anxiety, and depression. Early investigations on elder abuse effects explored resulting depression in particular (Bristowe & Collins, 1989). In a study of elderly victims and nonvictims, Pillemer and Prescott (1989) found that victims of physical abuse, neglect, and chronic verbal aggression reported much higher levels of depression than the control group. Likewise, depression is a well known consequence of marital violence among the elderly (Harris, 1996). Individuals who are depressed often withdraw, have few outside contacts, and are dependent on others for their care. The psychological consequences of elder abuse therefore potentially impact social relationships. Other psychological and behavioral manifestations of abuse include anger, helplessness, reduced coping, and suicidal actions. Age is thought to moderate the consequences of abuse at least with regard to trauma symptomatology. For example, one study found a higher incidence of depression and post-traumatic psychopathology among younger victims (Acierno et al., 2002).

Practice, Policy and Prevention

Policy Framework for Elder Abuse Prevention and Intervention

Elder abuse prevention is a topic that has not received much attention. Oversight of this important topic is related to the difficulty of detecting and preventing abuse among vulnerable, invisible and politically powerless populations. Some of the challenges associated with elder abuse prevention pertain to our collective failure to develop holistic responses and fundamentally change how systems operate. For example, agencies must ensure that staff who care for the elderly receive proper training and that consumer choice programs offer adequate choices, protections and culturally sensitive interventions (Nerenberg, 2008 p. 238). Irrespective of whether the issue is situated directly within a "care" model rather than a "violence" or criminal justice model (Collingridge, 1993) elder abuse prevention depends critically on counterbalancing legal and therapeutic interventions with surveillance and prevention (Nerenberg, 2008).

The most effective prevention strategies are based on a variety of paradigms including adult protective service models, domestic violence prevention models, family preservation and restorative justice models (Nerenberg, 2008). To varying extents, these frames

have provided the lens used by practitioners as a foundation for prevention and inter-
vention. These models represent a multipronged approach to prevention that includes
among other things crisis intervention services, domestic violence shelters, support
groups, therapy, and health, social, and legal support services (Beaulieu, Leclerc, &
Dube, 2003; McDonald & Collins, 2000).

Agency and community-based intervention protocols have been developed to com-
bat elder abuse as well. Due to the importance of identifying high-risk situations for
violence, agency-based prevention and intervention efforts have developed a variety
of screening methods and assessment tools (McDonald & Collins, 2000; Reis &
Nahmiash, 1998), ranging from unsystematic assessments to checklists of risk indica-
tors for abuse and/or neglect. Community-based strategies offer a "bottom-up"
approach to effectuate long-term changes in community attitudes and norms through
the provision of educational and support services (McCallum, 1993, p. 81). The
impetus to provide education and support is that service providers who are knowl-
edgeable, aware and understand the nature and types of community resources available
to help them care for the elderly are less likely to be abusive (Joshi & Flaherty, 2005).
As a result, community education initiatives have been implemented to encourage a
lower tolerance of elder abuse among the general public and to raise public awareness
about the nature and scope of the problem. Alternative educational efforts have
included professional development classes to promote knowledge and skill acquisition
and teaching elder care providers to be self-reflective about their own judgments and
biases about aging and/or violence (Johnson, 1995). These initiatives have produced
some modicum of success; however, due to the complexity and scope of elder mis-
treatment, more formal mechanisms to combat it have been necessary.

Frameworks that focus on the interplay of individual characteristics, risks and protec-
tive factors across multiple contexts have been particularly useful for developing sensi-
tive and effective interventions. Ecologically oriented approaches consider both victim
and perpetrator characteristics and risk factors and their relationship to customizing
interventions, including but not limited to the abuser's willingness and capacity to
change over time. The joint contribution of communities and service systems are also
important components of prevention and intervention because in order to be effective
both must be engaged. One example of an integrated approach is the Local Elder
Abuse Prevention Network Development Initiative that was launched in 2004 by the
NCEA to support the establishment formal prevention networks. These networks of
community-based organizations represent a diverse set of agencies and comprise mul-
tidisciplinary teams for the purpose of creating a "no-wrong-door" treatment service
for the elderly (Beaulieu, Leclerc, & Dube, 2003; McDonald & Collins, 2000). These
teams include individuals from a variety of fields including geriatric, medical, psychiat-
ric and social services (Bomba, 2006). These local elder abuse networks have engaged
in a number of different types of activities to address violence including (i) supporting
elder abuse victims by ensuring workers have access to necessities during weekends,
holidays and after hours (ii) establishing support groups for domestic violence victims,
(iii) state legislative advocacy initiatives to advocate for improvements to elder abuse
statutes and changes in sentencing laws; and (iv) through education and public aware-
ness campaigns. An evaluation of the coalition found that they have been instrumental
in stemming the tide of elder abuse cases across several states. California, for example,
reported a 25% increase in referrals to APS while the number of prosecuted cases in
Oregon increased to 60 or more each year as a result of these collaborative efforts.

Elder violence prevention is increasingly being seen as belonging under the purview of the legal and criminal justice systems (as are most other forms of violence) in addition to public health and psychology. Several options to prevent and intervene elder violence are available from within the existing criminal justice framework including directly reporting to the police or obtaining a restraining order in cases of immediate harm. In addition, many legislative efforts have specifically targeted elder abuse as a discrete category of harm and many statutes require mandatory reporting of suspected abuse, for example. The next section outlines some of the more important pieces of federal legislation on elder abuse, neglect and exploitation.

Major Federal Legislation on Elder Abuse

In response to research emphasizing the need for an integrated, holistic approach to prevention, the federal government has acknowledged the pressing need for a coordinated effort to combat elder abuse, neglect, and exploitation but has been slow to respond. The availability of federal funds as well as variations in policies and practices within and across states has lead to disparities in prevention, protective and social services, treatment systems, and law enforcement. Recent legislative efforts comprehensively address elder abuse, neglect and exploitation through the creation of a policy framework to combat elder mistreatment and by supporting programs for prevention and intervention. The following outlines some of the more significant legislative efforts undertaken to minimize the devastating effects of elder abuse.

- The Older Americans Act of 1965. Originally enacted in 1965, the Older Americans Act (OAA) supports a wide range of social services and programs for older persons. These include supportive services, congregate and home-delivered nutrition services (such as meals on wheels), family caregiver support, community service employment, the long-term care ombudsman program, and services to prevent the abuse, neglect, and exploitation of older persons. The OAA includes four specific components (Titles II, III, IV, and VII) that have significant relevance to elder abuse. Under Title II of the OAA, the ACL is authorized to establish and operate a National Ombudsman Resource Center and the National Center on Elder Abuse for the purpose of conducting and disseminating research and providing technical assistance and training to elder care providers and to develop a range of services and long-term plans to effectuate elder justice.
- The Social Security Act of 1975. In 1975, Title XX of the SSA provided a legal base for APS at the federal level. The original purpose was to prevent or remedy the abuse, neglect and exploitation of adults 18 and over who are harmed by an act of physical harm or negligence. In 1981, amendments to the SSA enhanced its existing provisions by creating the Social Services Block Grant and providing funds to the states for social services including APS. Later amendments ensured the creating of an adequate public-private infrastructure to resolve, prevent, detect, treat, intervene in, and prosecute elder abuse, neglect, and exploitation among other things. Three provisions of the SSA in particular are relevant to elder abuse, neglect and exploitation (Title XI, Title VVIII and Title XIX). Title XI mandates the reporting of crimes in long-term care facilities to law enforcement. Titles XVIII and XIX establish a Medicare requirement for skilled nursing facilities and home and community care for functionally disabled elderly individuals, respectively.

- The Elder Justice Act of 2010. The Elder Justice Act was enacted as a part of the Affordable Healthcare Act of 2010 and represents the first federal law to address an elder's right to be free from victimization. It is a comprehensive effort to address the issue of elder abuse by addressing weaknesses in current federal and state efforts at elder abuse prevention. It does so by combining law enforcement and public health to study, detect, treat, prosecute and prevent elder abuse, neglect and exploitation through the implementation of training, services, and demonstration programs. More specifically, the Elder Justice Act creates Federal leadership and resources to assist victims, families, communities and States against elder abuse and by coordinating Federal, State and local elder abuse prevention efforts. It provides grants for education and training of law enforcement and facilitates criminal background checks for elder care employees, expands trauma care services and improves regional coordination of emergency services. Demonstration projects to implement alternatives to current tort litigation for resolving medical malpractice claims are among its other provisions.
- Elder Abuse Victims Act of 2013. Housed in the Department of Justice, The Elder Abuse Victims Act of 2013 establishes the Office of Elder Justice to address issues relating to elder abuse. The Act was promulgated in order to protect, serve, and advance the rights of elder abuse victims by enhancing law enforcement efforts to hold offenders accountable, increase the capacity of the justice system to investigate, pursue, and prosecute elder abuse cases, and to assist with providing the resources necessary to leverage data collection and research for elder abuse prevention.
- The Violence Against Women Act of 2013. The Violence Against Women Reauthorization Act of 2013 expands and strengthens the Violence Against Women's Act and extends funding for various programs including investigation and prosecution of violent crimes against women including elder abuse. Specific provisions of the VAWRA protects older women from abuse by making funding available for training programs, assisting in the prosecution of elder abuse cases, providing or enhancing services for victims, creating or supporting multidisciplinary collaborative community responses to victims of elder abuse, and by conducting cross-training for organizations serving victims of elder abuse.

Emergent Directions

Future efforts to understand and prevent elder abuse must integrate research across disciplines. This includes conducting population-based research to explore the incidence of abuse subtypes across different settings, longitudinal studies of risk and protective factors, perpetrator characteristics and long-term consequences of abuse. Methodologically, we must emphasize the importance of collecting valid and reliable data on elder abuse incidence and prevalence. Practically speaking, this means that agencies that confront elder abuse, including the criminal justice system and Adult Protective Services, must work together to coordinate data collection and dissemination efforts. Empirically, care providers must understand that medical advances will result in elders living longer but not necessarily disease free. The growth of the elderly population in the near future equates to larger numbers of people who are frail and in poor health – the most common targets of abuse. Consequently, the systems that impact the elderly must be prepared for an increasing rate of elder victimization. Moreover, theories of elder

abuse must incorporate social attitudes and norms about the aging process and the elderly and their impact on abuse. In addition, with an increasing elderly population of color, a multicultural perspective is essential to strengthen our understanding of how an in-depth knowledge of cultural norms and values can aid in attempts to define and prevent elder abuse. Finally, researchers should consider incorporating the views and perceptions of the elderly through community-based participatory research designs that aim to better understand the nature, context and consequences of abuse. From these shifting paradigms emerge new challenges and opportunities for preventing elder abuse, most important of which is reinforcing the protective service safety net in order to protect frail elderly living in institutional settings (Nerenberg, 2008).

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Interventions, Policies, and Future Research Directions in Family Violence

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The family is perceived by many to be a "safe haven" where one finds comfort and protection from the outside world. Unfortunately, not all families are safe environments and some households are characterized by violence committed by family members. The purpose of this chapter is to discuss interventions aimed at reducing and/or preventing this type of behavior and identify directions for future research on family violence. Before discussing the responses to different forms of family violence, it is necessary to describe which types of relationships are considered to fall within the concept of "family." Narrow conceptions of family may only include individuals that are blood related, whereas broader definitions may include dating and cohabiting partners. While there are many different ways to define family, this chapter employs a broad definition of family violence that is based on the definition outlined by the National Research Council's report *Violence in families: Assessing prevention and treatment programs* (Chalk & King, 1998). According to the National Research Council:

> Family violence includes child and adult abuse that occurs between family members or adult intimate partners. For children, this includes acts by others that are physically and emotionally harmful or that carry the potential to cause physical harm. Abuse of children may include sexual exploitation or molestation, threats to kill or abandon, or lack of emotional or physical support necessary for normal development. For adults, family or intimate partner violence may include acts that are physically or emotionally harmful or carry the potential to cause harm. Abuse of adult partners may include sexual coercion or assaults, physical intimidation, threats to kill or to harm, restraint or normal activities or freedom, and denial of access to resources. (Chalk & King, 1998, p. 19).

As demonstrated by the preceding definition, violence in families manifests in a number of different ways and is generally considered to include three broad types of behavior: child abuse, intimate partner violence (IPV), and elder abuse (Payne & Gainey, 2009). Traditionally, behaviors and activities occurring within the home have been afforded considerable privacy and protection from external involvement in

household affairs (Buzawa & Buzawa, 2003). Intermittent periods of public interest in family violence have led to various attempts to make the private behavior of families public and in some instances, subject to intervention. In the United States, attempts to prevent and intervene in cases of family violence can be traced back to laws created by the Puritans in New England during the 1640s (Pleck, 1989, p. 19). However, many researchers, professionals, policymakers, and the public view the 1960s as the decade in which family violence was "discovered" (Payne & Gainey, 2009; Pleck, 1989). Contemporary interest in child abuse arose in 1962 when a group of physicians published an influential article entitled "The Battered Child Syndrome" (Kempe et al., 1962). Following the growing concern over child abuse during the 1960s, a growing awareness of spousal abuse bolstered by the women's rights movement emerged during the late 1960s and early 1970s. Recognition of elder abuse is relatively more recent compared to both child abuse and IPV, with public awareness surfacing during the 1970s and increasing in the 1980s and 1990s (Payne, 2011).

While it is common to consider partner violence as a type of family violence, given that the topic was addressed in a separate chapter, it is not considered in this chapter other than to point out that many types of elder abuse may, in fact, be cases of domestic violence. To describe interventions in family violence cases, and point to future research opportunities related to the topic, in this chapter, attention is given to the following:

- Child abuse interventions
- Elder abuse interventions
- The collaborative response system
- Barriers to effective interventions
- Future directions in family violence research

Child Abuse Interventions

Generally speaking, child abuse interventions can be characterized as either reactive or proactive in nature. Reactive responses to child abuse refer to efforts to respond to cases of child abuse that have been reported to the authorities. Proactive responses refer to efforts where authorities initiate efforts to prevent or identify suspected cases of child abuse. Those involved in carrying out these responses include child protective services workers, social workers, counselors, educators, police officers, judges, and probation and parole officers. Common types of interventions in child abuse cases include mandated reporting, education, advocacy, treatment, law enforcement activity, judicial responses, punishment, monitoring, and integrated responses.

Mandatory reporting laws were the earliest types of laws developed to intervene in child maltreatment cases. These laws require specific types of professionals who have a great deal of contact with children to report suspected cases of abuse to the authorities. Supporters of the laws point out that the legislation offers a layer of protection to vulnerable children, while opponents of the laws suggest that the policies frequently overreach their stated aims, with some pointing to research suggesting that independent of the type of abuse, minorities are more likely to be reported for abuse than nonminorities. While mandated reporters can be held civilly or criminally liable for their failure to report, in reality it is rare and only in the most egregious cases are individuals prosecuted for failing to report child abuse.

Educational efforts refer to practices where officials educate various groups about topics related to child abuse. A common type of educational strategy entails educating parents about effective parenting practices. While efforts are made to educate all new parents about effective parenting, more often than not, educational efforts are used in a reactive nature when parents have been identified as being abusive. Another type of educational strategy involves educating children about reporting mechanisms, particularly for child sexual abuse cases. A third type of educational strategy involves educating mandated reporters about how to identify and report suspected cases of abuse.

Advocacy efforts entail practices by officials advocating on the behalf of children. The group Children Without A Voice USA, for instance, identifies its mission as acting on behalf of children to promote awareness about child abuse. In addition to advocating for awareness, advocacy programs frequently entail specific situations where advocates are assigned to maltreatment victims in order to act on behalf of children. Children typically have very little exposure to the justice system. Advocates are particularly helpful in navigating children through the family justice system with as little trauma as possible.

Treatment interventions offer a range of counseling services to victims and offenders. The aim of treatment is twofold: (i) minimize the consequences of child maltreatment and (ii) stop future abuse. For child abuse victims, treatment is typically offered in the form of individual counseling. Various forms of innovative therapies including art therapy, music therapy, hippotherapy, and play therapy have been identified as successful. For offenders, treatment options include individual counseling, group therapy, and family treatment programs. It is also important to note that child abusers are frequently spouse abusers. As a result, batterer intervention programs may be used to respond to child abuse offenders.

Law-enforcement activity is also used as an intervention in child abuse cases. With the exception of child sexual abuse investigations in which law enforcement departments initiate undercover sting operations, police will generally not get involved in child abuse cases until cases are brought to their attention by social workers, victims, or other reporters. As with other forms of crime, law enforcement officers have a great deal of discretion in deciding how to respond to child abuse cases. It has been suggested that some police officers will tend to use their own definitions of abuse, rather than legal definitions, in determining whether to define specific parenting practices as abusive.

Judicial interventions in child abuse cases tend to be couched within formal responses described in state legislation. One can point to a range of judicial interventions that exist on a continuum. At one end of the continuum, judges might engage in informal strategies to educate parents about child abuse. Also on this end of the continuum, judges might order parents into different treatment or education programs. In the middle of the continuum, judges might sentence offenders to slightly more serious sanctions than treatment/education. Towards the other end of the continuum, judges might order the child removed from the home or issue a no-contact order prohibiting the offender from contacting the child. At the far end of this side of the continuum, judges might sentence offenders to jail or prison. Longer jail and prison sentences are more common in violent child abuse cases, particularly child sexual abuse cases.

Punitive responses entail the use of criminal justice sanctions to punish the child abuser. The goals of these sanctions include general deterrence (keeping the public

from committing child abuse), specific deterrence (keeping the specific abuser from committing future offenses), rehabilitation, separating offenders from victims, and retribution. In some ways, criminal justice sanctions are interventions of the last resort for child abusers. Research shows that when incarceration is given to child abusers (excluding sexual abusers), the sanctions tend to be shorter jail sentences that are combined with other sanctions.

Monitoring interventions refer to strategies where officials identify child abusers and provide various levels of supervision to guard against future abuses. In some situations, child protective services workers might monitor specific parents in order to offer children an additional layer of protection. In more serious cases, offenders might be sentenced to electronic monitoring wherein probation or parole officers actively monitor the offender's whereabouts. This practice is becoming particularly frequent for sex offenders. In other cases, abusers may be given no-contact orders and asked to wear electronic monitors that would alert the authorities if abusers come within a certain distance of their family members. Research about the effectiveness of electronic monitoring for family violence offenders and child sexual abusers is ongoing.

Integrated responses are strategies that combine the above strategies in various forms. In practice, most interventions in child abuse cases are probably best character-ized as integrated responses. In some situations, for example, convicted offenders might be ordered into education programs and monitored by probation officers. Integrated responses are also used in social work oriented approaches. Home visits, for example, are used to educate parents about appropriate parenting practices and monitor for signs of child abuse. Indeed, research showing that violence is higher in families with home visiting programs is often explained by the fact that the visits provide officials the opportunity to identify and report suspected cases of abuse.

Elder Abuse

Elder abuse policies and interventions benefit from the "coat tails" of other family violence movements, namely the social movements surrounding child and spousal abuse (Dubble, 2006, p. 48). Nevertheless, all fifty states have developed some sort of legislation allowing the state to protect, as well as provide services to the elderly and other vulnerable or disabled adults (Ehrlich & Anetzberger, 1991; Wolf, 1996). Legislative efforts to address elder abuse vary across jurisdictions with some states creating separate elder abuse statutes, whereas others address elder abuse through their general criminal laws (Dubble, 2006). The creation of mandatory reporting laws and the development of adult protective service (APS) agencies are among the com-mon legislative responses to the abuse of the elderly. Further, many statutes specify that APS and the police share the responsibility for intervening in situations involving elder abuse. Interventions and policies in elder abuse cases include mandatory report-ing laws, adult protective services interventions, and law enforcement activity.

With regard to elder abuse *mandatory reporting,* 42 states have laws that require specific individuals to report suspected cases of elder abuse, while the remaining states have laws that stipulate voluntary reporting (Ehrlich & Anetzberger, 1991; Payne & Gainey, 2009). Health care professionals, criminal justice workers, and social service providers are usually the individuals designated as mandated reporters, yet mandated reporters can also include individuals such as bank employees and church officials

(Moskowitz, 1998; Payne, 2011). While the specific content of laws is different across jurisdictions, mandatory reporting laws are characterized by several key elements. According to Moskowitz (1998, p. 2), these elements are a list of mandated reporters, the name of the agency to report suspected abuse to, a description of that agency's response, and a description of the criminal penalties for failure to comply with the law. In addition, many statutes include immunity clauses that state that reporters are not liable for unsubstantiated reports if the report was made in good faith (Payne, 2011).

Mandatory reporting laws are controversial and numerous criticisms of these laws have surfaced. The main criticism is that mandatory reporting threatens older victims' autonomy (Crystal, 1987; Macolini, 1995; Moskowitz, 1998; Payne & Gainey, 2009). Several additional criticisms are that the laws: (i) do not actually help elder abuse victims, (ii) violate patient confidentiality, (iii) are founded on ambiguous definitions of abuse, (iv) create uncertainty about professional liability, (v) are too harsh, (vi) may lead to additional harm by resulting in the victim's removal from his or her home, and (vii) will not lead to the discovery of serious cases of abuse (Macolini, 1995; Moskowitz, 1998; Payne, 2011; Payne, & Gainey, 2009). Although the majority of states stipulate mandatory reporting and researchers have provided extensive criticism of reporting laws, very little research has examined whether this type of response effectively reduces the occurrence of elder abuse. The success of mandatory reporting laws rests on reporters' ability to recognize abuse and willingness to report suspected cases (Ehrlich & Anetzberger, 1991). Thus, some researchers have focused on mandated reporters' understanding of the mandatory reporting statutes and their compliance with such laws. Clark-Daniels and colleagues (1989) found that health care professionals working in a state with mandatory reporting requirements did not possess adequate knowledge concerning the specifics of law. For instance, 76% of the 156 physicians surveyed indicated that they were uncertain about how to report suspected elder abuse. However, Payne and Gainey (2004) found evidence that suggests that mandatory reporting laws for elder abuse can influence behavior.

Adult protective services agencies are often the first responders in cases of elder abuse.

The origin of APS can be traced to 1958 when the National Council on Aging formed a special committee to discuss the development of protections and services for the elderly (Mixson, 1996). However, APS in the United States did not begin to fully develop until the 1970s when Congress passed Title XX of the Social Security Act, which required states to develop protective services for children, the elderly, and disabled adults in order to obtain federal funding under Title XX (Mixson, 1996).

While the structure and organization of APS programs differ across settings, APS generally provides a range of services to vulnerable adults. Vulnerable adults are defined by Teaster (2003, p. 5) as individuals who are either experiencing mistreatment or at risk of being mistreated and are not capable of protecting themselves because of their age and/or disability. Upon receiving reports of suspected elder abuse, APS conducts an investigation, sometimes with the assistance of law enforcement, to determine if the claims are substantiated and establish the elder's level of risk. Adult protective services may arrange for the provision of a variety of services, including health care services, emergency placement, food assistance, law enforcement/criminal justice system intervention, and/or attendant care, to ensure the elderly individual's safety and wellbeing (Government Accountability Office, 2011).

Some of the same concerns associated with mandatory reporting laws also apply to APS. Specifically, Mixson (1996, p. 17) discusses how APS workers must navigate

"gray areas" in which the capacity of the elder is in question and intervention may result in loss of autonomy. Other scholars have suggested that APS intervention may result in more harm if it results in removing the victim from the home and institution-alization (Scogin et al., 1990) or if APS involvement leads the offender to retaliate against the victim (Payne, 2011). Research on the effectiveness of services provided by APS is sparse with the majority of studies investigating the number and characteristics of APS cases. In a study of 1409 elder APS investigators, Jogerst, Daly, and Ingram (2001) found that almost 70% of investigators reported that they believed that elderly victims benefited from APS investigations and interventions. However, there is evidence that many cases of elder abuse do not come to the attention of APS. The National Elder Abuse Incidence Study found that 84% of the cases of elder abuse and/or neglect included in the study were not reported to APS (Tatara, 1998). Recent studies have highlighted a need for more data on APS outcomes that would allow researchers to establish whether APS services are effective (see Teaster et al., 2006).

Law enforcement also intervenes in cases of elder abuse and often collaborates with APS. The criminalization of elder abuse is relatively recent occurring in the late 1980s and early 1990s (Daniels et al., 1999; Payne, Berg, & Toussaint, 2001). As a result of criminalization efforts, some police departments have created specialized units, poli-cies, and/or training programs aimed at addressing elder abuse (Payne, 2011; Payne & Gainey, 2009; Payne, Berg, & Toussaint, 2001). In general, the role of police offic-ers in elder abuse intervention involves assessment, enforcement, and support and referral (Dolon & Hendricks, 1989). Assessment requires that officers determine whether a crime (i.e. abuse, neglect, and/or exploitation) has taken place and, if so, identify who committed the criminal act. Enforcement relates to how officers decide to respond to a given situation and can involve making an arrest or in some instances handling the case informally without further criminal justice system involvement. The referral and support roles anticipate that officers will locate and direct victims to appropriate services and agencies, such as APS, to assure victim safety and welfare (Dolon & Hendricks, 1989). Essentially, officers act as gatekeepers to the criminal justice and social services systems with the way they define an incident influencing access to these systems (Daniels et al., 1999).

Most of the literature on police intervention in elder abuse cases has focused on officers' attitudes toward and knowledge of elder abuse statutes. A study of 105 Alabama police officers found that nearly 75% of officers were not familiar with the state's mandatory reporting law (Daniels et al., 1999). Further, the findings indicated that only 50% of the officers who observed abuse and neglect reported their observa-tions (Daniels et al., 1999). Payne, King, and Manaois (2009) found similar evidence in an assessment of the training needs of a sample of Georgian police officers. Focusing on officers' gaps in elder abuse knowledge and awareness, they found that officers indicated that they knew the least about community resources for elder abuse victims and how to enforce failure to report laws (Payne, King, & Manaois, 2009). In one of the few studies investigating the actual police response to elder abuse, Payne and col-leagues (2001) established that the majority of police departments apply traditional police techniques to elder abuse cases. What is evident from the existing literature is that additional research is needed to investigate whether police intervention in elder abuse cases enhances victim safety and satisfaction with case outcomes.

In summarizing the interventions for elder abuse victims, it is important to recog-nize that interventions must be based on the victim's stage in the life course. For

example, the types of interventions and policies used for younger partner violence victims will not always be useful for older partner violence victims. Specifically, shelters might not always be equipped for older domestic violence victims. In addition, while leaving a domestic violence situation is difficult for all types of victims, the reasons that leaving is difficult vary across victims at different stages of their life course. A number of contextual factors such as, the presence of a cognitive impairment may make it particularly difficult for older victims to leave. Further, mandatory arrest policies may, intuitively, need to be relaxed for older victims. For instance, consider situations where older abusers are aggressive because they suffer from dementia. It would be counterproductive to arrest offenders in those situations. The simple point here is that policies, interventions, and practices must be tailored to the victim's stage in the life course (Payne, 2013).

The Collaborative Response System

For both child abuse and elder abuse, it is now accepted that a collaborative response is needed to intervene in these cases. This collaborative response network means that many different individuals are involved in addressing these cases. Among those involved in responding to family violence cases are the following:

- *Adult protective services* officials receive complaints about various types of elder abuse, investigate those complaints, and refer victims to available services;
- *Advocates* provide services helping younger and older victims;
- *Child protective services workers* receive and investigate allegations of child maltreatment and provide services to protect children from maltreatment;
- *Clergy* are potential reporters of family violence and often offer services to help offenders and victims;
- *Coroners* review child and elder fatalities;
- *District attorneys* decide which family violence cases should be prosecuted and assist in developing family violence initiatives in their communities;
- *Domestic violence programs* respond to child abuse cases in situations where co-occurring violence exists and may help to respond to elder abuse cases involving spouses;
- *Educators* help generate understanding about family violence;
- *Emergency services/first responders* may be the first to identify suspected cases of family violence for both children and older adults;
- *Guardians* are appointed to oversee and protect vulnerable individuals;
- *Hospital discharge planners* can help physical abuse victims find safe environments;
- *Judges* assign penalties to family violence offenders and direct offenders to appropriate interventions such as treatment programs and community service options;
- *Law-enforcement officers* are charged with identifying cases of family violence and arresting offenders when crimes have been committed;
- *Local AARP groups* can assist older victims in developing community-based programs;
- *Medical providers* are frequent reporters for both child abuse and elder abuse cases and they provide treatment to victims;

- *Medical social workers* identify cases of family violence and help provide crisis intervention and long-term services for victims;
- *Public health workers* help in identifying risk factors and creating community-based prevention programs and response strategies;
- *Public welfare caseworkers* help families to identify available resources;
- *Sheriffs* provide various community-focused services for older victims and can form important Triad partnerships with the AARP and the police;
- *Victim/witness advocates* help victims deal with the criminal justice process, while victim advocates serve all types of victims, regardless of their desire to participate in the justice process (Payne, 2013)

To be certain, a number of different types of professionals get involved in family violence cases. The vastness of the family violence system means that interventions may not always be as smooth as one would hope. In the next section, attention is given to the barriers that arise in family violence interventions.

Barriers to Effective Interventions

While a number of interventions have been used to respond to family violence, a number of barriers have limited the effectiveness of these interventions. Barriers that have made it more difficult to respond to family violence include:

- conceptual issues;
- witness problems;
- systemic barriers;
- lack of awareness;
- territorialism;
- funding (Payne & Gainey, 2009).

Each of these barriers is discussed below.

Conceptual issues refer to differences in the way that various groups define different types of family violence. Consider, for example, differences in the way that child protective services and police officers might define child abuse or child neglect. These differences would have implications for the types of interventions in child abuse cases. The same could be said for interventions made by other types of professionals and for other types of family violence.

Witness problems may also make it more difficult to respond to family violence cases. In effect, witnesses are frequently vulnerable and many still live with their offenders. As a result, some are unwilling to cooperate with criminal justice and social services professionals in investigations. In particular, a fear of reprisal may keep victims from reporting their victimization to the authorities. In elder abuse cases, it is important to recognize that those with cognitive impairments may be at a higher risk of abuse. Their impairments, however, may lead to situations where they are unable to communicate as witnesses in formal investigations.

Systemic barriers also limit interventions in family violence cases. In family violence cases, many different systems (criminal justice, social services, medical, civil justice, and so on) are called upon to address the issue. These systems often have competing purposes, different

missions, and conflicting orientations. As a result, professionals from these various systems may not always be in the best position to collaborate in family violence cases.

Lack of awareness is another problem in responding to family violence cases. Criminal justice and social services professionals receive comparatively little academic and professional training regarding appropriate responses to child and elder abuse. They receive even less training about efforts to collaborate in responding to family violence cases. With a lack of awareness about the dynamics of family violence, some professionals may eventually treat family violence cases similarly to the way they respond to other cases. Such a response is problematic because family violence cases are not typical criminal behaviors. Treating family violence victims, and offenders, in a one-size-fits-all model is destined for failure.

Territorialism is another potential issue that arises in responses to family violence cases. This is especially problematic when individuals from different agencies get involved with specific cases. Victim advocates from a social work agency, for example, would offer different types of services than would victim-witness advocates from a criminal justice agency. The latter representative would treat the victim primarily as a witness, while the former would treat the victim as a victim. The differences in responses may create instances where officials compete with one another, rather than work together, in responding to family violence.

Funding is a final problem that arises in these cases. The bulk of social services and criminal justice funding is not devoted to responding to family violence cases. Adult protective services and elder abuse law enforcement units are especially likely to be woefully underfunded. This lack of funding makes is difficult for officials to effectively intervene in family violence cases.

Future Directions in Family Violence Research

Changes in the types of interventions used to respond to family violence suggest that changes must follow in the way that family violence is studied by family violence researchers. In particular, it is expected that future research trends related to family violence will consider the following topics or strategies:

- the effectiveness of a collaborative response to family violence;
- the links between family violence at various stages of the life course;
- biological influences on family violence;
- interdisciplinary efforts to explain family violence;
- the community's role in responding to family violence cases;
- technology and family violence interventions;
- overcoming gaps between child abuse and domestic violence interventions;
- criminological/criminal justice studies on elder abuse;
- neglect studies.

The Effectiveness of a Collaborative Response to Family Violence

With regard to research on the effectiveness of a collaborative response to family violence, researchers are beginning to examine whether team efforts are actually effective in responding to elder abuse and the types of barriers professionals confront

in these responses. Much more research is needed in this area. It cannot be assumed that workers are automatically going to be able to work together on child abuse, sibling violence, and elder abuse cases. Some elder abuse researchers have examined how different types of teams, particularly fatality review teams, are developed and the strategies used by the teams. However, much more research is needed on the collaborative response to family violence cases.

Family violence researchers have suggested that collaborative responses adhere to the following principles: (i) **C**ommunication, (ii) **O**bjectivity, (iii) **L**eadership, (iv) **L**istening, (v) **A**wareness, (vi) **B**oundary flexibility, (vii) **O**bjectives, (viii) **R**esearch, (ix) **A**dvocacy, (x) **T**rust, (xi) **I**mprovement, (xii) **O**penness, and (xiii) **N**ew ideas (Payne, 2011; Payne and DeMichele, 2009; Payne and Gainey, 2009). Accordingly, research on the collaborative response to family violence should address the degree to which these principles are actually tied to the collaborative response system. Possible questions for future family violence researchers include the following:

- To what degree do individuals from different professions effectively communicate with one another in their efforts to address family violence cases?
- Are objective strategies used to guide the collaborative efforts or are strategies driven by emotions?
- Which professionals and agencies are most successful in leading collaborative responses to family violence? What challenges do the agencies face in leading these efforts?
- Are various professionals adequately prepared to understand issues related to family violence, including how to function in a collaborative network?
- Given that agencies have boundaries defined by jurisdiction and legal statutes, to what degree are officials able to open their agency's doors to professionals from other agencies?
- When innovative collaborative programs are developed, are professionals and agencies opposed to those new programs? What factors promote support for or opposition to these new programs?
- With the growth in evidence-based practices, are evidence-based strategies and policies being used in family violence cases?
- Is trust a barrier to collaboration in family violence cases? How can trust be developed between different family violence professionals?
- In what areas of the collaborative response to family violence cases is there the most need for improved response strategies?

To be sure, a number of other empirical questions must be addressed about the collaborative response to family violence. The simple point, however, is that we must not assume that a collaborative response is effective without actually empirically examining the efforts used to respond to family violence cases.

The Links between Family Violence at Various Stages of the Life Course

As social scientists increase their understanding about life course criminology, it is important that more attention be given to the links between various types of violence across the life course. It is well accepted that child maltreatment increases the risk for partner violence later in the life course. Generally speaking, scholars agree that child

abuse increases the likelihood that males will become domestic abusers and female child abuse victims will be more prone to becoming partner abuse victims. The precise links between sibling violence and later violence are not well understood. As well, whether child maltreatment is tied to different types of elder abuse has not been fully explored.

Some elder abuse researchers have dismissed the suggestion that child abuse leads to elder abuse by suggesting that child maltreatment victims will not be around later in their aging parents' lives (based on the belief that child maltreatment victims will distance themselves from their parents when they enter their own adulthood) (see Payne, 2011). Such an assumption, however, has not been empirically assessed. It is also plausible that child maltreatment leads to certain behavioral outcomes in victims that make them more likely to be offenders, not just against their future partners, but also against their future aging parents. For example, child maltreatment, as a form of bad parenting, would potentially produce low self-control. Consequently, those with low self-control might be more prone to be violent towards their aging parents. In addition, early exposure to violence might lead to higher risk of elder financial abuse and elder neglect (e.g., those who feel less attached to their parents might be more prone to neglect them). These suggestions have not been empirically verified and should be addressed in future research.

Biological Influences on Family Violence

A growing number of criminologists have called for an application of biosocial theories to explain criminal behavior. This renewed interest in biosocial explanations is in stark contrast to the opposition voiced to early biological explanations of crime, even though the positivist school of criminological thought was founded on such principles. Indeed, after Lombroso's writings about the "born criminal" and Shelden's promotion of somatotyping, biological explanations for criminal behavior fell out of favor. In the past two decades, however, some criminologists have increasingly recognized that ignoring a school of thought that explains so much about human nature would be counterproductive in our efforts to understand the sources of violent behavior.

John Wright and his colleagues (2008) have been especially vocal about the need to apply biosocial theories to criminal behavior. In particular, it is possible that these theories could be used to address the intergenerational transmission of violence. Social scientists routinely accept the idea that alcoholism and addiction have biological influences. We also inherit predispositions, appearances, and so on. Biological research shows that violent tendencies can be traced to brain development. From this line of thinking, it is natural to ask whether genetic influences contribute to violence in the family.

Interestingly, an application of biological principles is often resisted because it is feared that such findings would promote discriminatory practices towards individuals because of their biological makeup. Wright and his colleagues note that such an assumption is shortsighted and it ignores a plethora of policy implications that would be helpful in controlling violence. In terms of family violence, if a connection between biological influences and family violence exists, possible policy implications cited by Wright and his co-authors include the following:

- share information across service providers;
- provide parenting classes for all serious felons;
- better training and education of justice professionals;

- continued research into pharmaceutical therapies for behavioral disorders;
- healthcare, including mental healthcare, for pregnant women and infants;
- legally mandated intervention for drug-addicted pregnant women;
- flagging at-risk kids in doctor's offices;
- universal preschool with full developmental evaluations.

Interdisciplinary Efforts to Study Family Violence

The evolution of scholarly interest in child abuse and elder abuse followed similar trajectories. Both were initially identified as problems by medical professionals, child abuse being "discovered" in the early 1960s by Kempe and his colleagues, and elder abuse being "discovered" in the mid-1970s when one author wrote about "granny bashing" in a British medical journal. After each problem was identified, advocates and social workers were the next groups to express interest in studying the phenomena. Other disciplines such as psychology, sociology, education, counseling, nursing, human ecology, victimology, and gerontology soon followed suit in efforts to study family violence. It was about two decades after each problem was initially studied by other academics that criminologists first began to explore these issues. While criminological interest in family violence lagged behind other disciplines, criminologists were able to build on prior social science research by integrating criminological theories and assumptions into our understanding about child and elder maltreatment.

At this point, it is necessary to broaden our criminological understanding about family violence by further expanding the academic boundaries of research on the topic. The call for interdisciplinary research on family violence is not a new "academic cheer." Indeed, more than a quarter of a century ago, scholars recognized the need to use interdisciplinary frameworks to study family violence (Ohlin & Tonry, 1989). Still, for criminologists to actively participate in and support interdisciplinary research on family violence, it was necessary to first build a criminological foundation of understanding about the topic. Now that this foundation has been created, and given the broader calls for interdisciplinary research in the academy, one would hope that interdisciplinary studies on family violence will become the norm rather than the exception.

Several justifications for interdisciplinary family violence research exist. First, and perhaps foremost, family violence does not occur in a vacuum; the experiences of offenders and victims do not occur within disciplinary boundaries, so efforts to study the problem should not be narrowly construed within specific disciplines. Second, the academy is changing to such a degree, with health sciences and other academic disciplines becoming stronger, that is makes sense for criminologists to join forces with these other disciplines that have had a long interest in exploring family violence. Third, in pure "practical" terms, it is much easier to study and understand a complex problem like family violence if interdisciplinary models are used. Fourth, most external funding agencies now respond more favorably to interdisciplinary efforts, which suggests that future research on family violence will be more likely to be funded if it is interdisciplinary in nature. Finally, as an evolving discipline, criminal justice and criminology can "control their conceptual destiny" by promoting rather than resisting interdisciplinary efforts with a wide variety of disciplines (Payne, 2012).

Payne (2012) has identified several reasons that interdisciplinary research should be used to study problems such as family violence. Barriers to interdisciplinary family violence research include: (i) lack of understanding, (ii) lack of interest, (iii) role

ambiguity, (iv) disciplinary anomie, and (v) the NASCAR effect. In terms of a lack of understanding, as scholars we are trained to have a detailed understanding about our specific discipline, but many of us have only a limited understanding about other academic disciplines.

With regard to a lack of interest, there are few academic rewards that come along with interdisciplinary research: our promotions are based on publishing in discipline specific journals, future citations in our field tend to be come from criminology/ criminal justice journals, and our hiring practices tend to focus on publications in criminal justice/criminology journals rather than interdisciplinary journals.

Role ambiguity prohibits interdisciplinary family violence research inasmuch as various disciplines might assign different types of roles and responsibilities to multiauthored projects. Some disciplines utilize more simple, descriptive analyses while others lean towards specific forms of multivariate analyses. Some disciplines embrace qualitative research methods, while others avoid it, or they define qualitative methods differently than criminologists and sociologists do. The result is that when working on interdisciplinary family violence studies, researchers might experience at least a degree of role ambiguity.

Disciplinary anomie refers to the current state of confusion that criminology/ criminal justice confronts: some scholars define the discipline as "criminology," others define the discipline as "criminal justice," others define the discipline as "justice studies," others define the discipline as "justice administration," and so on. In effect, the discipline spends so much time trying to define itself that efforts to expand into other disciplines are restricted.

Finally, the NASCAR effect suggests that just as race cars compete with one another, disciplines – especially on college campuses – often end up competing with one another rather than working together. Incidentally, in some NASCAR races, when cars race together rather than against one another, they have a better chance of ending in the front of the race. In a similar vein, if disciplines work together to study family violence, all are better off.

Examining the Role of the Community in Explaining and Responding to Family Violence

Criminologists have expanded our understanding about the role of the community in explaining crime and responding to crime. Social disorganization theory and broken windows theory are routinely supported as strong explanations for criminal behavior, and community policing practices and problem-oriented policing strategies are promoted as a panacea for responding to street crimes. These theories and practices call attention to the role of the community in explaining and responding to crime. At this point, criminologists can broaden the application of these theories and practices by promoting their application to family violence.

Past efforts to explain family violence tend to be rooted in individual-level explanations such as histories of violence, drug abuse, and mental illness. From our perspective, given the ability of social disorganization theory and broken windows theory to explain street crime, it only makes sense to ask if these theories explain family violence. Social disorganization theory suggests that communities vary in terms of their ability to control crime in their specific neighborhoods. Traced to Shaw and McKay's concentric zone theory, the perspective postulates that if residents engage in informal

social control strategies, then crime will be lower in that community. From this orientation, one can question whether residents engage in activities that help one another as parents or caregivers. Communities with high levels of support would, then, have less family violence and those with lower levels of support would have more family violence. Similarly, broken windows theory, which suggests that signs of disorder send a message that it is okay to commit crime in a particular neighborhood, could be expanded to explain family violence if one examines how minor forms of disorder in a family escalate into child abuse, sibling violence, or elder abuse.

Just as one could use community-oriented theories to explain family violence, one can also call for community-focused law enforcement practices such as community policing and problem-oriented policing to address these cases. The general need for collaborative responses to address family violence cases fits well within the ideals of both community policing and problem-oriented policing. In effect, law enforcement agencies and prosecutors can work with community agencies to identify the appropriate ways to respond to family violence in those communities. These efforts can be driven by evidence-based research strategies in those same communities.

Technology and Family Violence Interventions

Another area ripe for future violence research involves potential examinations of the effectiveness that various technological innovations have had on the response to family violence. The use of electronic monitoring strategies in child physical abuse and sexual abuse cases, for instance, warrants future research. On the one hand, these technologies are used as a tool to ensure that physically abusive offenders are abiding by protection orders limiting access to their families. On the other hand, the strategies are also used to ensure that sex offenders are not going to places that a large number of children frequent. Essentially, the strategies will tell authorities whether sex offenders are in their homes when they are supposed to be. Given that a large number of sex offenses are committed in offenders' homes, it is not clear whether these technologies are actually protecting children from sexual abuse. Other technological innovations – including the Internet, sex offender web sites, and so on – also have implications for the supervision of sex offenders. Researchers should explore how these technological developments have influenced sex offending. Somewhat related, researchers should examine how families use technology to harm one another in family violence cases.

Overcoming Gaps between Child Abuse and Domestic Violence Interventions

Many cases of domestic violence, up to 77% according to some estimates, involve what is known as co-occurring child abuse (Kellogg & Menard, 2003). In other words, a large percentage of children are abused in families where domestic violence occurs. Among practitioners, questions arise such as whether the family violence case should enter the child abuse network, the domestic violence service delivery system, the criminal justice system, or some other network. Research shows that child protective services workers may not know enough about domestic violence (Button & Payne, 2008), and domestic violence advocates may lack knowledge about child abuse (Payne & Gainey, 2011).

While researchers have examined the service consequences associated with co-occurring family violence, more research is needed on the actual effects of co-occurring violence and the risk factors associated with these behaviors. Do children exposed to both child abuse and domestic violence experience different types of consequences than those exposed to just one type of violence? Are the future victimization risks and offending risks dependent on exposure to co-occurring family violence? Are victims placed on different types of trajectories relative to their exposure to co-occurring family violence? Do different types of communities experience different rates of co-occurring violence? Are there certain types of families that are more prone to co-occurring family violence? Does the presence of strain promote co-occurring family violence? These are but a few of the types of questions that should be addressed in the future.

Criminological/Criminal Justice Studies on Elder Abuse

As noted above, elder abuse was "criminalized" in the 1990s. Perhaps because of the "late blooming" of elder abuse as a crime problem, relatively few criminologists have explored elder abuse as a crime problem. While a handful of criminologists have examined different issues related to the criminal justice response to elder abuse, much more criminological research is needed on the topic. Among other things, researchers should expand their efforts to apply criminological theories to elder abuse, test traditional criminal justice interventions on elder abuse cases, and explore ways to apply innovative criminal justice studies in these situations. In addition, criminologists should explore how elder abuse laws and policies have shaped our current elder abuse response system. Through these efforts a better understanding about criminal justice remedies to address elder abuse should be forthcoming.

Neglect Studies

Describing child neglect, it has been said that "We neglect neglect" (Moore, 1992, p. 80). Compared to research on child physical abuse and sexual abuse, very few "child neglect" studies are conducted. This is particularly interesting given that some research shows that child neglect can actually be more harmful than physical abuse (Payne & Gainey, 2011). A similar pattern of "empirical neglect" exists in the elder abuse literature. Once again, in terms of elder neglect, "We neglect neglect." And again, the limited research that has been done suggests that the consequences of elder neglect are more devastating than the consequences of physical abuse. Such a statement is not meant to diminish the importance of physical abuse; rather, pointing out the seriousness of neglect cases is necessary in order to support this call for more research on child and elder neglect.

Concluding Remarks

Family violence interventions and policies are designed to respond to and prevent cases of family violence. While similar types of interventions are used in both child abuse and elder abuse cases, it is important to recognize that qualitatively different types of practices and strategies are needed in order to effectively respond to these cases. Recognizing the importance of the victim's and offender's stage in the life

course is the first step in determining appropriate response strategies, which are by necessity collaborative in nature. A number of barriers are sure to surface in family violence interventions, but these barriers can be overcome. With advancements in family violence research studies, future professionals will be better prepared to address child abuse and elder abuse.

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Part Five

Partner Violence

Intimate Partner Violence Among College Students

Measurement, Risk Factors, Consequences, and Responses

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Dating provides an opportunity for establishing meaningful and intimate relationships. It also provides the context in which individuals develop a foundation for their behaviors and roles in more long term commitment situations, such as cohabiting or marriage. This experience, which is usually thought of as positive, can become exploitative and violent for some couples (Black et al., 2011; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000). Despite this reality, most of the research prior to the 1980s was devoted to interpersonal violence primarily focused on martial violence, and overlooked violence in other intimate relationships such as dating.

One of the earliest efforts to capture intimate partner violence was undertaken by Kilpatrick and Kanin (1957). The focus of their study was to empirically capture "erotic aggressiveness" by males against females in dating relationships on a college campus. Despite their findings that relationship violence was a widespread problem, the study received little attention (Fisher, Daigle, & Cullen, 2010). In the 1980s, however, dating violence began to receive attention from researchers. The seminal research that Makepeace published in 1981 jump started the interest in this area. The results of this study revealed that one in five college couples experience violence within their relationship (Makepeace, 1981). In turn, Makepeace's work influenced the more recent research on intimate partner violence or dating violence among college students. Such behavior has been identified as a growing social and health concern, especially on college campuses.

The incidence of intimate partner violence among college students is of concern to many researchers, especially since such behavior may extend into future dating and marital relationships. In addition, there are a host of negative consequences that can manifest as a result of experiencing dating violence including physical, emotional, and academic problems (Harned, 2001). As such, research can aid college administrators

in addressing the problem of dating violence among students. To do so, however, it is crucial that the risk factors and correlates of such behavior are well understood by researchers and college administrators. Furthermore, more attention needs to be given to the consequences of intimate partner violence and the policies or programs that can help lower the incidence of said behavior on college campuses.

Definition of Intimate Partner Violence

Intimate partner violence is a pattern of coercive behaviors that can result in physical injury, psychological abuse, sexual assault, and social isolation. For such violent behavior to be categorized as intimate partner violence, the perpetrator must be someone who is currently or was formally involved in an intimate relationship with the victim (Amar & Gennaro, 2005). There are three types of violence that constitute intimate partner violence: (i) psychological/emotional abuse, (ii) physical, and (iii) sexual. This section will, however, only focus on psychological/emotional abuse and physical violence. Psychological/emotional abuse refers to instances in which the perpetrator acts in an offensive or degrading way toward his or her partner. This type of abuse is usually verbal and includes threats, ridicule, restrictions, and not being affectionate (Capaldi, Knoble, Shortt, & Kim, 2012). Physical violence refers to forceful physical contact that occurs between couples. This can include light pushes and slaps, as well as more serious acts like punching and lethal violence. Individuals can experience negative consequences from both psychological/emotional abuse and physical intimate partner violence. In other words, a person does not need to be physically attacked in order to suffer negative outcomes (these outcomes will be discussed in detail in a following section).

   In terms of college students, research has indicated that less severe forms of physical and psychological abuse more commonly occur. Such violence fits into what Johnson (1995) refers to as common couple violence, in which both partners engage in relatively low levels of violence and aggression. Common couple violence functions as conflict resolution and stress management, although its effectiveness to solve problems is questionable. Another type of intimate partner violence less common among college students is patriarchal or intimate terrorism, which is a type of intimate partner violence that is more severe in nature (Amar & Gennaro, 2005; Orcutt et al., 2005). This type of violence is highly patterned and mostly perpetrated by men (Johnson, 1995). The goal of engaging in intimate terrorism is to establish control over a partner. Accordingly, a victim of this type of violence may experience very serious forms of violence, many restrictions on their behavior, and feel socially isolated from friends and family (Orcutt, Garcia, & Pickett, 2005).

Measurement of Intimate Partner Violence Among College Students

Before knowing the extent to which intimate partner violence occurs and is perpetrated by college students, how it is measured must first be understood. One of the most frequently employed methods to measure intimate partner violence among college students is through the administration of the Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS), which was originally developed by Straus (1979), or its revised version (CTS-2)

(Straus, Hamby, Boney-McCoy, & Sugarman, 1996). Designed to measure the strategies in which couples resolve conflict, the CTS-R examines the use of conflict tactics in three domains: negotiation, psychological aggression, and physical assault. Also included in the CTS-2 are measures of sexual coercion and injury. When administered, individuals are asked about the number of times they did each of 78 things in the past year and the number of times his/her partner did them in the past year. Response options range from 0 "this never happened" to 6 "more than 20 times in the past year," with another category indicating that it has happened, but not in the past year.

Other measurement strategies also have been employed to gauge the extent to which college students experience intimate partner violence. For example, some researchers have chosen to use a modified version of the CTS-2 (Daley & Noland, 2001; Graves, Sechrist, & Paradise, 2005), while others have used different measurement tools altogether. Neufeld and associates (1999), in their study of college women in an introductory psychology class, used the Abusive Behavior Inventory to measure psychological (e.g., threatened suicide, kept victim from having money, called victim names or criticized victim) and physical (e.g., pushed, slapped, spanked, kicked, forced to have sex) intimate partner violence. To measure psychological maltreatment of women, Straight and colleagues (2003) used 44 items from the Psychological Maltreatment of Women Inventory. Behaviors such as being yelled or screamed at or having a partner calling you names are included in this inventory. The Abuse Assessment Screen was used by Amar (2007) and Amar and Gennaro (2005) to measure physical, sexual, and psychological violence. This instrument asks individuals about being hit, kicked, slapped, or physically hurt; being made to do something sexual that they did not want to do; being afraid of their partner; being humiliated, shamed, put down in public; and being kept from seeing friends or doing things wanted to do (McFarlane, Christoffel, Bateman, Miller, & Bullock, 1991).

Perpetration of intimate partner violence has been measured via the Abuse-Perpetration Inventory (Gratz, Paulson, Jakupcak, & Tull, 2009). The Conflict in Adolescent Dating Relationships Inventory was modified to measure college students' victimization and perpetration by Roudsari, Leahy, and Walters (2009). Finally, researchers have simply asked respondents a single question about their intimate partner violence perpetration or victimization (Lehrer, Buka, Gortmaker, & Shrier, 2006; Martino, Collins, & Ellickson, 2005). An example of a single question is being asked if his/her date/boyfriend/girlfriend ever started a physical fight with him/her (Durant et al., 2007) or whether they had been a perpetrator or a victim of physical, emotional, and/or sexual violence in a relationship during college (Forke, Myers, Catallozzi, & Schwarz, 2008).

Official statistics are not typically a useful resource for understanding the extent and dynamics of intimate partner violence among college students. Although the FBI's Uniform Crime Report presents statistics for crimes known to law enforcement by university or college campuses, details about crimes involving college students are not provided in a way to know the extent of reported intimate partner violence that is occurring among college students. In addition, studies using clinical data or data from rape crisis centers or other social services (e.g., domestic violence shelters) do not typically present results for college students. This omission is most probably because these data sources do not have enough college students in their pool to warrant doing so or because they are not presenting their research by subpopulations.

The Extent of Intimate Partner Violence Among College Students

Since Makepeace's (1981) study that provided an account of courtship violence among college students, many studies have provided estimates as to how "much" intimate partner violence is occurring by and against college students. Estimates of intimate partner violence victimization range from 10% (Forke et al., 2008) to 92% (Straight, Harper, & Arias, 2003). When examining specific types of intimate partner violence, college students are more likely to experience psychological or verbal abuse at the hands of their intimate partners than they are physical abuse (Albaugh & Nauta, 2005; Banyard, Shanyn, & Smith, 2000; Forke et al., 2008; Gover, Kaukinen, & Fox, 2008; Neufeld, McNamara, & Ertl, 1999; Orcutt et al., 2005; Porter & Williams, 2011; Próspero & Vohra-Gupta, 2007; Rutter, L. A., Weatherill, R. P., Taft, C. T, & Orazem, R. J., 2012; Sabina & Straus, 2008).

This robust finding is highlighted by the findings from the American College Health Association's National College Health Assessment (ACHA-NCHA) that is conducted twice a year (starting in 2000) and provides the most comprehensive data set available on the health of college students. Postsecondary institutions that self-select to participate distribute the survey to its students. Those schools who randomly select students to participate or who randomly distribute the survey to its students are included in the database. Although not generalizable, with 23,518 undergraduate students at 44 institutions participating in 2011, the ACHA-CHA is a rich data source. From these data, as can be seen in Figure 19.1, 10% of students reported being in an emotionally abusive intimate relationship within the last 12 months, and 2% of students reported that they were in a physically abusive intimate relationship within the last 12 months. Rates of intimate partner violence were higher when the survey first began, and have been fairly stable since 2008.

The extent to which college students perpetrate intimate partner violence, against college and noncollege students, has also been explored. Again, the estimates vary widely. Estimates ranged from 17% of a sample reporting perpetrating intimate partner violence Follingstad, D. R., Wright, S., Lloyd, S., & Sebastian, J. A. (1991) to almost half (45%) (Straus & Ramirez, 2007).
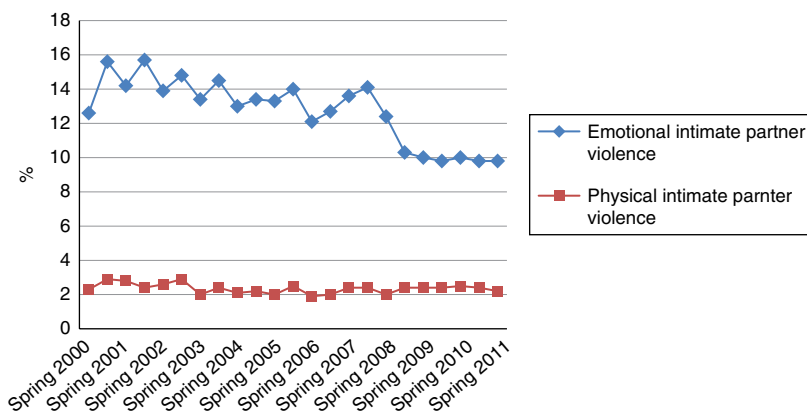
Figure 19.1 Extent of college students' IPV. *Source:* Compiled from ACHA-NCHA data 2000–2011, http://www.acha-ncha.org/pubs_rpts.html.

What contributes to the variations in estimates of intimate partner violence victimization and perpetration? First, the sample size and composition likely contributes to differences in the estimates. Most of the research on college student intimate partner violence has been conducted using small samples from a single university, often from one major (e.g., introductory psychology students). A small group of studies has provided estimates of the extent of intimate partner violence among college students using national samples or samples from multiple campuses (DeKeseredy & Kelly, 1993; Durant et al., 2007; Forke et al., 2008; Gover, Kaukinen, & Fox, 2008; Sabina & Straus, 2008; Simons, Burt, & Simons, 2008; Straus, 2004, 2008; Straus & Ramirez, 2007; Testa, Hoffman, & Leonard, 2011; White & Koss, 1991). In addition, some studies define intimate partner violence expansively, including psychological/emotional abuse as well as physical and sexual aggression in their measures. Others, on the other hand, limit their definition to only physical abuse. Accordingly, the measurement tool used also varies as previously discussed. Such definitional and measurement disparities will impact estimates, since psychological/emotional abuse is more common among college students than physical forms of intimate partner violence. Another factor that influences estimates is the recall period used in the survey. Some studies ask students about the victimization and perpetration in the past year, while others ask about these experiences since enrolling in college or a different recall period, such as the previous six months. As such, it is important to note the time period to which a survey question is referring. Whatever the reason, the extent to which college students engage in and are victims of intimate partner violence has captured the attention of researchers since the early 1980s and continues to hold their interest. Along with knowing the extent to which college students are affected by intimate partner violence, researchers have identified factors that enhance college students' risk for experiencing intimate partner violence.

Risk Factors for Intimate Partner Violence

Many risk factors can increase the risk of an individual experiencing college dating violence. One of the most salient factors for college students is age. Research in this area consistently shows that age is inversely related to intimate partner violence. That is, as age increases, the risk of dating violence decreases (Capaldi et al., 2012). According to the United States Department of Justice, women between the ages of 16 to 24 are at the highest risk of nonfatal partner violence, and women between the ages of 20 to 29 have the greatest risk of being murdered by their intimate partner (Amar & Gennaro, 2005). Importantly, then, the age at which women are most likely to experience intimate partner violence is also the time period that many women attend college, because a majority of college women are within this high-risk age group (Próspero & Vohra-Gupta, 2007). As implied above, gender also is considered an important risk factor in intimate partner violence. The research on how gender impacts risk is, however, mixed. This issue of gender and intimate partner violence is discussed in detail in a later section.

The length and status of the relationship is also predictive of intimate partner violence. The length of time a couple has been together is positively correlated with violence in college dating relationships. Couples who have been together for a long period usually are more emotionally invested than newly dating couples. When this is

the case, it is more likely that individuals will find themselves engaging in common couple violence as a means to manage problems and stress (Marcus & Swett, 2002; Orcutt et al., 2005). Furthermore, cohabiting couples are more likely to perpetrate intimate partner violence when compared to dating couples (Capaldi et al., 2012). In addition, young women living on college campuses are especially vulnerable to dating violence. In many cases they are living away from home for the first time, and their peers and intimate partner play a more important role in their lives than their family members. As a result, research suggests that they may misinterpret controlling and jealous behavior as a sign of affection (Spencer & Bryant, 2000).

Demographic factors have also been found to be related to risk of intimate partner violence for college students. In general, research has indicated that unemployment and low income are predictors of college students' intimate partner violence. Race has been identified as a potential risk factor for intimate partner violence. The research has indicated that being a member of a minority group is a risk factor for dating violence. Specifically, the risk is highest for African American college students (Capaldi et al., 2012). In a study by Caetano and colleagues (2005), when compared to Hispanic and White couples, African American couples had an incidence rate for intimate partner violence that was twice as high. Keep in mind, however, that the relationship between race and dating violence can be mediated by other factors, such as age, income, and marital status. When these factors are taken into consideration, many times race is no longer a risk factor (Capaldi et al., 2012).

Lastly, alcohol may also play a role in intimate partner violence for college students. The results have been equivocal for the association between alcohol use and intimate partner violence among college students. Some studies have found no association (Makepeace, 1981), whereas others have found a positive association between alcohol use and dating violence (Luthra & Gidycz, 2006). Nevertheless, there are theoretical reasons to believe that alcohol use both by the perpetrator and the victim increases the risk of intimate partner violence among college couples. Most importantly, alcohol's pharmacological characteristics may facilitate aggression by disturbing executive functioning, impairing fear responses, and increasing psychological and physiological stimulation (Roudsari, Leahy, & Walters, 2009). Furthermore, high levels of alcohol consumption are likely to result in insensitivity to pain and loss of coordinated movements. The circumstances in which college students drink alcohol and their expectations of the consequences of alcohol use also are important considerations. For example, drinkers who expect an increase in aggression are more likely to behave aggressively when drinking compared to individuals who do not share this same expectancy (Williams & Smith, 1994). Because college marks a time of increased drinking for many students, it may contribute to experiencing and engaging in intimate partner violence for some people.

Gender Symmetry in Intimate Partner Violence Among College Students

As noted above, gender's role in the production of intimate partner violence among college students has been considered among researchers who have attempted to identify what places individuals at risk for this type of violence. Historically, however, when intimate partner violence became recognized as an issue in the United States during the 1970s, it was done so out of concern specifically for women. Born out of the

women's rights movement, attention was brought to the plight of women who were in abusive relationships in which men were the sole aggressors. The fact that males could also be abused by their partners went unrecognized. With the development of self-report surveys, such as the Conflict Tactics Scales, a picture of intimate partner violence that includes both males and females as victims and perpetrators began to emerge. Today, the extent to which males and females engage in and experience intimate partner violence is hotly debated.

One of the reasons that this debate has developed is because of the different sources of data used to produce estimates of the extent of intimate partner violence. Official statistics generated from police reports, shelters, and crisis centers generally have shown that women are more likely than men to be victimized at the hands of their intimate partners (Johnson, 1995). This gender difference most likely highlights the types of intimate partner violence that come to the attention of the police and these other types of agencies. Severe violence that involves injury or that is part of a pattern of abuse is more likely than less severe forms of violence to be reported or to result in the victim seeking emergency services. Self-report data, on the other hand, reflect a variety of different types of behaviors, including psychological abuse (e.g., preventing partner from doing things he/she wants to do), that are typically not indicated in official data sources. Others have proffered that official data sources reflect patriarchal terrorism, a type of intimate partner violence, in which one partner (most always the male) engages in severe, patterned violence borne out of a need to dominate and control the other (Johnson, 1995). Intimate partner violence that is measured through survey data, on the other hand, most likely consists of common couple or situational violence, which is a type of intimate partner violence in which both partners engage in typically low-levels of violence that is borne out of disagreements that escalate, not a desire to dominate or control the other partner (Johnson, 1995).

This examination of gender differences in the extent of intimate partner violence has been extended to the study of college students' partner violence. Within this examination, five areas have been studied – the extent to which males and females are victimized and perpetrated, the bidirectionality of abuse, initiation of abuse, the types and frequency of behaviors in which males and females engage, and motives for engaging in intimate partner violence.

The Extent of Perpetration and Victimization By Gender

Most of the research using samples of male and female college and university students has found that there is little gender difference in intimate partner violence victimization or perpetration. When differences have been found, most of the research has found that females, rather than males, are more likely to report engaging in intimate partner violence than their male counterparts. On the other hand, generally, males and females report similar levels of being victimized by their intimate partners than female college students.

For example, in a meta-analysis of 37 studies of college students, the rate of female partner violence exceeded that of the male rate of partner violence (Archer, 2000). Other research since 2000 also supports this finding that females are more likely than males to perpetrate intimate partner violence while enrolled in college (Baker & Stith, 2008; Cercone, Beach, & Arias, 2005; Daley & Noland, 2001; Durant et al., 2007; Forke et al. 2008; Fossos, N., Neighbors, C., Kaysen, D., & Hove, C. (2007); Gratz

et al., 2009; Harned, 2001; Hendy et al., 2003; Hines & Saudino, 2003; Holt & Gillespie, 2008; Luthra & Gidycz, 2006; Monson & Langhinrichsen-Rohling, 2002; Shook et al., 2000; Simonelli et al., 2002; Williams & Frieze, 2005). In Straus and Ramirez's (2007) study of students enrolled at four universities, a slight gender difference emerged – 35% of females and 30% of males had engaged in intimate partner violence during the previous twelve months. Perpetration has been compared for males and females at universities around the world as well. In his study of 31 sites (including universities in Asia and the Middle East, Australia and New Zealand, Europe, Latin America, and North America), Straus (2004) found that females perpetrated assault at higher rates in 21 of the 31 sites.

The prevalence of victimization for male and female college students has generally been found to be similar. In a study of university students from 19 schools in the United States it was found that 34% of males and females experienced psychological aggression and 31% of males and 28% of females experienced physical assault (Sabina & Straus, 2008). Other studies have also produced similar results, with male and female college students exhibiting similar rates of intimate partner violence victimization (Harned, 2001, 2002; Jain, S., Buka, S. L., Subramanian, S. V., & Molnar, B. E. (2010); Milletich, R. J., Kelley, M. L., Doane, A. N., & Pearson, M. R. (2010); Prospero, 2009; Rutter, L. A., Weatherill, R. P., Taft, C. T, & Orazem, R. J. (2012); Saewyc et al., 2009; Taft, C. T., Schumm, J., Orazem, R. J., Meis, L., & Pinto, L. A. (2010).

Not all studies have found gender similarity or that females have higher rates. Instead, some research has concluded that female college students are *more likely* than male college students to be the victims of relationship violence. As an example, in a study of 910 students enrolled in three colleges, 10% of women and 3% of men indicated they had been the victim of relationship violence during college (Forke et al., 2008). The American College Health Association's National College Health Assessment study has found that although males and females report similar rates of being in emotionally abusive relationships, a greater percentage of female students indicate being in physically abusive relationships within the last twelve months (see Figure 19.2 and Figure 19.3). For example, in Spring 2011, 7% of males and 11% of females noted that they had been in emotionally abusive relationships, yet 2% each of males and females had been in a physically abusive relationship in the last 12 months (American College Health Association National College Health Assessment II, 2011).

Most of this research, however, has been conducted using single sites (e.g., one university or college) and/or convenience samples (e.g., introductory psychology
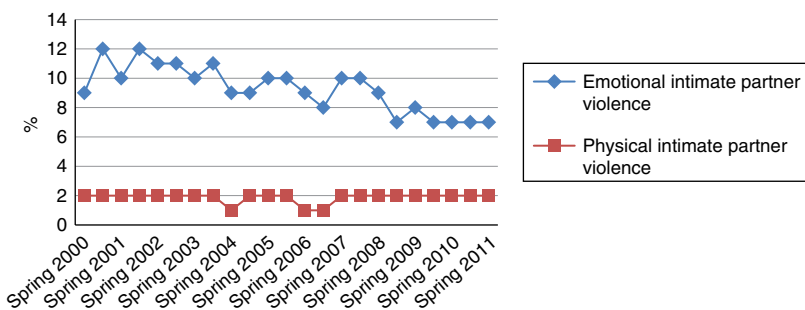
Figure 19.2   Extent of male college students' IPV. *Source:* Compiled from ACHA-NCHA data 2000–2011, http://www.acha-ncha.org/pubs_rpts.html.
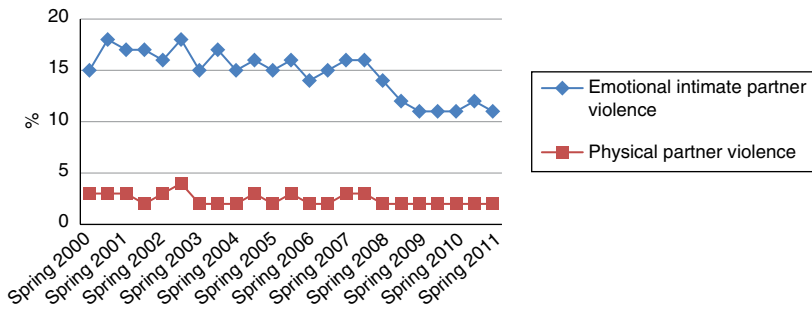
Figure 19.3 Extent of female college students' IPV. *Source:* Compiled from ACHA-NCHA data 2000–2011, http://www.acha-ncha.org/pubs_rpts.html.

classes) that are often not randomly selected or representative of the total student body. Although doing so is not inherently problematic, results from such studies must be interpreted with caution given their limited generalizability. Nonetheless, some of these studies have indeed shown that college females experience higher levels of victimization than college males (Allen, Swan, & Raghavan, 2009; Siewert & Flanagan, 2000). Still other studies have shown that *college males* are the more likely victims of intimate partner violence (Bookwala, 2002; Cercone, Beach, & Arias, 2005; Cogan & Ballinger, 2006; Hines & Saudino, 2003).

Bidirectionality of Intimate Partner Violence

Another facet of intimate partner violence that has been studied is whether one or both partners is violent in the relationship. In their study of four universities, Straus & Ramirez (2007) found that among couples who reported violence, 71% indicated that both partners engaged in at least one assault. In addition, when only one partner was violent, most often it was the female partner who engaged in violence – in fact, females were twice as likely to be the perpetrator in this case. When severe violence was considered separately, there was less gender symmetry (57%), but when only one person was severely violent in the couple, it was more likely to be the female partner. This finding is contrary to what has been found in the general intimate partner violence literature, which has shown that when there is violence by only one partner, the male is the most likely perpetrator (Straus & Ramirez, 2007). Although speculative, it may be the age of college women that is driving this difference. As noted by Straus and Ramirez (2007), a previous meta-analysis that included both college samples and community samples found that the rate of intimate partner violence by females exceeded that by males more in the college sample than in the community sample, thus indicating that there is something unique about the college sample.

Initiation of Violence

Even if men and women are both violent in their relationships, women may be more likely than men to use violence in reaction to their partners' violence. That is, women may be less likely to initiate violence than men in their relationships. The results discussed above show in most violent relationships involving college students that both partners engage in violence and when there is only one violent partner it is likely to be

the female partner undermines this assertion. Despite this finding, the results do not directly speak to who is the first to initiate violence.

At least one study has attempted to examine why college students engage in violence with a measure of retaliation. In this study, male perpetrators were more likely than female perpetrators to report that their motivation for using physical force was in retaliation for being hit first (Follingstad et al., 1991). Another way of examining use of violence as a response is by examining whether a perpetrator has a violent partner. Luthra and Gidycz (2006) included a measure of partner's use of aggression as a predictor of perpetrating dating violence for male and female college students. Contrary to Follingstad et al.'s (1991) finding, they discovered that having a partner who was aggressive increased the likelihood that both males and females would engage in dating violence, but that it was a stronger predictor for females, thus suggesting that females are more likely to use violence in response to dating violence.

Types of Intimate Partner Violence In Which Males and Females Engage

One of the key points often debated is that even if females engage in more intimate partner violence against their partners that they engage in less severe forms that result in less serious consequences to their partner than when men aggress against their partners. This possibility has been investigated for college students. In studies that have delineated the types of intimate partner violence in which the perpetrator has engaged, some have found that college women were more likely than men to perpetrate physical violence (Forke et al., 2008) or physical force/aggression (Shook et al., 2000; White, 2009). Other studies have shown that females are more likely than males to engage in acts considered moderate or severe. Results from Straus's (2004) study of 31 sites around the world show that the percentage of female students who engage in severe assaults against their partners exceeds the percentage of male students who do the same against their partners in the majority of sites.

When violence is labeled severe or minor, again college women have been shown to have higher perpetration rates than college men (Cercone et al., 2005). In looking at specific types of violence, research shows that female college students are more likely to throw something at their partner; to push, grab or shove their partner; and to slap their partner than are male college students (Luthra & Gidycz, 2006). In support of this point, Rouse, Breen, and Howell (1988) found that male college students were more likely to report having been struck with their hands or feet by their female partners than vice versa. Still other research has shown that both males and females are equally likely to engage in physical aggression (White & Koss, 1991), and rates of severe assault have also been shown to be similar for male and female college students (Straus & Ramirez, 2007).

Another pattern of intimate partner violence that can shed light on the gender symmetry debate is the frequency with which people engage in abuse against their partners. Although less studied, at least one study has investigated whether male and female college students differ in terms of their chronicity of use of aggression against their partners. Straus and Ramirez (2007) did not find any gender differences in frequency of physical aggression, but when they examined severe assaults separately, a gender difference emerged. Male college students hit their partner more than twice as often as female college students. When the median was examined instead of the mean, however, the difference between males and females was much smaller – the

median for males was four incidents of severe violence and for females it was three. The difference between the mean and median suggests that there were a few extremely violent males in the sample who were driving the results, but the differences for males and females for the median and mean were both nonetheless significant.

Correlates of Intimate Partner Violence Across Gender

The final element of the gender debate that has been empirically examined is the cause of relationship violence for college males and females. It has been hypothesized that even if males and females engage in violence at different (or similar) rates, they do so for different reasons. To this end, research has identified several key factors that may distinguish dating violence by male and female college students.

One area of research has focused on the motivations for engaging in violence for both male and female college students. Follingstad and colleagues reported that a greater percentage of females used physical force in order to get control of the other person and in retaliation for an emotional hurt (Follingstad et al., 1991). Males, on the other hand, were more likely to report using physical force in retaliation for being hurt first or because of jealousy (Follingstad et al., 1991). Other researchers have found that jealousy predicted female college students' (not males') use of violence, and that jealousy was not significantly related to males' violence (Stets & Pirog-Good, 1987).

Cognitive-emotional and personality factors also may differentially lead to engaging in violence for college males and females. For example, it has been shown that male college students who were physically violent in their relationships had greater problems controlling their anger than physically violent females (Follingstad et al., 1999). Endorsement of sexist attitudes, both hostile sexism and benevolent sexism, have also been explored. Although sexist attitudes did not predict victimization or perpetration among a predominantly Hispanic sample of college students, male college students who endorsed benevolently sexist attitudes were less likely to perpetrate intimate partner violence than other males (Allen, Swan, & Raghavan, 2009). In addition, personality traits also have been examined. In their study of college students at Indiana University, Stets and Pirog-Good (1987) found that expressiveness (related to devoting yourself completely to your partner and being highly emotional) was related to intimate partner violence perpetration for males, but not for females.

The last set of correlates of intimate partner violence that have been examined for gender differences is early childhood experiences. Generally, the literature on the intergenerational transmission of abuse finds that individuals who are exposed to abuse in childhood are at risk of being offenders and victims later in life, even of intimate partner violence (see Widom, 1989). Research on college students suggests that the effect of childhood abuse may, however, be gendered. Some research has found that witnessing violence between parents reduces the likelihood that male college students will engage in intimate partner violence, but that witnessing violence between parents is unrelated to females' intimate partner violence (Shook et al., 2000). Still other research has failed to find a link between parents' use of physical violence (not necessarily witnessing this violence) and using or receiving dating violence for male or female college students. Being the direct victim of physical violence as a child by a parent, on the other hand, increases the likelihood that male college students will be victimized by their partners (Stets & Pirog-Good, 1987). Similarly, parental physical

punishment has been linked to victimization and perpetration of intimate partner violence by male college students, but not females (White, 2009).

Considered together, there is no single conclusion to the gender symmetry debate. It appears at least from the existing literature that female college students are more likely to perpetrate intimate partner violence than their male counterparts, but that males and females report somewhat similar rates of victimization. Areas less explored are the frequency and chronicity of abuse and the injuries resulting from intimate partner violence among this population. Regardless of who is perpetrating, there are likely consequences – although these consequences may be different depending on the severity and length of abuse.

Consequences of Intimate Partner Violence for College Students

Several consequences of intimate partner victimization have been identified from studies of college students. These consequences range from psychological health outcomes such as anxiety, depression, and posttraumatic stress to physical health outcomes such as self-injury, risk-taking behaviors, and physical injury. Although the link between victimization and school-related outcomes has not been clearly established, there is also evidence to suggest that intimate partner violence may have a negative effect on victims' educational experiences by reducing their GPA and increasing the likelihood of academic withdrawal (Harned, 2001). This body of research demonstrates that the adverse outcomes of intimate partner violence among this population are multifaceted, influencing both their overall health and educational wellbeing.

Physical and psychological violence perpetrated against college students by intimate partners has been associated with a wide range of adverse mental health conditions. One psychological outcome that has been found to occur as a result of intimate partner victimization is depression. Harned (2001) reports that psychological intimate partner violence was positively associated with symptoms of depression among both female and male college students. Similarly, Kaura and Lohman's (2007) analysis found that victims of both psychological and physical partner victimization were more likely than nonvictims to report experiencing depression. Findings from Sabina and Straus's (2008) International Dating Violence Study also supports this relationship. They report that psychological intimate partner violence was associated with depression among both males and females and that physical intimate partner violence increased risk of depression among females. Although they did not observe an effect for males, Romito and Grassi (2007) also report a positive relationship between intimate partner violence and depression among female victims.

Anxiety has also been identified as one of the adverse mental health impacts of intimate partner violence among college students. Both Harned's (2001) and Kaura and Lohman's (2007) analyses found that victims of psychological and physical violence were more likely than nonvictims to experience anxiety. Posttraumatic stress (PTS) is another specific mental health outcome that has been associated with college students' intimate partner and dating violence. Harned (2001) reports elevated levels of PTS among victims of either psychological or physical partner violence. Sabina and Straus (2008) report similar findings. They found severe physical intimate partner

violence predicted PTS for both college male and female victims and that severe psychological intimate partner violence was related to PTS for female victims.

In addition to these more firmly established relationships, there is evidence that intimate partner victimization may also lead to other negative mental health outcomes for college students. These psychological consequences of violence include somatization (Kaura & Lohman, 2007), body shape concerns, negative affect (Harned, 2001), panic attacks, eating problems, and suicidal thoughts (Romito & Grassi, 2007). Intimate partner violence has also been found to have an adverse impact on the intimate relationship itself for college students. For instance, Kaura and Lohman (2007) found that intimate partner violence victimization decreased relationship satisfaction among male and female victims, while Próspero and Vohra-Gupta (2007) found that college student dating violence led to negative perceptions of intimate partners among female victims.

Along with these specific psychological outcomes, research identifies that college students who have experienced intimate partner violence report overall higher levels of mental health symptomology. In their comparison of victims and nonvictims, Amar and Gennaro (2005) report that college students who had experienced dating violence were significantly more likely to have higher levels of mental health symptoms and general psychological distress than nonvictims. Further, Próspero and Vohra-Gupta (2008) found a relationship between psychological and physical intimate partner violence and the use of mental health services in their study of college students. They report that students who had experienced psychological or physical violence were significantly more likely to talk to mental health practitioners than their nonvictim counterparts. The relationship between intimate partner violence and negative mental health outcomes also appears to be influenced by the frequency of partner violence. Amar and Gennaro's (2005) analysis showed that among college students, multiple victims were more likely than nonvictims and single victims to report more serious levels of psychological distress. Sabina and Straus (2008) report that polyvictimization was the strongest predictor of PTS among male and female college students, and depression among females.

In addition to the adverse psychological consequences of intimate partner violence, there are also negative physical outcomes that have been associated with intimate partner violence among college students. Amar and Gennaro (2005) found that 32% of intimate partner violence victims reported physical injuries as a result of a victimization perpetrated by an intimate partner. These injuries ranged from scratches to bruises to more severe injuries such as lacerations, broken bones, and head trauma. Further, they reported that multiple victims reported a greater number of injuries in comparison to single victims. Harned (2001) also found evidence of a relationship between college students' physical intimate partner violence and physical injury. She noted that physical partner violence increased risk of injury for both males and females and that injury severity increased with the frequency of victimization for females. Straight and colleagues (2003) also found that college students may suffer physical consequences of partner violence. They found that victims of psychological abuse were more likely than nonvictims to report physical and role limitations, negative health perceptions, and cognitive impairment.

Research suggests that intimate partner violence may also influence the strategies that college student victims use to cope with their victimization experiences such as self-injury and participation in risk-taking behaviors. Murray and colleagues (2008)

found that dating violence victimization was significantly related to self-inflicted physical injury and that the likelihood of self-injury was elevated for victims of intimate partner violence. Further, Straight et al. (2003) found that partner violence may influence participation in risk-taking behaviors for college students. They reported that victims of psychological abuse were more likely than nonvictims to use illegal drugs.

Unlike the link between intimate partner violence and psychological and physical consequences, less is known about how partner violence may impact college students' educational experiences. Some evidence, however, suggests that intimate partner violence can result in negative school-related outcomes. For instance, Harned's (2001) analysis found a relationship between psychological and physical dating violence and academic withdrawal. That is, students who experienced dating violence were more likely to drop out of courses in which they were currently enrolled. Although Harned's study has been the only one to examine the specific link between victimization and educational outcomes, research on the relationship between mental health conditions and academic outcomes also sheds light on the potential consequences of intimate partner violence among college students. Fazio and Palm (1998) reported that there was a negative relationship between depression and GPA scores. In addition, Andersson and colleagues (2009) found evidence that high stress may increase the likelihood of early dropout among college students. Although these studies do not explicitly examine the link between victimization and academic outcomes, they suggest that victimization may have an adverse impact on educational experiences indirectly through mental health disorders. Therefore, it is possible that the consequences of victimization may be compounding. That is, psychological consequences (e.g., depression and stress) of intimate partner violence could in turn lead to academic consequences (e.g., poor grades and academic withdrawal).

In sum, research demonstrates that the consequences of intimate partner violence among college students are widespread. These consequences range from adverse effects on the mental and physical health of students to negative impacts on their educational experience. Given the seriousness of the identified consequences of intimate partner victimization experienced by college students, programs focused on preventing intimate partner violence may play a large role in promoting the overall health of students and fostering their educational success.

The Federal Government's Responses to Intimate Partner Violence Among College Students

The estimates of intimate partner violence among college students and its attending consequences presented in this chapter coupled with the recent 23-year prison sentence handed down to George W. Huguely V, the former University of Virginia athlete, for beating to death his ex-girlfriend, Yeardley Love, underscore the importance for colleges and universities to effectively address intimate partner violence among college students. Among the federal government's response to intimate partner violence before there is a fatal crime has been to enact legislation and allocate funding for college and university staff to address not only partner abuse but also sexual assaults and stalking – crimes that are primarily perpetrated by current or former intimate partners or dating partners (Fisher et al., 2010).

Jeanne Clery Disclosure of Campus Security Policy and Campus Crime Statistics Act of 1990

The federal government's interest in crime on college and university campuses began with the passage of the Jeanne Clery Disclosure of Campus Security Policy and Campus Crime Statistics Act of 1990 (first enacted as Crime Awareness and Campus Security Act of 1990; now known as the Clery Act). Their interest in campus crime has continued with amendments to this Act in 1992, 1998, 2000, and 2008. Among the provisions of the Clery Act are for Title IV schools to annually collect and report crime statistics, including forcible and nonforcible rape and aggravated assault, and to disclose their campus sexual assault polices (Sloan & Fisher, 2006). Notably, neither of these two mandates specially targets intimate partner violence among college students. For example, crime statistics are not reported by the offender's relationship to the victim (e.g., intimate partner, dating partner, friend/acquaintance).

In response to the growing concern about partner abuse, especially date and acquaintance rape, Congress amended the Clery Act in 1992 to require schools to adopt a sexual assault policy that addresses both educational programming and provides victims certain basic rights. The "Campus Sexual Assault Victims' Bill of Rights" provisions include informing victims of options to change living and academic situations, counseling services, and affording the accuser and accused rights during and after a campus disciplinary hearing (Carter & Bath, 2007).

The Campus Sexual Violence Elimination Act

Proposed by Senator Bob Casey (D-PA) and co-sponsored by Patty Murray (D-WA) and House Representative Caroline Maloney (D-NY) to update the Clery Act (Senator's Casey Office, 2012), the Campus Sexual Violence Elimination (SaVE) Act, was signed by President Obama on March 7, 2013.

The Campus Sexual Violence Elimination (SaVE) Act explicitly requires "domestic violence, dating violence, sexual assault, and stalking" to be disclosed in the annual campus crime statistics report and includes these crimes in its standards for institutional disciplinary procedures. SaVE requires college and universities to provide training to students and employees to address these crimes and provide guidelines for such training (e.g., primary prevention and awareness, bystander intervention, and information on risk reduction to recognize warning signs of abusive behavior). The Departments of Justice, Education, and Health and Human Services are to collaborate to collect and disseminate best practices of preventing and responding to these four crimes.

The Violence Against Women Act

The Office of Violence Against Women (OVW) was authorized under the Violence Against Women Act (VAWA) and its 2000 and 2005 reauthorizations to implement the Grants to Reduce Sexual Assault, Domestic Violence, Dating Violence, and Stalking on Campus Program (the Campus Program) in accordance with the Higher Education Amendments of 1998 (Office of Violence Against Women, 2012). The Campus Program encourages a comprehensive, coordinated community approach that "enhances victim safety and assistance and supports efforts to hold offenders accountable" (Office of Violence Against Women, 2012, p. 3). This campus-led approach

includes a variety of strategies. These strategies include: training or strengthening effective responses for law enforcement and campus judicial/disciplinary members, providing education programs (in particular to all incoming students), providing victim services, improved coordination among responsible parties both on and off campus, developing or expanding data collection and communication systems, and holding offenders accountable.

To develop these initiatives, the OWV awarded the first Campus Program grants in 1999. From 2005 to 2011, they awarded 186 grants totaling nearly $54 million to both private and public colleges and universities across the United States and in DC and Puerto Rico to address domestic violence, dating violence, sexual assault and stalking on campus. Information compiled from the annual 2007 to 2010 Reports to Congress showed that among the 90 grantees, the top five priority areas that they addressed were: (i) implementing education programs for prevention (18% of campuses), (ii) supporting improved communication among campus and local law enforcement (18%), (iii) developing and implementing campus policies, protocols, and service to effectively identify and respond to crime and training of campus law enforcement and those serving on campus disciplinary boards about such polices and protocols and services (17%), (iv) developing, enlarging and strengthening victims' services programs on campuses (e.g., legal, medical or psychological) (16%), and (v) creating, disseminating, and otherwise providing assistance and information about victims' options on and off campus to bring disciplinary and other legal action (14%).

One measure of the effectiveness of this grant program (but certainly not the only measure) is the number of victims served. Noting that the number does not reflect those victims who did not seek services, from 2007 to 2010, 9,307 victims were served or partially served (victims who received some services but not all the services they needed) under the Campus Program. Of these victims, the majority (45%) were victims of domestic violence or dating violence compared to victims of sexual assault (41%) or stalking (14%). Most of the victims who received service or partial service were females (93%). Domestic violence and dating violence victims who sought services reported that a current or former spouse or intimate partner (58% of victims) or someone who they are currently or had been in a dating relationship with (23%) was the offender (statistics compiled by the third author).

Effectiveness of Campus Program Grantees' Efforts

Measuring the implementation and outcome effectiveness of any response to crimes against college students are daunting challenges. Despite the required record keeping (e.g., number of victims served or partially served and their demographic characteristics, relationship to the offender by type of crime) for the Campus Program grantees, little has been published outside of the Reports to Congress describing the process of implementation, or assessing the (in)effectiveness of what has been implemented. In short, few, if any, empirical findings – either process or outcome – tied to specific programs are available regarding whether intimate partner violence actually has been reduced either in terms of numbers of victims or offenders, whether awareness of intimate partner violence or use of bystander interventions to interpret or prevent intimate partner violence among students has increased, or whether training personnel has improved their response to partner abuse victims and offenders. Outside of the previously noted record keeping and anecdotal information generally describing implementation at a

specific grantee campus, there is very limited data to evaluate the effectiveness of the federal government's legislative efforts to address intimate partner violence and other crimes perpetrated by intimate and dating partners among college students.

Can Educational Programs Prevent Partner Abuse Among College Students?

Colleges and universities either funded by the Campus Program and/or required by the Clery Act have implemented prevention programs aimed at reducing the high prevalence of intimate partner violence victimization and perpetration among their students as part of their overall crime, especially sexual assault, prevention programming. These prevention programs can be broadly directed at all students, such as those in their first year at college or university; targeted to subpopulations at risk, such as members of a fraternity or sorority; or reserved for those with problematic alcohol use, or a combination of both levels. Since the basic goals of intimate partner violence and sexual assault prevention tend to overlap, programs most likely address both during the course of the same program.

Currently, there are no standards or criteria as to the content of these prevention programs. Since there are relatively few empirical studies that have evaluated intimate partner violence prevention programs and even fewer that are published studies, what is known about intimate partner violence prevention is limited at best (and what is known about the prevention of sexual assault is only a little better). A small number of researchers, however, have evaluated prevention programs on a small scale (e.g., single campus or a few campuses, or with a small nonprobability sample of students) in an attempt to better understand their effects on outcomes, such as victimization and perpetration of intimate partner violence among college students and social norms (e.g., violence acceptance, rape myths) (see O'Leary et al., 2006).

The current state of the effectiveness of intimate partner violence prevention can best be summarized by O'Leary and colleagues who reviewed both physical aggression against partner and sexual prevention studies aimed at young adults (2006, p. 133):

> …based on the few dating violence and sexual assault prevention programs that have been evaluated and published to date, it appears as though such programs are quite successful at changing attitudes and increasing knowing about physical and sexual partner violence. Moreover, there is some evidence to suggest that a handful of these programs are also successful at reducing rates of dating violence perpetration and possibly dating violence victimization as well.

Although their assessment of the very small number of intimate partner violence prevention studies is promising, what must be kept in mind is that these few studies have been executed on a few of college campuses. As a result, the generalizability of their results as to what works is limited. At best, what researchers and service providers can conclud with confidence is that, it remains an open question, one deserving further scientific scrutiny, whether these programs actually reduce intimate partner violence victimization and perpetration rates among college students. Only with rigorous and timely evaluations, including those programs funded by the Campus Program and mandated by the Clery Act, will researchers and service providers be

able to answer this question and provide guidance as to what content of intimate partner violence prevention programming "works" to increase knowledge that changes *both* attitudes and behaviors for the long term.

Active Bystander Invention: Promising Results

Bystanders are those who witness crimes or emergency or high-risk situations but are not themselves directly involved as either the victim or perpetrator. Their presence provides an opportunity to make a choice about how to respond – actively help, do nothing, or support the perpetrator to make the situation worse (and help facilitate the crime). Helpful bystander actions in relation to intimate partner violence (and sexual assault) can include safely removing someone from a high-risk situation before an assault occurs, challenging the social norms that promote the acceptance of abusive words or behaviors in a relationship, or supporting the victim after the incident has happened (Banyard & Moynihan, 2011).

The scope of intimate partner violence among college students described in this chapter highlights the prevalence of bystander opportunities that exist on and near campuses and may well help to explain why some campuses have implemented bystander behavior programs that train students to recognize at-risk situations that promote violence and teaches them tactics to intervene in a safe and effective manner to interrupt or prevent a crime from happening.

Although bystander prevention programs are still relatively young interventions, early research indicates promising results. For example, Banyard, Moynihan, and Plante (2007) provided the first empirical evidence that a bystander intervention for sexual violence prevention resulted in significant and sustained changes (two months after training) in knowledge, attitudes, and bystander behaviors in both males and females relative to the control group. Coker and colleagues (2011) reported that those students who received training on preventing perpetration behavior by providing students with skills to be proactive bystanders to prevent violence engaged in significantly more actual and observed bystander behaviors compared to those students who were not trained.

Bear in mind that the majority of the limited number of bystander program evaluations have focused on sexual violence outcome measures. Nonetheless, they are noteworthy in that researchers have undertaken rigorous evaluations of these programs. Their results are promising with respect to addressing intimate partner violence among college students, especially when considering that most sexual violence against college women is committed by an intimate or dating partner. The results of these studies need not be dismissed as there are a growing number of college and university administrators who have adopted the bystander intervention approach to address violence on their campuses. The sustained interest by the Obama administration in sexual assault and violence, including domestic and dating violence, committed against students on college campuses across the country, Vice President Biden's continued interest (he sponsored the VAWA in 2004) in not only violence against women but his endorsement of active bystander interventions, and the recent SaVE legislation are each an indicator that campus safety, including partner violence, will remain on the federal government's agenda. Hopefully, successfully preventing and thereby reducing intimate partner violence among college students and other types of violence will become among the federal government's signature achievements.

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The Transcendence of Intimate Violence across the Life Course

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Efforts over the past few decades have yielded considerable knowledge about the phenomenon of intimate partner violence (IPV). Research suggests that a sizeable proportion of intimate relationships in the United States involve some degree of violence (e.g., Straus & Gelles, 1990; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000). These sources also suggest that violence takes many different forms, even within the same intimate relationship (e.g., Dutton et al., 2005; Russell, 1990; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000), and that violence may occur repeatedly over time (e.g., Bowker & Maurer, 1987; Straus, 1990). Still, less is known about how victimization is patterned across the life course. In particular, a focus on the life course raises questions about the role of IPV in fostering exits from relationships and the factors that influence whether individuals move into violent relationships.

This review will illustrate how violence connects to relationship dynamics and to broader experiences across the life course. I begin by highlighting the current state of knowledge on intimate partner violence and the effects such violence may have on the lives of individuals. Next, I describe how a life course perspective can illuminate and answer key questions about IPV, including how violence may be patterned over time. Drawing from the psychological, sociological, and criminological literatures, I present evidence for both continuity and change in violence across the life course. Finally, I outline some implications for future research in this area. My focus is limited to the violence that women experience at the hands of their (male) intimate partners. The debate over gender symmetry in IPV rages on, even in the twenty-first century, and there is evidence that many men may experience violence within their romantic relationships. Nevertheless, like other scholars (e.g., Johnson, 2005; Kimmel, 2002), I maintain that the intimate violence that women experience is qualitatively different; women are more likely to be seriously injured or killed by partners and the violence they experience is more systematic, more likely to involve control-motivated aggression, and is typically independent of specific "conflict" situations.

Intimate Partner Violence – What Have Nearly Four Decades of Research Taught Us?

In the mid-1970s, as feminists and advocates drew attention to domestic violence, social scientists became interested in this "newly discovered" social problem. The research that resulted contradicted many of the popular myths about women who experience violence and the partners who abuse them. For example, while battered women were once perceived as masochistic – women stayed in violent relationships because they liked to be hurt – later images presented these women as victims of structural or psychological constraints that prevented them from leaving their violent partner.

Since that time, we have learned a great deal about the violence that takes place within intimate relationships. While women overall are less likely to be victims of violent crime, the violence they do experience is more likely to occur within the context of an intimate relationship (Bachman & Saltzman, 1995; Crowell & Burgess, 1996; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000). In one national survey (the National Violence Against Women Survey – NVAWS), 22% of the surveyed women reported they had been physically assaulted by an intimate partner in their lifetime and 1% indicated that the violence had occurred within the previous 12 months (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000). This means that an estimated 1.3 million women are physically assaulted by an intimate partner annually in the United States. While most of the violence reported by the women involved pushing, grabbing, or shoving and slapping or hitting, a smaller proportion also reported more severe forms of violence (see also Straus & Gelles, 1990).

The evidence also suggests that violence within intimate relationships is rarely a single occurrence. Data from the NVAWS demonstrated that women physically assaulted by an intimate partner reported an average of three incidents in the previous year (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000). Another national study suggests even more frequent violence; using data from the National Family Violence Survey (NFVS) survey, Straus (1990) found that women who experienced assaults by their husbands in the previous year reported an average of six incidents. And community data show similar results concerning the repeated nature of intimate partner violence. Bowker and Maurer (1987) noted that nearly half of the battered women in their sample reported twenty or more episodes of violence within the relationship.

Intimate partner violence is not only repeated, but may also be multifaceted. Many women actually experience multiple forms of violence, including physical, psychological, sexual and stalking violence, within a single intimate relationship. For example, of women in the NVAWS who reported being stalked by an intimate partner, more than two-thirds reported physical assaults and one-third reported sexual assaults by the same partner (Tjaden, 1997). Community studies also suggest that a large proportion of battered women experience both physical and sexual abuse perpetrated by their intimate partner (e.g., Finkelhor & Yllo, 1985; Hanneke, Shields, & McCall, 1986; Russell, 1990).

Beginning, in part, with Johnson's (1995) typology of violence, scholars have recognized that there may be different forms or patterns of violence by male partners within intimate relationships. One of these, "patriarchal terrorism," is characterized by its multifaceted nature and involves the "systematic" use of violence, along with economic subordination, threats, isolation, and other nonphysical control tactics by the male (Johnson, 1995; Johnson & Leone, 2005). In contrast, "common couple"

violence more often involves low-level violence (i.e., slapping, hitting, and object throwing), although it may occasionally include more severe forms of violence, and typically occurs in the context of specific conflict situations or arguments (Johnson & Leone, 2005). What distinguishes this pattern of violence from patriarchal terrorism is the absence of bids for domination and control over the relationship by one partner. In an empirical examination of different patterns of IPV, Macmillan and Gartner (1999) identified three types of intimate violence reported by Canadian women, including "interpersonal conflict" that involved less severe violent acts and was more unidimensional, "nonsystematic abuse" that was multidimensional but did not include violence that required a sustained use of force, and "systematic abuse" that was multifaceted, involved very severe violence, and was closely connected to the exercise of (nonviolent) power and control tactics. Subsequent research by other scholars also affirms the existence of these qualitatively distinct patterns of violence (e.g., Carbone-Lopez, Kruttschnitt & Macmillan, 2006; Johnson & Leone, 2005). While such research provides evidence that victimization can be multifaceted and entail cumulative experiences over time, these studies frequently do not locate violence within particular relationships or seek to untangle the ways in which violence is linked over time and across relationships. As a result, a true life course portrait of IPV remains relatively unexplored.

Consequences of Intimate Violence – The Phenomenon of Revictimization

Victimization has many implications for human development. Reviewing the life course consequences of violent victimization, Macmillan (2001) concluded that there is considerable evidence that experiences of violence impact long-term trajectories of psychological wellbeing. Similarly, there is also evidence that intimate violence has detrimental consequences for women's physical, emotional, and financial health, both immediately (see Dutton et al., 2006) and long term (e.g., Zlotnick, Johnson, & Kohn, 2006). Thus, like violence more generally, IPV appears to be a salient life experience that has continued impact throughout the life course.

One of the most prominent themes within the sequelae of violence literature is its impact on the likelihood of *revictimization*. Most of this research highlights the link between childhood sexual victimization and sexual victimization in adolescence and adulthood for women (e.g., Gidycz et al., 1993; Humphrey & White, 2000; Stermac et al., 2002). There is also considerable evidence, however, that violence within the family of origin is an important predictor of being a victim of violence within the context of a romantic relationship in adolescence and adulthood. Samples of high school and college students demonstrate associations between child physical and sexual abuse and later dating and sexual violence (e.g., Gagne, Lavoie, & Hebert, 2005; Messman-Moore & Long, 2000). Other research notes the correlation between childhood victimization and adulthood physical and sexual assault by partners as well (Colman & Widom, 2004; Kruttschnitt & Macmillan, 2006; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000).

Social science evidence that victimization at one point increases the risk of subsequent victimization adds to concerns that certain people are victim prone and this has particular relevance for the study of intimate partner violence. Aside from increasing the risk for future victimization, early experiences of violence may also

have broader consequences for women's relationship formation and involvement over the life course. There is the possibility that women who are victimized by one intimate partner may have an increased risk to be revictimized by another partner. Alternatively, violence within adult relationships may lead some women to withdraw, at least temporarily, from further romantic relationships. Examining the broader patterning of victimization across the life course and across multiple relationships provides further insight on the ways in which women respond to violence within intimate relationships.

A Life-Course Perspective on IPV

While considerable energy has been devoted to examining the full range of consequences of victimization at various points in the life course, there has been less systematic effort to understand the *process* by which early experiences of violence may have such a profound impact over time, particularly in terms of revictimization. Various theoretical models have been proposed to explain the relationship between violence at one point in time and subsequent victimization including learning theory, learned helplessness, relationship choices, and traumatic sexualization (for reviews see Messman & Long, 1996; Messman-Moore & Long, 2000). For example, some scholars suggest that witnessing or experiencing violence during childhood or adolescence is related to subsequent involvement in violence (as either perpetrator or victim) because an individual learns to imitate the violence within later intimate relationships. As girls grow up, they begin to develop ideas about gender-appropriate behaviors as well as learn the roles and responsibilities of various family members (Browne, 1987). When the behavior that young girls witness includes violence, they "learn" that violence is appropriate within relationships and may model these relationships later in life. Women who experienced violence in childhood may be less able to protect themselves, be less sure of their own worth and their personal boundaries, and be more likely to "accept victimization" as part of being female (Browne, 1987, p. 28). Learned helplessness, in contrast, suggests that when an individual experiences a situation that cannot be controlled, his/her motivation to respond to such events will diminish. Walker (1979; Walker & Browne, 1985), in her work on intimate partner violence, used learned helplessness to explain women's coping responses to their partner's abusive behavior. Because of sex-role socialization, she argued, women are trained to be passive and dependent, leading to a tendency toward helplessness. A woman in a violent intimate relationship may learn that no matter what her response, she cannot prevent the violence. Having generalized her helplessness, she does not believe anything she does will alter the outcome, and therefore she "submits to the abuse" (Walker, 1979; Walker & Browne, 1985).

An alternative explanation for why victimization experiences are linked over time may be found in broader theories of the life course. Theories of the life course, while typically used to explain criminal and antisocial behavior, may provide a new framework for understanding IPV. A sociometric perspective on victimization emphasizes the patterning of relationships within individual life courses and the ways in which this patterning influences risk at different points of time (Kruttschnitt & Macmillan, 2006). Issues of transitions and turning points – key foci of the life course perspective – are central features of studies of intimate partner violence and raise important

questions about relationships, transitions, and victimization risk among women (Carbone-Lopez, Kruttschnitt & Macmillan, 2006; Kruttschnitt & Macmillan, 2006).

What questions, then, does a life course perspective on intimate violence address? Perhaps most importantly, such a perspective provides details on the ways in which violent experiences are linked over time. We can learn how and why early experiences of victimization contribute to subsequent revictimization. Related, a focus on the life course allows for a fuller understanding of the developmental impact of victimization (Macmillan, 2001). The effects of violence may differ depending upon the age or life stage at which one first experiences victimization, or they may vary based on the frequency and chronicity of victimization. Ultimately, a focus on violence throughout the life span enables a "process-based" as opposed to a "static view" of violence, and one which takes into account the developmental stage at which violence occurs (Band-Winterstein & Eisikovits, 2009; Williams, 2003). Such a perspective on violence is important because relationship patterns continue to change in this country, particularly among younger generations, with increasing rates of cohabitation before marriage and delayed transitions into marriage. Thus, individuals are increasingly involved in multiple nonmarital relationships across their life course. Untangling victimization experiences across these multiple relationships may provide new insight into biographies of violence.

A Focus on Continuity and Change over Time

Life-course theory generally examines how an individual life unfolds over time and provides a framework for understanding the considerable and far-reaching consequences of early experiences of victimization (Macmillan, 2001). In particular, this involves an understanding of the social forces that influence the life course as well as its developmental consequences (Elder, 1995). Key concepts important to life course researchers include *trajectories* and *transitions*. Individual trajectories or pathways develop over time and are marked by transitions or life events; in some cases, transitions may generate a turning point within a life trajectory (Elder, 1985). As the name implies, turning points can modify or alter a life trajectory (Clausen, 1995; Sampson & Laub, 1993). For example, marriage and divorce, the birth of a child, and the departure of children from the home are all turning points that may affect individuals and their interpersonal relationships.

Another central concern of life course research is patterns of change and continuity between early and later life stages (see e.g., Nagin & Paternoster, 1991; Sampson & Laub, 1992, 1993). While typically used to explain criminal offending or antisocial behavior over time, a life course framework has also been used to understand stability and change in victimization patterns (e.g., Lauritsen & Davis Quinet, 1995) and has relevance for understanding IPV over the life course. Here, one relevant theme is the parallel notions of "state dependence" (Nagin & Paternoster, 1991) or "cumulative continuity" (Dannefer, 2003), where the focus is on factors that reinforce stability or continuity in behavior or experience. In general, notions of state dependence suggest that individuals are altered in some way by past events and this influences their future behavior and experiences. Adverse experiences, such as victimization, can have lasting effects on an individual because they produce an "accentuation effect" that perpetuates further adverse experiences (Caspi & Moffitt,

1993). Thus, victimization may increase the likelihood of future victimization by way of negative self-cognitions or negative interactions with others. For example, Lauritsen and Davis Quinet (1995) suggest that victims of crime may experience a labeling process; others may perceive them, following victimization, as vulnerable or even attractive as a victim and this attractiveness makes them more likely to be revictimized. Conversely, individuals may self-label as victims and behave in ways that elicit more aggressive responses from others (Schwartz, Dodge, & Coie, 1993). Women who, because of prior exposure to IPV, expect others to be hostile may actually behave in ways that elicit hostility.

Early exposure to violence or abuse may also impact personal and social development by undermining one's sense of agency and self-efficacy (Kelly, 2004; Macmillan, 2001). Victimization may activate negative self-images, causing victims to see themselves as vulnerable and unable to determine their future. It may also challenge the notion that the world is meaningful and bound together by a set of shared beliefs (Janoff-Bulman & Frieze, 1983). At the same time, victimization may change perceptions of and beliefs about others in the social world, leading to the conclusion that others are potential sources of harm rather than of support, which may consequently alter the ways in which an individual interacts with others (Macmillan, 2001). Relationship scholars note that experiences within our previous interpersonal relationships provide a template for action in the construction of new relationships (Hartup, 1985) as well as our behavior within those relationships (Reis, Collins, & Berscheid, 2000). As a consequence, early experiences of violence may influence with whom one becomes involved in a relationship as well as the quality of interactions within that relationship. Experiences of IPV may also increase emotional distance and hesitancy to make long-term commitments, which could foster feelings of jealousy and mistrust that are themselves liked to IPV (Johnson, 1995). Thus, through a variety of mechanisms, early experiences with violence may increase risk for subsequent victimization. While almost all research has focused on IPV within a single relationship, the notion of state dependence and the various mechanisms described may also account for IPV in *multiple* relationships in that any of the social and psychological changes described may be brought to subsequent relationships and, as a consequence, shape the nature of interactions and experiences within them.

An alternative explanation of repeated victimization experiences and the continuity of violence across intimate relationships may be the notion of persistent heterogeneity. In this case, an individual trait, exogenous to both victimization events, links early and later victimization. These traits reflect stable individual characteristics that can influence interactions, preferences, and choices across the life course as well as risk of victimization. Characteristics, such as individual size or physical vulnerability or psychological traits such as submissive or aggressive temperaments, impulsivity, and depression, may actually translate into a "persistent propensity" for victimization across the life course (Halpern et al., 2009; Lauritsen & Davis Quinet, 1995). In addition, an individual's lifestyle, routine activities or social environment, including their proximity to offenders and capable guardians or traits such as low self-control, may be what is persistent within individuals and related to multiple experiences of victimization (e.g., Schreck, 1999). In the case of IPV, for example, women who abuse drugs and alcohol or who are involved in criminal activity are at higher risk for violence, in part because of their tendency to partner with criminally involved men (Carbone-Lopez & Kruttschnitt, 2010).

Beside its focus on continuity in behavior and experiences over time, a life course perspective also has important implications for the possibility of change in violence within and across relationships. Even early, significant risk factors or experiences do not completely foreclose the potential for positive changes later on (Laub, Nagin, & Sampson, 1998). Transitions or turning points represent a "change in direction in the life course…that has the long-term impact of altering the probability of life destinations" (Wheaton & Gotlib, 1997, p. 5). Women in violent relationships may make the decision to leave a relationship. They may also find new partners, prompting (or enabling) them to leave a violent partner. Ending the violent relationship then may act as a turning point into future nonviolent relationships.

In sum, theories of continuity suggest that, while women may experience repeated violence within relationships, early victimization experiences may also be associated with revictimization during subsequent relationships. On the other hand, desistance is also possible within an individual relationship and human agency and access to social capital can provide the opportunity and the motivation to leave violent relationships. The contemporary era is characterized by increased relationship instability, heighted likelihoods of divorce, and the emergence of cohabitation as a routine relationship form in early adulthood (Cherlin, 2009). Given this, it seems possible that IPV in one relationship may cause women to retreat from particular relationships – or even from relationships altogether – given earlier negative experiences.

Empirical Evidence on the Stability of Violence within Relationships

Early studies with battered women suggested that violence typically escalates in frequency and severity over the course of the relationship (e.g., Pagelow, 1981; Walker, 1984). In a national survey, nearly 60% of the women who reported intimate violence were still with their abuser five years later (Zlotnick, Johnson, & Kohn, 2006). There is also evidence that some violent relationships are sustained for even longer periods of time. Band-Winterstein and Eisikovits (2009), for example, found that some of the women had been abused by their husbands for more than 50 years and that the abuse even escalated in later years (see also Buchbinder & Winterstein, 2003; Zink et al., 2006).

In many cases, women face significant social, psychological, and economic barriers to leaving and thus may become "entrapped" within violent relationships over time (Anderson, 2007; Gelles, 1976; Kirkwood, 1993). Women may remain in a violent relationship because they are financially dependent upon their partner or they feel as though they should make every effort to sustain the relationship. Older women may remain because of social expectations that they care for their aging partners; their entrapment may be intensified by age-related physical and social factors, health problems, and resource deficiency (Band-Winterstein & Eisikovits, 2009). Women may also remain with abusive partners with the hope that eventually he will change (e.g. Ferrarro & Johnson, 1983; Griffing et al., 2002; Strube & Barbour, 1984). Advice and encouragement from others to stay, along with the desire to avoid potential criticism, may also affect women's decisions. And, unfortunately, the risk of future violence is also a factor; the threat of "separation" violence against women and their loved ones may compel women to stay (Fleury, Sullivan, & Bybee, 2000; Mahoney,

1991). Even though women may leave temporarily, returning to a partner who has been violent in the past may continue (or increase) the violence they experience (e.g., Anderson, 2003). At the same time, women adopt different types of cognitive and behavioral strategies in order to cope with the abuse over time. Such strategies include setting limits with their abusive partners, reorienting themselves into other roles, and reaching out to others for support (Zink et al., 2006).

Desistance from Violence within Relationships

There is also emerging evidence that intimate violence, particularly the less severe forms, is episodic in nature and that, in some cases, the use of violence may decrease or even cease over time (e.g., Aldarondo & Sugarman, 1996; Caetano et al., 2005; Campbell & Soeken, 1999; Johnson, 2003; Timmons Fritz & O'Leary, 2004). Evidence from longitudinal studies and evaluations of battering treatment programs or legal interventions supports the idea that "some violent men cease the violence, at least for some period of time" (Aldarondo & Sugarman, 1996, p. 1010). For example, Feld and Straus (1989), using a sample of 380 couples who reported violence within their marriage in 1985, found that 43% of the men who had used serious violence against their wives in the previous year showed decreases in physical violence at the follow up. Over a longer time period, the rate of desistance appears higher. Analyzing the National Survey of Families and Households (NSFH), Jasinski (2001) reported an overall rate of cessation of IPV of 69% over five years. Even among high-risk samples, there is evidence of desistance over time. Jacobson and colleagues (1996) followed 45 violent men and their spouses over a two-year time period. At the follow up, nearly two-thirds of the couples were still married and living together. And in half of these couples, the violent partner had significantly reduced his level of violence toward his wife. Less than 10% achieved full desistance, however, and even when physical violence subsided, emotional abuse often did not and, in some cases, increased over time (Jacobson et al., 1996). Though in many of these studies the time frame is short, the evidence does suggest that violence within intimate relationships may not necessarily persist at high levels over time. Importantly, cessation is most typical among those men who use less serious forms of violence.

There are a number of reasons why we would expect violence to decrease or even cease completely over the tenure of a relationship. First, as criminologists have long been aware, crime and the use of violence tends to dissipate with age (e.g., Hirschi & Gottfredson, 1983). This age-crime curve may be related to physical agility; as men get older, they are simply unable to sustain a high level of physical control over their partners, though the reduction in physical violence could lead to a simultaneous increase in other forms of control. The decrease in violence may also stem from maturity or increasing conformity with social norms (i.e., the recognition that violence is not acceptable within an intimate relationship) over time (Caetano et al., 2005). Violence may also dissipate as couples learn more appropriate means of conflict resolution or as women grow better able to detect and prevent their partner's violence (Zink et al., 2006). Finally, desistance may occur by way of deterrence – at least temporarily – stemming from legal or clinical interventions (Fagan, 1989). For example, results from the original Minneapolis Domestic Violence Experiment indicated that arrest following an incident of IPV significantly reduced repeat occurrences over a six month period

(Sherman & Berk, 1984). In other words, men arrested by the police appeared to desist from using physical violence against their partners, at least for a period of time.

Getting Out of a Violent Relationship

While in some cases the violence ends because of desistance on the part of the abuser, there are also many women who leave or escape violent partners. A number of studies demonstrate relatively high rates of relationship dissolution following violence. For example, more than one-third of the couples in Jacobson et al.'s (1996) study had separated or divorced after two years. Campbell and colleagues (1994) followed a community sample of women who were having problems in their intimate relationships over a 1 year period. Of the 51 women who began in violent relationships, only 25% remained in those relationships at the follow up. Kurz (1996), in a random sample of women seeking divorce, found that violence was a primary motive for relationship dissolution. The women in her study indicated that they left their husbands after particularly serious violent incidents or when they believed that their children were being affected by witnessing the violence (Kurz, 1996). A more recent study using the National Survey of Families and Households (NSFH) demonstrated that, controlling for demographic characteristics and marital conflict, violence by male partners increased the risk of relationship disruption over the 5–7 year follow up period (DeMaris, 2000). Notably, material resources, including employment and having one's own income, appear to be key elements in allowing escape from violence (e.g., Anderson & Saunders, 2003).

A final piece of evidence that women do, in fact, leave violent relationships comes when differentiating whether IPV occurred within a current or a previous relationship. Much of the violence that women report in surveys actually occurred in prior relationships. Some of my own work demonstrates this. Using the NVAWS, my colleagues and I found that one-third of women report some form of IPV (including physical and sexual violence) within a *former* relationship. In contrast, the number of women reporting violence in their current relationships was much lower, ranging from 2% to 5% of the women in the sample (Carbone-Lopez, 2012; Carbone-Lopez, Rennison, & Macmillan, 2012). Johnson and Bunge (2001), using a national sample of Canadian women, drew similar conclusions; rates of IPV were higher among previous relationships as compared to current relationships. Finally, a study of low-income women from Baltimore revealed that experiences with IPV not only increased their likelihood of separation or divorce but also decreased their likelihood of entering into subsequent relationships, at least for a period of time (Cherlin et al., 2004).

Across Relationships – Repeat Victims and Exiting Relationships

As the research by Cherlin and colleagues (2004) suggests, IPV within one relationship may have implications for one's experiences within future relationships. Some women may leave violent relationships and enter nonviolent relationships, thereby effectively exiting violence. In other cases, a previous violent relationship may lead women to eschew future relationships, preferring to be alone rather than risk any future violence. As indicated, our work with the NVAWS found substantial evidence of change in

violence across intimate relationships (Carbone-Lopez, Rennison, & Macmillan, 2012). Women, we found, were generally able to transition out of violent intimate relationships into new relationships that involved less violence or out of relationships altogether.

One explanation for the exit from violence is that women exposed to IPV may be more selective about the types of relationships into which they enter. Perhaps previous experiences with violence help women learn to spot potential warning signs during the courtship process and avoid becoming intimately involved with such individuals. An alternative explanation may be related more to the ways in which individuals act (and react) within relationships. Experiences with IPV may teach someone tactics for avoiding conflict or for preventing conflict from progressing to violence. Finally, given the relatively high likelihood that women leave violent relationships and do not subsequently enter new partnerships, it is also possible that experiencing violence prompts women to re-examine the importance of an intimate relationship and perhaps conclude that "taking a break" from relationships is in their best interest (Cherlin et al., 2004, p. 781). Through any of these mechanisms, previous exposure to IPV may shape the types of subsequent relationships that one has and hence be an important "turning point" in a violent life course.

Yet, though the majority of women who experience IPV may successfully leave or ultimately negotiate those relationships over time, there is also the risk that women may experience violence *across* multiple intimate relationships. Popular opinion, reminiscent of some of the early myths on IPV, seems to suggest that some women repeatedly "attract" or "seek out" violent men (see Pagelow, 1981). Limited empirical evidence, however, does suggest that a small proportion of women may experience IPV within multiple relationships. For example, Thompson et al. (2006) noted that, depending on the type of violence, between 11 and 21% of the women in their national sample reported abuse by two or more partners across their life span. Using a different national sample, I found that approximately 7% of women experienced IPV within two or more intimate relationships within their lifetime (Carbone-Lopez, 2012).

Studies of high-risk populations are likely to reveal an even greater degree of serial victimization among women. For example, within a sample of 152 women in jail, my colleague and I found that 12 women reported multiple violent relationships just within the previous three years (Carbone-Lopez & Kruttschnitt, 2010). Finally, in a qualitative examination of the cumulative experiences of violence that women face, Wesely (2006) described the lives of two women who reported multiple violent partners. Both of these women, after enduring so much violence, learned to use violence against their subsequent partners pre-emptively. As Wesely (2006, p. 324) noted, the cumulative experiences of violence sent women strong messages about their value as human beings, impacted life decisions, and created "vulnerabilities to further violations and exploitative environments."

Together these studies highlight the fact that the choices that many women have for partners are conditioned by their early experiences, their life choices and behavior, and the environment in which they live. As a result of high incarceration rates in the past two decades, the number of eligible males in particular communities has been greatly affected (e.g., Western, 2006) and, as a consequence, some women may have more difficulty meeting and becoming involved with nonviolent men. Given the disproportionate impact incarceration rates have had on communities of color, the opportunities that women of color have for entering into relationships may be reduced even further.

Conclusions and Implications for Future Research on IPV across the Life Course

In the end, scholars are just beginning to learn about the patterning of intimate violence both within and across relationships and across the life span. As indicated, there is evidence for continued violence across the life course, often beginning in childhood or adolescence. At the same time, human agency and access to social, material, and legal resources can provide the opportunity and motivation to leave violent relationships or to ensure that the violence ceases. It appears that, while some women may experience violence at the hands of many, the majority of women are able to escape violence, either by leaving one relationship or eschewing further relationships altogether.

What does this evidence mean for the future of IPV research? As noted in this review, the patterns of continuity and change in victimization experiences have not yet been the focus of sustained inquiry. Future research should move beyond a focus on immediate circumstances of intimate violence (i.e., within current relationships only) and take into account how biographies of violence are constructed across the life course. For example, Thompson et al. (2006) noted that nearly one-fifth of their sample had been in a previous intimate relationship, but were no longer in it at the time of their data collection. This highlights the importance of collecting relationship histories when examining intimate violence. Unfortunately, even when lifetime experiences of violence are included, frequently there is no way to differentiate one partner from another. (For example, the longest running survey on victimization in the United States, the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS), collects information on intimate violence. The rotating panel design means that the survey tracks each sample over a three-and-a-half year period. Unfortunately, even though the data include information on the perpetrator of violence, there is no way to determine definitively whether it is, in fact, the *same* person over time). Prospective longitudinal panel studies may help to illuminate patterns of violence over time, though the ethical ramifications of such research must be carefully considered. In short, we must consider whether and how we can safely monitor unfolding violence (and intervene when necessary), including potential harm related to participation in studies (Logan et al., 2008). Nevertheless, it is clear that there is need for additional (possibly qualitative) research on the long-term effects of IPV on life choices and relationship experiences to address some of these outstanding questions.

Future research should also examine the factors that are related to the patterning of violence and relationships. Certain factors, such as social characteristics and socioeconomic resources, may be important determinants of women's ability to remove themselves from violent relationships or alter the behavior of their partners. In the United States, race structures partner choice and opportunities for relationships. Therefore, it is important to investigate differential patterning of relationships by race and the role of violence. Other indicators of social stratification, such as unemployment, poverty, and low educational attainment, may similarly be related to one's embeddedness in violent relationships and the ability to exit violence and should be examined. Finally, while much of the focus of IPV research has been on heterosexual relationships, there is evidence that violence also occurs within same-sex relationships and that women involved with same-sex relationships may be more likely than heterosexual women to have histories of childhood and adolescent sexual assault (Tjaden, Thoennes, & Allison, 1999). Therefore, future research should seriously consider gender and sexual identity for a more complete understanding of the patterning of IPV across the life course.

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21

Controversies in Partner Violence

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Partner violence (PV) is a major social concern, and educational and treatment efforts are widespread in the United States and other Western nations. Feminist advocacy movements of the 1970s brought PV out of the home and into the public eye. It soon became viewed as an issue that researchers, the public, policymakers, and the criminal justice system had to take more seriously. The most famous early study of PV was the first National Family Violence Survey (NFVS) in 1975 (Straus, Gelles, & Steinmetz, 1980), a population-based, nationwide study of the extent of family violence in the United States. Around this time is when the major controversy regarding PV began to take shape: how to properly conceptualize the definition and underlying causes of PV. Essentially, the field split into two camps: those who think that at the heart of all PV is men's need to dominate and control women (the patriarchal perspective) and those who think that male dominance is only one of many risk factors for PV, which is much more complex and often involves women who perpetrate PV (the family conflict perspective). Current policy is based on the first notion; however, much of the empirical research supports the second notion. In this chapter, we will review how this schism underlies and has influenced PV prevalence estimates, measurement techniques, research into causal mechanisms, victim services, treatment options, and prevention programs. Within each section, we will also review other controversies that occur within a given camp. We conclude with some suggestions for how to move forward in this field, given these controversies and what we currently know about PV.

Controversies Regarding Prevalence

What is the Controversy Regarding Prevalence?

The major controversy surrounding prevalence has to do with the findings of the NFVS and other family conflict surveys that half of the perpetrators of PV are women and that the majority of PV is bidirectional. For example, the 1985 NFVS found that 11.6% of men used some type of violence against their female partners in the previous

year, and 3.4% used severe violence, which was defined as violence that had a high likelihood of causing an injury (e.g., beating up, punching, using a knife or gun). Similarly, 12.4% of women used some type of violence against their male partners in the previous year, and 4.8% used severe violence (Straus & Gelles, 1986). These percentages project nationwide to 1.8 million female and 2.6 million male victims of severe violence in a one-year time period (Straus & Gelles, 1986).

These results have been replicated by dozens of studies since the 1970s (Straus, 1999), including a meta-analysis (Archer, 2000), and overall, estimates of PV in general US population surveys from a family conflict perspective range from 8.4% to 18.4% for any type of violence and from 3.2% to 5.5% for severe violence, with approximately equal rates of male and female perpetration (Straus, 1995; Caetano, Vaeth, & Ramisetty-Mikler, 2008; Hale-Carlsson et al., 1996; Kessler et al., 2001; Schafer, Caetano, & Clark, 1998; Sorenson, Upchurch, & Shen, 1996; Straus & Gelles, 1986). These same surveys also find that the dominant pattern of PV is bidirectional – i.e., both partners use physical PV to some extent (e.g., Kessler et al., 2001; Langhinrichsen-Rohling et al., 2012; Straus, 2008a; Whitaker et al., 2007). In fact, over 200 studies show that bidirectional violence is the dominant pattern of PV, with up to 80% of violent relationships showing some reciprocity (see Langhinrichsen-Rohling et al., 2012; Straus, 2006).

Patriarchal Interpretations of these Findings

The controversy over these findings stems from how much symmetry truly exists in PV perpetration and the degree to which any symmetry can be understood within a patriarchal perspective (Langhinrichsen-Rohling, 2010a). One major argument is that these findings of female perpetration and bidirectional PV reflect the fact that most women, if not all, are acting out of self-defense or retaliation (e.g., Belknap & Melton, 2005; Dobash et al., 1992; Loseke & Kurz, 2005; Saunders, 1988). However, this assumption has been refuted by several findings: (i) many studies of different types of samples find that in at least a quarter of violent relationships, women are the sole perpetrators (e.g., Hines & Saudino, 2003; Kessler et al., 2001; Langhinrichsen-Rohling et al., 2012; Straus, 2008b; Whitaker et al., 2007); (ii) women are slightly more likely to initiate PV within the family, according to their own self-reports (Straus, 2004b), and (iii) by their own self-reports, the majority of women do not cite self-defense or retaliation as their motive for PV perpetration (see Medeiros & Straus, 2006, for reviews; Hines & Malley-Morrison, 2001). In fact, major reasons reported by women physically assaulting their male partners include: to show anger, to retaliate for emotional hurt, to express feelings that they had difficulty communicating verbally, to gain control over the other person, to get their partner's attention, because he was not sensitive to her needs, because he was being verbally abusive, because he was not listening, and jealousy (e.g., Felson & Messner, 2000; Fiebert & Gonzalez, 1997; Follingstad et al., 1991; Hettrich & O'Leary, 2007; Rouse, 1990).

Other researchers who ascribe to the patriarchal perspective argue that although not all female perpetration is in self-defense, gender needs to remain at the heart of analyses of PV. For example, Reed et al. (2010) argue that findings of female perpetration and bidirectional PV "disregard the gender-based framework at the root of our understanding and consideration of partner violence" (pp. 348–349) because of the implication that PV has the same etiology across genders and similarly affects victims

regardless of gender. They cite statistics that show that women are more likely to be killed by an intimate partner than by anyone else (Catalano, 2007), that women are more likely than men to be injured by PV (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000), that women are more likely than men to be sexually assaulted by an intimate partner (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000), and that PV causes more fear in female victims (Swan et al., 2008). Such researchers argue that female perpetration and bidirectional PV should not be interpreted "in the absence of well-accepted historical and political realities" (Reed et al., 2010, p. 350) and state that PV is "unambiguously…rooted in the social construction of being female" (p. 349).

Although the statistics these researchers cite are correct, we should note that men accounted for over 35% of all intimate partner homicide victims between 1976 and 2005 (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2011). Also, according to the National Violence Against Women Survey, female-perpetrated violence against men accounted for 40% of all PV injuries in the previous year and 31% of all victims who feared bodily harm (Straus, 2004b; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000). Kar & O'Leary (2010) found that among a community sample of young couples, PV victimization was associated with fear and depressive symptoms for both men and women. Finally, analyses of 611 male victims of female-perpetrated PV showed that 48.6% experienced sexual aggression, which ranged from coercive acts to engage in sex to forced sex. Thus, female-perpetrated PV is not insignificant. Further, there is little evidence that the underlying etiology for PV is different across genders (e.g., Medeiros & Straus, 2006; see "Controversies in Causes").

Nonetheless, patriarchal theorists assert that female-perpetrated PV should be interpreted differently because of patriarchal cultures that lead to differential power relations between men and women (Stark, 2007; White & Kowalski, 1994). Stark (2010) argues that women use PV "to create an environment in which they enjoy the same autonomy, liberty, and dignity" they have achieved in the outside world and that they "feel entitled to punish male partners who fail" to live up to equal roles in the relationship (p. 208). Even when PV is bidirectional, PV has different dynamics across genders because of structural inequalities (Stark, 2010). Women's PV, particularly that which is perpetrated within a bidirectionally violent relationship, needs to be interpreted in a gender-sensitive and non-victim-blaming way (Swan et al., 2008), but as Ross and Babcock (2010) point out, it is difficult to elucidate *the* victim in a bidirectionally violent relationship, so what patriarchal theorists are suggesting is that we need to interpret these findings of bidirectionality in a non-woman-blaming way, whether that interpretation is warranted or not.

Two Types of Partner Violence?

Another patriarchal interpretation of female-perpetrated and bidirectional PV was originally forwarded by Johnson (1995), who argued that the patriarchal perspective and the family conflict perspective were each drawing its conclusions based on nonoverlapping data gathered from two fundamentally different sources. Johnson theorized that PV found in community and population-based samples is situational couple violence (SCV), which is characterized by low-level (e.g., slapping, pushing), low-frequency violence in a couple where both members are about equally violent; this PV is not part of an overall pattern of control of one partner over the other, but is the result of a conflict "getting out of hand." On the other hand, violence found in

shelter and other clinical samples is intimate terrorism (IT). In IT, the violence is one tactic in a general pattern of control of one member of the couple over the other. The PV is more frequent than what is found in cases of SCV, is less likely to be mutual, is more likely to involve serious injury, and involves psychological maltreatment as well (Johnson, 1995; Johnson & Ferraro, 2000). Similarly, Stark (2010) asserts that the "patterned subjugation of one partner by the other" (i.e., IT) is the heart of PV and needs to be distinct from the violence couples use when they fight or have conflict (i.e., SCV).

Johnson (1995, 2006; Johnson & Ferraro, 2000) asserts that IT is the almost exclusive province of men and can be explained by patriarchal theories in which men are trying to exert and maintain control in their relationships. Stark (2010) elaborates by stating that men have a "differential capacity . . . to construct a regime of domination based on the greater shares of power and control they inherit from persistent inequalities simply because they are male" (p. 208). Men, therefore, engage in many different tactics within their intimate relationships "to preserve what is left of gender inequality against women's growing capacity for full personhood" (p. 209).

Both Johnson and Stark base their conclusions on samples of battered women and male batterers, and argue that because IT is committed by men in these samples, it is explainable by the patriarchal perspective. In addition, Johnson (2010) asserts that IT cannot be found in population-based or community samples, while Stark (2010) says that samples of male IT victims with female perpetrators do not exist. In fact, Stark (2010) states, "I do not believe there is compelling evidence that any substantial proportion of men assaulted by female partners want or require more protections, assistance and support than are currently available" (p. 202), "or that male victims have needs for protection, treatment or support that require new funding streams or services" (p. 204). In addition, he states that police respond "without bias to male and female victims of partner assault" (p. 204), and says that there is no "evidence that female partner assault evolves into the patterned subjugation that typifies women who use shelters, emergency rooms or other services" (p. 205).

However, there are samples that show that women do perpetrate IT (e.g., Felson & Messner, 2000; Graham-Kevan & Archer, 2005; Hines, Brown, & Dunning, 2007; Hines & Douglas, 2010a, b; Migliaccio, 2001; Straus, 2008a). Population-based studies in New Zealand (Ehrensaft, Moffitt, & Caspi, 2004) and Canada (Laroche, 2008) show that women and men commit IT at similar rates. The New Zealand study was a cohort study that encompassed almost the entire population of that cohort, and it showed that the prevalence rate of IT was 9%, with men and women equally likely to be intimate terrorists and IT showing mostly a bidirectional pattern. In a 2004 survey in Canada, 40% of all male PV victims were victims of IT, and 36.8% of all victims of IT were men (Laroche, 2008).

These findings may be counterintuitive given the experiences of domestic violence agency workers and police officers. However, as Langhinrichsen-Rohling (2010a) points out, gender asymmetry in helpseeking is at least partly due to gender socialization, with men facing several internal and external barriers to seeking help for an issue that the public considers non-normative for men (Addis & Mahalik, 2003). When they do seek help, biases are apparent among first responders and other providers. For example, when the police are used as a source of help, men are disproportionately arrested for domestic violence, even when their violence is equivalent to that of women (Brown, 2004). In this same study, when only the male partner was injured,

the female perpetrator was charged in 60.2% of the cases, but when only the female partner was injured, the male perpetrator was charged in 91.1% of the cases. When women were charged with domestic violence, the injuries that they inflicted on their male partners were much more severe than the injuries inflicted by men charged with domestic violence. Thus, a higher threshold needed to be reached in order for women to be charged (Brown, 2004).

These findings of bias by the criminal justice system became apparent in a study of over 300 male victims of female-perpetrated PV. Analyses of this sample showed that the pattern of PV that these men experienced was IT (Hines & Douglas, 2010b), and that their experiences were a mirror image of the experiences of female victims in samples reported by Johnson and Stark (Hines & Douglas, 2010a, b, 2011a, b). Among these male IT victims, 46% said that they had called the police because of their partner's violence, and 56% found the police not at all helpful. In fact, it was equally likely that the man would be arrested and placed in jail as it was that the female partner would (Douglas & Hines, 2011).

Biases are also apparent in domestic violence agencies. This same study found that 23% of the men contacted a domestic violence hotline, and 68.7% found it not at all helpful, with the main reason being that the hotline said that they only helped women, followed by the hotline referring them to a male batterers' program. Almost half (44%) of the men contacted a local domestic violence agency, and again 65.2% said it was not all helpful, primarily because the agencies appeared to be biased against men, said they did not help male victims, and suggested he was the batterer (Douglas & Hines, 2011). Thus, these data clearly refute Stark's (2010) contention that there are plenty of services available to help male victims of PV and that such services are not biased. These data also explain why it is difficult to find samples of male victims from the same areas where we find samples of female victims, and why the helpseeking samples are so lopsided towards female victims.

Defining Partner Violence

At the heart of the arguments over female-perpetrated and bidirectional PV is the issue of how exactly PV should be defined. In most surveys, physical assault is analyzed, but many argue that PV is a combination and pattern of physical, psychological, controlling, and/or sexual aggression (e.g., DeKeseredy, 2000; Saltzman, 2000; Stark, 2010). To properly capture PV, patriarchal theorists argue that family conflict surveys like the NFVS are too limited in focusing on acts of physical PV. Stark (2010), in particular, says that better data comes from surveys like the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) that define PV as a crime or the National Violence Against Women Survey (NVAWS) that focused on acts that caused safety concerns, which frames PV as a criminal or safety issue for research participants, instead of a conflict resolution tool.

The NCVS collects crime victimization data (whether reported to the police or not) twice each year through a standardized interview from a sample of approximately 100 000 individuals living in approximately 50 000 households, and in comparison to the NFVS, it provides much lower estimates of PV prevalence. Between 2003–2012, the NCVS data show that 6.2 per 1000 women sustained a physical assault from an intimate partner. By contrast, 1.4 per 1000 men sustained a physical assault; thus, men represented about 24% of PV victims between 2003 and 2012 (Truman &

Morgan, 2014). Note that the NCVS rates are less than 1/20th than that of the NFVS because most people do not consider violence perpetrated against them by family members to be criminal, particularly if it is by a woman (Mihalic & Elliott, 1997; Straus, 2004b). A further problem with Stark's (2010) assertion that the NCVS provides better estimates of PV is that it does not assess the type of controlling behaviors and psychological abuse that he says underlie PV.

The NVAWS was a national telephone survey on crime and personal safety administered between November 1995 and May 1996 to a representative sample of 8000 women and 8000 men in the United States. Respondents were asked questions about rape, physical assault, and stalking victimization. According to the NVAWS, 1.8% of women and 0.8% of men were victims of PV within the prior year (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000); thus, about 40% of the PV victims within that year were men. However, these estimates also do not include issues of controlling behavior or psychological abuse that Stark (2010) says underlie PV. Thus, even according to the two surveys that Stark (2010) recommends, about 24%–40% of PV is perpetrated by women, with both surveys finding only a fraction of the PV that the NFVS and other family conflict surveys find because of their framing of the study as crime and personal safety surveys.

The National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey (NISVS) is a national study of 9086 women and 7421 men that provides information on victimization from sexual violence, partner physical violence, stalking, psychological aggression, and control of reproductive/sexual health (Black et al., 2011). Data are available from the year 2010. DeKeseredy (2011), a patriarchal theorist, says that US authorities recognized and used feminist thinking to develop the NISVS, which he says applies a broad definition of PV and provides valid and reliable data on PV victimization. According to the NISVS, when only physical assault is considered, 53% of the victims of PV in a 1 year time period are men, and when sexual violence and stalking perpetrated by an intimate are added to the definition of PV, 43% of the victims of PV in a one-year time period are men. If psychological aggression (i.e., expressive aggression, such as being called names, being humiliated, or partner acted angry in a way that seemed dangerous; and coercive control, such as one's partner keeping track of or demanding to know one's whereabouts) is also added to the definition, then 51% of PV victims in a 1 year time period are men (calculated from Black et al., 2011). Thus, according to a comprehensive definition of PV that encompasses physical violence, sexual violence, stalking, and psychological abuse, the NISVS shows that about half of PV victims in a 1 year time period are men. Control of reproductive/sexual health is not included in these numbers because the researchers presented only lifetime estimates. However, men experienced this type of PV at a higher rate than women, with 10.4% of men and 8.6% of women saying that an intimate partner tried to get (them) pregnant when they did not want to and/or refused to use a condom or birth control (Black et al., 2011).

Thus, according to the surveys that patriarchal theorists say we should rely on for more accurate information on PV, 24% to more than 50% of PV victims are men. However, all three of these surveys – the NCVS, NVAWS, and NISVS – are problematic because they only focus on victimization. Surveys that assess both victimization and perpetration within a given relationship show that bidirectional violence is clearly the most common form of violence for both minor and severe PV (Kessler et al., 2001; Langhinrichsen-Rohling et al., 2012; Straus, 2008b; Whitaker et al.,

2007). Even among clinical samples of PV victims and perpetrators, bidirectional violence is the norm. For example, among samples of battered women in shelters (Giles-Sims, 1983; McDonald et al., 2009; Saunders, 1988), 50%–75% report using some type of violence against their male partners (Giles-Sims, 1983; Saunders, 1988) and 50%–67% using severe violence (McDonald et al., 2009; Saunders, 1988). Thus, it is vitally important that any population-based prevalence surveys assess both victimization and perpetration within a relationship so that we have an accurate understanding of the dynamics within the couple. This research is important since early indications are that both physical and psychological injuries are more severe among both men and women who experience bidirectional violence compared to those who experience unilateral violence (Straus, 2008b; Hines & Douglas, 2011b; Whitaker et al., 2007).

Controversies Regarding Measurement

Scales to Measure Partner Violence

The most widely used tool to measure PV is the *Conflict Tactics Scales (CTS)*. The CTS was developed in the 1970s and is a behavioral checklist that asks participants to indicate the methods or *tactics* that they have used to resolve a difference with an intimate partner (Straus, 1979). A revised version of the CTS was developed in the 1990s (Straus et al., 1996) and continues to be used today, including a 3–5 minute short form (Straus & Douglas, 2004). The CTS has been used in hundreds of studies, translated into dozens of languages (Straus, 2005), and administered on diverse populations (Anderson & Leigh, 2010; Straus, 2004a); at one point, it was estimated that the CTS was featured in six new family violence publications each month (Straus, 2005). The CTS measures five different types of tactics: negotiation, psychological aggression, physical assault, physical injury, and sexual coercion. Participants indicate the extent to which they perpetrated or sustained any of the behaviors measured in the CTS within a specified time period; the most common periods are the past 12 months or lifetime. The behaviors measured include listening to their partner's side of the story (negotiation), calling their partner names (psychological aggression), slapping or punching a partner (physical assault), causing a small bruise or cut to a partner (physical injury), and insisting on sex when the partner has refused (sexual coercion) (Straus et al., 1996).

Despite the widespread use of the CTS, it has been the subject of fierce criticism, particularly by patriarchal theorists who assert that male dominance over women in the family and society underlies PV and that men use violence to maintain this dominance (Barner & Carney, 2011; Dobash & Dobash, 1977, 1979). By contrast, the CTS is based on the family conflict perspective, which assumes that any inequality in the family, including dominance by a male *or* female partner, increases the probability of PV because the dominant partner may use violence to maintain his or her position or the subordinate partner may use violence to try to achieve a more equitable relationship (Straus, 1979). Therefore, a key feature of the CTS is that it measures violence by both partners in a relationship; this is also one of the bases for rejection of this instrument by some feminist scholars (Browning & Dutton, 1986; Dobash & Dobash, 1990, 1992; Szinovacz, 1983).

The CTS also bears the news that women assault male partners at about the same rate as men assault female partners (Cercone, Beach, & Arias, 2005; Chan, 2012; Kar & O'Leary, 2010; Langhinrichsen-Rohling et al., 2012; Renner & Whitney, 2010; Robertson & Murachver, 2007; Straus, 2012; Straus et al., 1997). Many perceived these results as both implausible and a threat to funding of services for battered women, and as a result, have denounced the CTS (Dobash et al., 1992; Johnson, 2006; Szinovacz, 1983).

The most frequent criticism of the CTS is that it does not measure the causes, context, or meaning of the violent acts that it assesses. Participants are asked to indicate whether they struck a partner, but not the reasons for doing so. It does not assess whether it was out of anger, to control a partner, or in self-defense (Dobash et al., 1992; Simmons, Lehmann, & Cobb, 2009), which is a critique of most research which finds bidirectionality in violent couples (Miller, 2001, 2005; Miller & Meloy, 2006; Saunders, 1986, 1988). The creator of the CTS has argued that such a criticism is analogous to criticizing a test of reading ability for not identifying the reasons a child reads poorly (such as limited exposure to books at home or test anxiety) and not measuring the harmful effects of reading difficulty (such as dropping out of school or economic instability). He argues that these are vital issues, but they must be investigated by using separate measures of those variables along with the reading test. Similarly, the CTS is intended to be used with measures of whatever cause, context, and consequence variables are relevant for the study or the clinical situation, such as measures of the balance of power and feelings of fear and intimidation (Straus, 2005). Context is extremely important and we suggest it is best examined by using context variables as moderators in analyses of the CTS Physical Assault scale. The other CTS scales provide measures of some of the most frequently mentioned aspects of context, such as whether there was injury, psychological aggression by the partner, intransigence of the partner, the severity and chronicity of the attack, and sexual coercion in the relationship.

The CTS has had widespread influence in the field of PV research and as a result, all other tools are largely assessed in comparison to or in response to the CTS. In spite of some of the criticism about the CTS, many other tools that assess PV also employ behavioral checklists (e.g., Dobash et al., 1998), such as the *Index of Spouse Abuse* (Hudson & McIntosh, 1981), which asks about specific acts, but also mixes together multiple types of violence in the same question, such as psychological and physical, making it difficult to determine from which type of maltreatment a victims suffers (Aldarondo & Straus, 1994). The NVAWS and NISVS also used a behavioral checklist that is similar to the CTS, but the questions do not position the respondent to consider the social context in which the violence occurred (Straus, 1999; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000; Black et al., 2011). Some scales, however, focus more on estimating the level of violence to which a partner, usually a woman, might be exposed. The *Severity of Violence Against Women/Men Scales,* which has had little psychometric testing (Marshall, 1992a, b) ask respondents to estimate how abusive, violent, or traumatic it would be if a series of acts were used against them by a partner. Similarly, the *Wife Abuse Inventory*, which has good psychometric properties, primarily asks about household management and only asks two questions pertaining to abuse/ violence itself; further the purpose of the tool is to capture violence targeting women only (Poteat et al., 1990). The latter two instruments do not provide evidence of actual violence or harm that was sustained, only speculation about such events, which makes it difficult to establish prevention, treatment, or policy responses. Further,

actual harm incurred is a different construct than one's speculation of the harm that might occur. Finally, scholars have noted that many PV screening tools have not been adequately tested with regard to reliability and validity (Aldarondo & Straus, 1994; Rabin et al., 2009), something that has been well established with the CTS (Archer, 1999; Straus, 2004a; Straus et al., 1996).

Dyadic Concordance Types

Dyadic Concordance Types (DCTs) provide a practical way to describe and analyze PV that takes into account the behavior of both partners. The procedure is simply to cross-classify the presence of the behavior of the male partner by that of the female partner. This locates each couple in one of the three DCTs: Male-Only, Female-Only, and both engage in the behavior. DCTs have been used for physical, psychological, and sexual abuse of US student couples (Hines & Saudino, 2003), a recently married community sample (Panuzio & DiLillo, 2010), 3,642 men and women in the World Mental Health Study (Miller et al., 2011), and Intimate Terrorism in student couples in 32 nations (Straus, 2013). The percent in each DCT reported by women participants in the World Mental Health Study are typical of the 46 studies reviewed by Langhinrichsen-Rohling, Misra, Selwyn, and Rohling (2012): Male-Only: 36%, Female-Only: 21%, and Both Assaulted: 43%.

Controversies Regarding Causal Mechanisms

One of the most hotly contested controversies regarding PV is the causal mechanisms underlying it. We briefly discuss several theories below, evidence for each, and why they are controversial. This discussion is not meant to be exhaustive of all theoretical perspectives, but rather focus on some of the theories that have received the most attention.

Patriarchy Theory

Patriarchy theory is the dominant perspective on PV (Dutton & Corvo, 2006). *The* cause of PV, patriarchal theorists hold, is the gendered structure of society. Men have economic, political, social, and occupational power over women, and this power structure is reflected in heterosexual intimate relationships. Men strategically use violence to maintain their dominant status over women and have been socialized to believe that violence against women to maintain dominance is justified (e.g., Dobash & Dobash, 1979). Thus, PV is a result of men operating within a patriarchal system that denies equal rights to women and legitimizes violence against women (e.g., Hammer, 2003). According to this model, female perpetrators do not and cannot exist because PV is an issue of power and control of which only men are capable (Pence & Paymar, 1993). Thus, any women's aggression is in self-defense (Miller & White, 2003).

There is only limited empirical support for this theoretical perspective. A meta-analysis of studies addressing PV against women and the male partner's patriarchal ideology (Sugarman & Frankel, 1996) provided little support for patriarchal theory, with the only component of patriarchal ideology that consistently predicted PV against women being the perpetrator's attitude toward violence, which is not necessarily a component of patriarchal ideology. A more recent meta-analysis (Stith, Smith et al., 2004) found that traditional sex role ideology and PV against women were moderately

associated. Moreover, as mentioned in the section "Controversies on Prevalence," there is an abundance of evidence that contradicts that women's violence is only in self-defense. In fact, self-defense accounts for only a minority of women's aggressive acts in heterosexual, violent relationships (e.g., DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 1998).

Given these findings, some patriarchal theorists assert that the theory that societal and relationship power is at the heart of PV can be extended to explain violence toward men in heterosexual relationships (Belknap & Melton, 2005; Das Dasgupta, 1999, 2001; Worcester, 2002). Because men want to maintain power and control, they hit their female partners to keep the power balances in their favor. Female partners, therefore, hit their male partners in order to break free from the oppression and dominance to which they are subjected (Das Dasgupta, 1999; Stark, 2010; Worcester, 2002). According to this theory, women's use of violence should be predicted by male dominance in the marital relationship.

However, there is evidence to contradict this theory as well. For example, Straus (2008), using data from 32 nations, found that in 24 of 32 nations, women were more dominant on average than men within their romantic relationships, with little gender difference overall in dominance. Furthermore, dominance *by either partner* was associated with increased probability of bidirectional PV, female-only PV, and male-only PV. Other researchers have found similar results (Coleman and Straus, 1986; Kim and Emery, 2003; Sugihara & Warner, 2002; Tang, 1999).

Nonetheless, patriarchal theory remains the dominant perspective and according to adherents of this theory, all other causal mechanisms that we discuss next are viewed as excuses. Moreover, they view any psychological diagnosis of the male batterer to be a rationalization for his behavior and thus, inaccurate (Pence & Paymar, 1993).

Intergenerational Transmission

One of the most consistent findings in the research is that PV passes through the generations, such that children who are exposed to aggression in their families of origin, either through experiencing child abuse or witnessing interparental aggression, are more likely to engage in PV as adults than children who are never exposed to familial aggression (Ehrensaft et al., 2003; Stith et al., 2000). In a meta-analysis of the intergenerational transmission of PV across 39 studies, there was a significant association among both genders between both the witnessing of interparental aggression and the experience of child abuse with current PV (Stith et al., 2000).

In addition to the issues discussed above regarding patriarchal theorists' objections to other theoretical perspectives, this finding is controversial because it is often assumed that intergenerational transmission is inevitable. However, the reported moderate effect size in the Stith et al. (2000) meta-analysis ($d = 0.18$) shows that exposure to aggression in the home is neither a necessary nor sufficient cause of PV later in life. A second controversy regarding this finding of intergenerational transmission is its extension to spanking. Some researchers argue that spanking is a necessary form of discipline (e.g., Rosemond, 2005), while others have found that spanking is associated with the development of a host of aggressive behaviors in children (Gershoff, 2002), including PV perpetration and injury (Douglas & Straus, 2006).

A final controversy regarding the intergenerational transmission of PV is the theory used to explain it. The most cited explanatory theory is social learning theory, which posits that children who see aggression in their family being rewarded learn to

resolve frustrations and conflicts with family members through aggression. In other words, children *learn* through observing their family members' behavior how to get what they want through aggression (Eron, 1997). Although social learning theory is the most cited theory, it has limited direct empirical support as the mechanism through which PV transmits (Straus & Yodanis, 1996). Two of many other theoretical perspectives that have received empirical support are (i) attachment theories, which claim that these aggressive childhood experiences may actually create an avoidant-ambivalent bonding style that persists into adult romantic relationships and leads to overly demanding and angry behavior in their adult relationships (Dutton, 2007), and (ii) behavioral genetic theories, which say that familial resemblance in PV behaviors is at least partially due to shared genes, not just shared environments (Hines & Saudino, 2004).

Alcohol Abuse

Another consistent predictor of PV is the abuse of alcohol. This link has been primarily demonstrated among clinical samples of male batterers (e.g., Fals-Stewart, 2003), but has also been shown among community samples of men (e.g., Leonard, 1993), population-based samples (e.g., Caetano, Schafer, & Cunradi, 2001), and a college sample of men and women worldwide (Hines & Straus, 2007). The influence of alcohol abuse on the perpetration of PV is particularly striking when one considers treatment studies of male alcoholics who are also batterers. When male alcoholics remit from using alcohol after undergoing empirically based alcohol treatment programs, their rates of PV perpetration decrease significantly and mirror those of population-based samples (O'Farrell et al., 2003).

This finding has been the source of much controversy regarding whether alcohol abuse is a cause or merely a correlate of PV (Flanzer, 2005; Gelles & Cavanaugh, 2005). Most patriarchal theorists assert that it is an excuse to "explain away" poor behavioral choices (Pence & Paymar, 1993); however, the research clearly demonstrates that the link is strong enough that it needs to be seriously considered as a risk factor. The explanatory model that currently receives the most empirical support is a mediational model, whereby certain dispositions of the drinker may influence the association between alcohol abuse and PV perpetration. Specifically, people with elevated levels of antisocial personality traits are the ones who display an increased likelihood of perpetrating PV while drinking (e.g., Fals-Stewart, Leonard, & Birchler, 2005; Murphy et al., 2001), which is consistent with other bodies of research on drinking and aggressive behavior (e.g., Moeller, Dougherty, Lane, Steinberg, & Cherek, 1998). In other words, antisocial personality traits mediate the relationship between alcohol abuse and PV.

Personality Dysfunction

There is also empirical support for the prediction of PV perpetration by personality dysfunction (i.e., elevated scores on personality disorder scales that do not necessarily reach a clinically significant level). Although there do not seem to be controversies regarding how or why personality dysfunction predicts PV, patriarchal theorists view any kind of psychiatric diagnosis as an excuse (Pence & Paymar, 1993). Nonetheless, the evidence is strong that personality dysfunction is a risk factor for PV perpetration.

For example, Dutton, Saunders, Starzomski, & Bartholomew (1994) found that several personality dysfunctions – Borderline Personality, Antisocial Personality, Aggressive-Sadistic Personality, and Passive-Aggressive Personality – are related to PV perpetration by men. They theorize that this association is due to longstanding attachment disorders that have their roots in paternal rejection, exposure to abuse in their childhood families, and a "failure of protective attachment." These men seem to have developed a "fearful-angry" attachment style, which causes them to lash out violently towards their female partners during confrontations and perceived separations. In other words, the development of these personality dysfunctions seems to be part of the mediating chain that links a childhood history of maltreatment to current PV perpetration. Ehrensaft et al. (2006) has also found that regardless of gender, personality dysfunction is a strong predictor of PV perpetration.

Systems Theory

Systems theorists argue that PV takes place within a dyadic system and the system works in such a way as to maintain those dysfunctional interactional styles. Interactions within couples are bidirectional, and both members interact in ways that promote PV. It is, therefore, difficult to change a person's behavior without also working to change the system in which that person belongs (Ross & Babcock, 2010). Thus, PV is not simply one member of the couple abusing the other, but is a function of the stresses of everyday life in which conflicts arise, negative interactions escalate, and violence is sometimes a response (e.g., Giles-Sims, 1983; Ross & Babcock, 2010). Systems theory is supported by empirical findings that many PV situations are bidirectional (e.g., Stets & Straus, 1990) and that there is assortative mating for antisocial behaviors (e.g., Capaldi, Kim, & Shortt, 2004; Moffitt et al., 2001; Serbin et al., 2004).

Systems conceptual frameworks have been valuable in highlighting the complexity of PV and have led to the development of effective therapeutic techniques for PV that address both members of the couple (Holzworth-Munroe et al., 1995; O'Leary, Heyman, & Neidig, 1999; Stith, Rosen, & McCollum, 2003). However, they are the source of much controversy and have consistently been challenged by patriarchal theorists as frameworks that blame the victim (i.e., female partner) and put her in danger (e.g., Bograd, 1984). The argument is that a systems perspective relieves blame from the perpetrator because it looks at the couple interaction, not at the perpetrator behavior; it also puts a victim in danger, patriarchal theorists argue, because if she were to voice any complaint about her perpetrator during the course of systems therapy, he would retaliate against her.

Controversies in Victim Services

In the 1970s, grassroots efforts by feminist battered women's advocates led to the opening of the first battered women's shelter (Straus, 1980). With the spread of shelters, the public stereotype that PV was a problem of the poor, mentally ill, and socially deviant began to fade. Throughout the next two decades, state laws on PV rapidly proliferated. Federal protection occurred in 1994, when the federal Violence Against Women Act (VAWA) was enacted and provided women with broad protections against violence in their homes and communities (Buzawa & Buzawa, 2003).

There are numerous ways in which victims of PV seek help. The core of the domestic violence response system includes domestic violence agencies, domestic violence hotlines, and the police. Victims may contact attorneys for advice on how to leave a violent relationship, how to document the abuse, and how to protect children in the process (Bowker, 1983; Erez & King, 2000; Krugman et al., 2004; Stanko, 2000). PV victims may seek help from healthcare professionals (such as in emergency rooms), mental health professional (Leone, Johnson, & Cohan, 2007; McNamara et al., 1997; McNamara, Tamanini, & Pelletier-Walker, 2008), and members of the clergy (El-Khoury et al., 2004). Finally, victims also use more informal sources of support, such as via the Internet (web sites for information about PV, forums, listserv, email groups) (Douglas & Hines, 2011). Below, we discuss controversies over the forms of help that are currently available to PV victims and have their roots in this advocacy movement.

Helpseeking Experiences

The social service system is primarily set up to provide assistance for women who are seeking help and protection from a violent male partner. Not surprisingly, female PV victims have relatively positive experiences when seeking help. For example, in a study of women who sought services for PV-related concerns from a domestic violence agency, 89% believed that they were helped by the services that they received and 84% felt better because of these services (McNamara, Tamanini, & Pelletier-Walker, 2008). Similarly, a study of women receiving help from a hospital-based domestic violence support group found that 95% were mostly or very satisfied with the services they received (Norton & Schauer, 1997). These findings are consistent with other literature showing that women are often very satisfied with PV services (Bowker & Maurer, 1985; McNamara et al., 1997; Molina et al., 2009). Similarly, battered women report being satisfied with the help they receive from police. For example, one study indicated that female victims found police to be very helpful and 80% would contact the police again for assistance (Apsler, Cummins, & Carl, 2003).

The reason that female PV victims with male perpetrators seem to feel that victim services are helpful is likely because the domestic violence service system and police response were developed with their victimization experiences in mind. Men and other underrepresented groups (e.g., LGBTs) generally have less positive experiences. For example, one study of men's helpseeking experiences (Douglas & Hines, 2011) found that mental health and medical professionals were rated as being the most helpful formal resources. The resources providing the least support to male PV victims seeking help were domestic violence agencies, domestic violence hotlines, and the police. Nearly 67% of men reported that domestic violence agencies and hotlines were not at all helpful. Many reported being turned away, being blamed for the abuse, and/or being called the "real" abuser, findings consistent with Cook (2009) who found that domestic violence hotline workers often say that they only help women, infer/state that the men must have done something to deserve it, ridicule them, or refer them to batterers' programs. Some men report that when they call the police during an incident in which their female partners are violent, the police sometimes fail to respond, ridicule them, or incorrectly arrest the male victim (Cook, 2009; Douglas & Hines, 2011). Other research found that male victims do not feel that the police take their concerns seriously, and in comparison to female PV victims, male victims are significantly less satisfied with the police response (Buzawa & Austin, 1993).

Men in heterosexual relationships are not the only population of PV victims to have encountered barriers to helpseeking. Older women report having trouble gaining access to PV services, fear police brutality, and feel that domestic violence services are not available or tailored to their needs (Beaulaurier et al., 2007). In fact, DV agency staff sometimes turn away elderly women because of the misperception that they are frail and in need of too much help with activities of daily living (Donnelly et al., 1999), and staff may perceive elderly female victims as downtrodden, overly dependent, and resistant to change (see Leisey et al., 2009). Some lesbian victims find shelter and police services to be lacking, and their experiences with domestic violence agencies range from lack of outreach to exclusion (Donnelly, Cook, & Wilson, 1999). Battered lesbian women also report that the police are "not at all helpful" or "just a little helpful" (Renzetti, 1989). One study found that gay male PV victims sought help from a variety of sources, including friends, relatives, clergy, mental health and medical providers, the domestic violence service system, and the police (McClennen, Summers, & Vaughan, 2002). The most helpful were relatives and neighbors; they overwhelmingly rated the other sources as "not helpful at all" to "a little helpful."

Violence Against Women Act

The passage of the federal 1994 Violence Against Women Act (VAWA) helped to formally criminalize domestic violence (Crais, 2005). As the name of the Act implies, the primary targets of the legislation are women; the Act is also based on the assumption that all PV against women is gender-motivated (Biden, 2004; National Task Force to End Sexual and Domestic Violence Against Women, 2005) and that the underlying cause of PV against women is patriarchy (Parmley, 2004). VAWA has been the center of significant controversy. It has been reauthorized three times, in 2000, 2005, and 2013. A primary concern regarding VAWA is the exclusive focus on female victims with little acknowledgement of male victims. Supporters of VAWA argue that the language in the legislation is gender-neutral (Laney and Siskin, 2002). Nevertheless, advocates and the original sponsor of the legislation exclusively discuss "women" when making arguments for why VAWA is needed to keep communities and families safe, and why it needs to be reauthorized (Biden, 2004; National Task Force to End Sexual and Domestic Violence Against Women, 2005). The primary argument in 2012 in the debate about whether to reauthorize VAWA concerned whether and to what extent the law would be expanded to members of the LGBT community and immigrants; Congressional debates did not include discussion about straight male victims (Bendery, 2012; Madison, 2012), despite the fact that research since the 1970s has shown that men also sustain and seek help for PV victimization.

Controversies in Treatment

How we effectively treat batterers has been the source of major controversy. Discussed below is the major debate regarding treatment: whether we should continue with the widely utilized Duluth-based power and control model or whether other forms of treatment that have more systems or psychological approaches should replace the dominant model.

Batterer Intervention Programs

The main diversionary program mandated by judges for men who are arrested for PV is completion of a batterer intervention program (BIP). These programs ostensibly have several goals, including helping the batterer take responsibility for his behavior, changing the batterer's attitudes towards violence, eliminating his violent behavior towards his partner, and protecting the victim (Hamby, 1998; Maiuro & Eberle, 2008). Almost all states have developed a number of mandates for these programs, the most common and controversial of which is the inclusion of issues of power and control in program content (Maiuro & Eberle, 2008). This provision is controversial because there is no evidence that using power and control issues as the focus of program content is an effective means of reaching the goals of BIPs.

These state mandated program models are organized around the patriarchal theory that battering is a social problem stemming from the patriarchal organization of society. Most programs that focus on patriarchal issues use the "Duluth Model," developed in Duluth, Minnesota (Pence & Paymar, 1993). The model states that the sole cause for all battering is the batterers' need to control and dominate their partners. This issue of power and control is seen as an exclusively male phenomenon, and all female violence is viewed as self-defensive. All other risk factors for DV (e.g., alcohol abuse, personality disorders, anger control issues, impulsivity, communication skills deficits, couple interaction styles, stress) are viewed as excuses. In fact, the program developers view any psychological diagnosis of the male batterer to be a rationalization for his behavior and thus, inaccurate (Pence & Paymar, 1993).

Overall, studies on the effectiveness of these Duluth-type BIPs show that there are no differences in recidivism rates or attitudes towards women and PV between male batterers who attend BIPs and those who do not (e.g., Davis, Taylor, & Maxwell, 1998; Feder & Forde, 2000; Babcock, Green, & Robie, 2004; Labriola, Rempel, & Davis, 2005). For example, one meta-analysis showed that according to partner report, male batterers who attended treatment had a 40% chance of being nonviolent, whereas men who did not have treatment had a 35% chance (Babcock, Green & Robie, 2004). Attrition rates are between 40% and 60%, even when attendance is mandated as a condition of probation and failure to attend can result in incarceration (Buttell & Carney, 2002). Yet, this model remains the "unchallenged treatment of choice for most communities" (Babcock, Green, & Robie, 2004), and where it is not implemented in its pure form, power and control issues remain a substantial focus. Thus, some researchers have argued that the primary goal of these programs is not to change perpetrator's behavior or keep victims safe, but rather to deconstruct male privilege in an effort to re-educate the male participants (Corvo, Dutton, & Chen, 2009).

Dutton and Corvo (2006) argue that by taking an adversarial and judgmental stance against the batterers (and by disbelieving or dismissing batterers' often-valid claims of alcoholism, mental illness, mutuality of abuse, etc.), Duluth treatment providers preclude any opportunity to form a therapeutic bond with the batterers, which is the strongest predictor of successful treatment outcome. Thus, it is not surprising that Duluth Model treatment does not work and leads to high attrition rates. They also argue that such models violate professional ethical standards for mental health providers that require the use of empirically based practice models (Corvo, Dutton, & Chen, 2009).

Despite such evidence, BIPs focusing on power and control are still mandated by state laws as the programs of choice for batterers, whereas in many states, a program that can be construed as psychological treatment (Corvo, Dutton, & Chen, 2009; Maiuro & Eberle, 2008) or that takes a systems perspective are prohibited, even though such models are evidence-based (Corvo, Dutton, & Chen, 2008). The rationale for such prohibitions is that the Duluth Model guarantees a victim's safety, but it is illogical to assume that a program that does not work is better at protecting victims' safety than programs that do work (Dutton & Corvo, 2006).

Couples Treatment

Couples treatment is based upon systems theory that posits that PV takes place within a dyadic system that maintains dysfunctional interactional styles. The system needs to be changed in order to end PV. Couples therapy is also based on the notion that not all PV is the same and that providing the same treatment to all batterers – as is the current model in the United States and other Western nations – has no basis in evidence (McCollum & Stith, 2008). Proponents of Duluth-based models typically oppose the use of couples treatment. In fact, over two-thirds of states explicitly forbid the use of couples therapy, and in many of the other states, couples therapy can only be conducted as a supplemental therapy with certain conditions present, such as that the sessions not imply joint responsibility of the violence (Maiuro & Eberle, 2008).

The argument by proponents of the Duluth model is that couples therapy increases the likelihood of violence; however, there is no evidence to support such an assumption (for a discussion, see McCollum & Stith, 2008). A second argument is that couples therapy does not hold the batterer responsible and implicitly blames the victims; however, it is more than possible to have couples therapy and hold the batterer responsible (McCollum & Stith, 2008). McCollum & Stith (2008) argue that there are three dangers in avoiding couples treatment, particularly when the PV is bidirectional: (i) women's violence is ignored or downplayed, which decreases the chances of cessation of PV because the strongest predictor of PV is the other partner's use of PV; (ii) marital discord plays a strong role in PV, and by ignoring the couple's relational patterns, we are not addressing the patterns that lead to violence, and (iii) violent couples tend to stay together; thus, couples need help figuring out how to relieve their relationship distress and find nonviolent ways of asserting themselves.

Proponents of couples therapy do not argue that it is always the best treatment option. In fact, the following are typical exclusion criteria for couples therapy: No member of the couple is coerced, no major ongoing mental illness, and no history of severe PV or weapon use in a PV incident (McCollum & Stith, 2008). Using these criteria, several couples therapy programs have shown promise at decreasing PV. For example, both the Domestic Conflict Containment Program (Neidig, 1985), and a modification of it called the Physical Aggression Couples Treatment (Heyman & Neidig, 1997), have reduced men's perpetration of PV (Brannen & Rubin, 1996; Neidig, 1985; O'Leary, Heyman, & Neidig, 1999). These programs teach couples skills to reduce and contain conflict in their marriages and focus on anger management skills, communication, fair fighting, sex, and jealousy. Another program is the Domestic Violence Focused Couples Treatment, which is a combination of both single-sex group treatment and couples treatment. Participants in this program have shown improvements in PV perpetration,

marital satisfaction, and attitudes towards PV for up to two years following treatment (Stith, Rosen et al., 2004).

Controversies in Prevention

The majority of prevention work has focused on raising public awareness of the frequency and severity of PV, with statements that imply that only men are perpetrators and only women are victims, and that severe, chronic assaults with injuries are the typical pattern (Straus, 2009). Although these messages have helped reduce the acceptance and rates of PV against women, there has been no decrease in acceptance and rates of PV against men (e.g., Straus, 1995), and little acknowledgement that minor PV, particularly when used by women, is unacceptable. Thus, prevention messages need to be broader and focus on both men and women as potential perpetrators of both minor and severe forms of PV.

Patriarchal theory is the dominant theory that guides prevention work. For example, the World Health Organization (2005) specifically recommends that "preventing partner violence requires changing the gender-related attitudes, beliefs, and values of both women and men, at a societal as well as at an individual level" through activities that "challenge women's subordination" (pp. 92–93). In 2009, the British government announced that "Every school pupil in England is to be taught that domestic violence against women and girls is unacceptable" (BBC News 2009). However, evaluations of programs that take a patriarchal perspective, such as Skills for Violence Free Relationships (Levy, 1984), show that they do not work in changing attitudes or knowledge either in the short- or long-term (Avery-Leaf & Cascardi, 2002).

Most PV prevention work focuses on stopping PV before it ever has the chance to start, which means focusing on adolescents in prevention work. One of the major, freely available prevention programs, the Love is Not Abuse program sponsored by Liz Claiborne, is largely based on the notion that PV is perpetrated by men with women as victims. They do acknowledge that men can be victims and women can be perpetrators, but all of their guides explicitly say that the overwhelming majority of abusers are boys and victims are girls (Liz Claiborne Inc., 1999, 2004). These statements actually contradict data from their own study (Liz Claiborne Inc., 2006) and countless other studies (for reviews, see Avery-Leaf & Cascardi, 2002; Foshee & Reyes, 2009) that show that there are no gender differences in PV perpetration in middle school, high school, or college, and when gender differences are found, females report higher levels of PV perpetration. Moreover, both their high school and college prevention programs are focused on men as perpetrators and women as victims. All examples are of men abusing women, guys confronting their male friends about them abusing their girlfriends, and girls talking with their girlfriends about being victims. In their *Teen dating violence handbook* and the *Parents' guide to teen dating violence*, they use gender-specific pronouns that denote boys as perpetrators and girls as victims. In the parent guide, they advise parents to look for warning signs that their sons may be abusers and that their daughters are victims. In the section on advising parents on how to help their teenager end a violent relationship, the daughters are leaving an abuser, and the son is an abuser whose behavior must stop.

Although the Love Is Not Abuse program is widely available and used, there are other programs that use a gender-neutral, skills-based model that teach adolescents

how to have healthy relationships and that have shown of success. However, as Avery-Leaf and Cascardi (2002) assert, proponents of patriarchal theory object to the use of these programs because they think such programs have "victim-blaming" (i.e., female-blaming) implications. Nonetheless, gender-neutral programs show promise in preventing dating violence among both girls and boys. For example, the Safe Dates program is a mixed-gender program that includes a theater production, a 10-session curriculum, and a poster contest (Foshee & Langwick, 2004). The program is designed to change norms regarding the acceptability of dating violence, help students understand the sanctions against dating violence, improve conflict management and communication skills, and promote an understanding of gender stereotypes. It shows evidence of effectiveness over four years in decreasing rates of psychological, moderate physical, and sexual violence perpetration, and decreasing rates of moderate physical dating violence victimization. These effects are mediated by changes in dating violence norms, gender norms, and awareness of community services (Foshee et al., 2004).

Although gender-neutral programs have shown effectiveness, Straus (2009) argues that it is insufficient for prevention programs to be gender neutral. He argues that they need to be *explicitly* directed to girls and women as well as boys and men. This is because "dating violence," "domestic violence," and other such terms have become so synonymous with male-perpetrated PV, women as perpetrators needs to be specifically targeted as being unacceptable. Girls need to be told that the use of violence to gain a partner's attention, to express anger, to emphasize a point, or for any reason other than self-defense is not acceptable behavior. Although all programs should recognize that men and women, girls and boys, commit PV at approximately equal rates, gender should not be neutral in such programs.

Conclusion

The most pressing issue for the field of PV is to build a bridge across the divide between the patriarchal perspective and the family conflict perspective. This bridge needs to be informed by empirical evidence on the dynamics, causes, and consequences of PV, which then need to inform comprehensive victim, perpetrator, and prevention strategies. It cannot be informed by pre-existing theoretical or political ideologies that have little empirical support because that perspective has impeded the development of our understanding of both men and women's PV perpetration and victimization.

Two interrelated issues need to be researched and understood in a more nuanced way: female-perpetrated and bidirectional PV. The study of PV perpetrated by women is inherently a feminist endeavor "because it is predicated on the belief of equality between men and women" (Langhinrichsen-Rohling, 2010b) and that both men and women need to take responsibility for their choices and behavior. The study of women's PV perpetration in heterosexual relationships also needs to take place within the study of bidirectional PV because that is the most common type of PV and is the most likely to lead to both physical and psychological injuries (Hines & Douglas, 2011b; Straus, 2008b; Whitaker et al., 2007). Focusing on bidirectionality will allow us to enhance our ability to treat and prevent a large amount of PV. A practical way to focus on bidirectionality is to classify the cases into one of the three dyadic concordance types identified earlier in this chapter: male only, female only or both assaulted (Straus,

2015). This also assures equal attention to the needs of women victims in research and in clinical practice. Dyadic concordance types can also help the children who may witness such relationships; they need protection, regardless of the gender of the perpetrating parent(s) (Straus and Michel-Smith, 2013). Ignoring their needs – and the needs of all PV victims – is socially irresponsible (Ross & Babcock, 2010).

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Interventions, Policies, and Future Research Directions in Partner Violence

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Introduction

There have been sweeping changes in policy and practice on violence against intimate partners since the 1960s. New laws, policies, programs, and research funding have all shaped the extant literature on this topic as well as the contours of violence itself. As the other chapters in this collection have illustrated, violence against intimate partners is pervasive in the United States. This violence comprises emotional, physical, and sexual abuse, including lethal and sublethal attacks against current and former partners and their friends, family members, acquaintances, and bystanders. The research literature has expanded rapidly since the 1980s, and every conceivable aspect of violence has been investigated. A substantial portion of the contemporary research literature is devoted to the policies and interventions that affect intimate partner violence. This chapter will first review key policy changes that have shaped interventions in violence against intimate partners. Second, it will map major areas of research on policy and intervention in violence and abuse. Finally, it will propose directions for future research.

Interventions/Policies

The Violence against Women Act is the most visible and influential policy on violence against intimate partners in the United States. According to the United States Department of Justice (DOJ) web site:

> In 1994, the US Congress enacted the Violence against Women Act (VAWA), a comprehensive legislative package focused on violence against women. The VAWA recognized the devastating consequences that violence has on women, families, and society as a whole. It also acknowledged that violence against women requires specialized responses to address unique barriers that prevent victims from seeking assistance from the justice system. (United States Department of Justice, n.d.)

The DOJ notes that, "Since the passage of VAWA, there has been a paradigm shift in how the issue of violence against women is addressed in communities throughout the nation" (Office on Violence against Women, 2012). Indeed, the cultural status quo has shifted from dismissing or ignoring violence against women to publicly condemning violence against women and men by their intimate partners.

While the criminal and civil laws against assault, harassment, threats, and homicide have always applied to both women and men, the VAWA allocated resources based in large part on the pervasive problem of inequitable implementation of the law when the perpetrator of violence was a woman's male intimate partner. Other factors contributing to the recognition of the need for resources targeted to women included: women's higher rates of poverty, greater entrapment in abusive relationships, demonstrated unmet demand for services, higher risk of injury, and disproportionate risk of death due to violence perpetrated by an intimate (Dragiewicz & Lindgren, 2009).

The VAWA passed and was easily reauthorized with bipartisan support in each instance since 1994. However, unprecedented levels of resistance to the reauthorization of the law were part of Republican re-election campaigns in 2012. Conservative commentators have suggested that the VAWA is a "smear tactic" created to make it look like Republicans support violence against women. For example, Goodman claimed that the latest iteration of the VAWA is "a transparent, politically motivated attempt to provoke Republican opposition to the VAWA and allow the left to claim the GOP supports violence against women" (Goodman, 2012). Likewise, Republican senator Jeff Sessions said,

> I favor the Violence against Women Act and have supported it at various points over the years, but there are matters put on that bill that almost seem to invite opposition … You think that's possible? You think they might have put things in there we couldn't support that maybe then they could accuse you of not being supportive of fighting violence against women? (Sessions cited in Weisman, 2012)

The objections to the most recent VAWA reauthorization centered on the provision of services to undocumented immigrants, victims on tribal lands, and victims of violence by same-sex partners – the very groups most at risk from violence and inadequate state responses to it.

There have been additional forms of opposition to the law (Dragiewicz, 2008). Attempts to undermine the VAWA have included attaching amendments designed to raise objections to the legislation, known as "poison pills." One such amendment, proposed by Senators Kyl and Cornyn, would have allowed government collection of DNA samples from people arrested or detained by federal agents whether nor not they were eventually charged or convicted of a crime (American Civil Liberties Union, 2005). In addition, President Bush appointed anti-VAWA activists to the National Advisory Committee responsible for overseeing its implementation. Nonetheless, most politicians and commentators have been careful to assert that they abhor violence against women even as they attack the law and the provision of essential services to those most at risk. This careful positioning demonstrates the powerful yet incomplete and contested cultural change that has happened around intimate partner violence over a fairly short period of time.

The VAWA was originally passed as part of the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994 "in recognition of the severity of the crimes associated with

gender-motivated violence" (United States Department of Justice, 2009). Subsequent reauthorizations have been attached to other crime-focused bills such as the *Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act 2000* and the *Violence against Women and Department of Justice Reauthorization Act 2005*. Although most VAWA funds are geared toward improving criminal justice responses to violence, it serves more than just a criminal justice function. The VAWA "provides funds for states and local governments, tribal nations, and territories to develop prevention and intervention programs to combat violence against women" and has also funded an extensive national research agenda through collaboration with the Department of Health and Human Services, via the Centers for Disease Control and the Department of Justice, via the National Institute of Justice (Parmley, 2004, p. 1417). Training has also been a major part of VAWA-funded activity (Office on Violence against Women, 2010).

In fact, the VAWA is the vehicle for the majority of funding for violence related services in the United States. The Office on Violence against Women, which is responsible for administering programs under the VAWA, "has awarded over \$4.7 billion in grants and cooperative agreements" since 1995 (Office on Violence against Women, 2012). While much of this amount has gone to criminal justice related projects including training for police officers and promoting formal collaboration between police, courts, and advocacy groups, it has also funded direct services which are very heavily utilized.

There are approximately 1945 domestic violence programs across the United States (Lyon, Lane, & Menard, 2008, p. 3; National Network to End Domestic Violence, 2011). The National Network to End Domestic Violence conducted a one day snapshot of services from September 15, 2011. 1726 out of 1944 programs (89%) participated. The 1726 programs served 67 399 victims on that day, with 36 332 receiving shelter and 31 007 accessing nonresidential services. In addition, 22 508 calls were logged to domestic violence hotlines, and 26 339 individuals participated in prevention and education training. An additional 10 581 requests for service could not be met by the service providers, including 6714 requests for shelter (National Network to End Domestic Violence, 2011).

Research on domestic violence services has investigated patterns of utilization (Hirschel, 2008); survivors' perceptions of services (Lyon, Lane, & Menard, 2008); and their effectiveness (Chanley, Chanley, & Campbell, 2001; Farmer & Tiefenthaler, 2003; Reckdenwald & Parker, 2012; Tiefenthaler, Farmer, & Sambira, 2005). Research has also documented continuing unmet demand for shelter, legal support, and other resources as well as barriers to accessing services (Donnelly, Cook, & Wilson, 1999; Logan et al., 2005; Zweig, Schlichter, & Burt, 2002). While many of the survivors of violence who seek services utilize assistance from a variety of formal and informal sources, many of those affected by abuse do not access formal services (Fugate, Landis, Riordan, Naureckas, & Engel, 2005; Shannon, Logan, Cole, & Medley, 2006).

Research on Policies and Interventions

Scholars have investigated many aspects of intimate partner violence policies and their outcomes. For example, criminologists have compared recidivism rates under different policy regimes (Buzawa & Buzawa, 1996; Felson, Ackerman, & Gallagher, 2005; Dugan, 2003); the dynamics of arrest, charging, and sentencing for intimate partner

violence (Hirschel, 2008; Hirschel et al., 2007); the effectiveness of batterer intervention programs and their alternatives (Gondolf, 2011, 2012); factors affecting policy adoption (Gee, 1983; Murphy, 1997); survivors' opinions about and experiences with justice systems (Coulter et al., 1999; Fleury-Steiner et al. 2006; Postmus et al., 2009; Hare, 2010; Rhodes et al., 2011); perpetrators' experiences with justice systems (Buchbinder & Eisikovits, 2004; Hearn, 1998; Schmidt & Barnett, 2011; Schrock & Padavic, 2007; Silvergleid & Mankowski, 2006; Wu et al., 2011); the implementation of domestic violence related laws across justice systems (Gondolf et al., 1994; Lemon, 1999; Ptacek, 1999); and the unintended outcomes of changes in policy and practice (Bloom, Owen, & Covington, 2004; Chesney-Lind, 2006; Richie, 2012).

Research on Arrest Policies

Arrest policies have perhaps been the subject of the most research attention. While some accounts incorrectly attribute mandatory arrest policies to the VAWA (SAVE, n.d.), police practices around violence against intimate partners began to change almost two decades earlier in response to lawsuits such as *Scott v. Hart* (1976) and *Bruno v. Codd* (1977). In these cases, police were sued for failing to extend equal protection of the law to women who were assaulted by their male intimate partners due to the widespread police practice of "arrest avoidance" in domestic violence cases (Gee, 1983). These early cases resulted in settlements with localized implications for changes in policing practice. Later cases such as *Thurman v. the City of Torrington et al.* (1984) and *Sorichetti v. City of New York* (1985) established case law holding police accountable for enforcing the law even when the victim was a woman whose attacker was her male intimate partner. However, the United States Supreme Court Decision *Castle Rock v. Gonzales* (2005) potentially undermines established case law requiring police to enforce the law in domestic violence cases. Reversing the Colorado Supreme Court ruling, the majority opinion declared that Colorado's mandatory enforcement provision did not necessarily mean enforcement was mandatory (Fenton, 2010). Criminal and civil laws are determined at the state level, and not all states have imposed limits on officer discretion via preferred or mandatory arrest polices (Hirschel et al., 2007). As of 2008, 22 states and the District of Columbia had mandatory arrest policies, six had preferred arrest policies, and 22 had discretionary arrest policies that outline the circumstances under which warrantless arrest can occur (Hirschel, 2008). To date, there is no consensus among scholars, antiviolence advocates, survivors, or lawyers about the ideal policy.

Research comparing the effectiveness of different arrest policies is contradictory and inconclusive. Some studies have found that "arrested suspects manifested significantly less subsequent violence than those who were ordered to leave" (Maxwell, Garner, & Fagan, 2001; Sherman & Berk, 1984, p. 261). Others claim that "a mandatory arrest law intended to deter abuse actually increases intimate partner homicides" (Iyengar, 2007, p. 18). Other studies have found arrest to deter recidivism for perpetrators with a high "stake in conformity" and those in neighborhoods with more stable populations (Wooldredge & Thistlethwaite, 2002). Still others have found that findings about whether arrest policies increase or decrease intimate partner homicide depend on how the policies are categorized (Zeoli, Norris, & Brenner, 2011). Ultimately, many of these studies have been focused so narrowly on arrest policies that they failed to consider factors such as how laws are implemented, if prosecution took

place, what other penalties and resources for support exist and so on. As a result, their results provide little practical guidance for policy (for a discussion of these issues see Buzawa and Buzawa, 1996).

It is important to note that "mandatory arrest" is a something of a misnomer. Police continue to exercise significant discretion in all jurisdictions, and arrest is dependent upon probable cause in every jurisdiction. Officers also decide whether to investigate the crime or to just arrest both parties and "leave it for the judge to sort out." Despite the preponderance of preferred and mandatory arrest policies, officers do not make arrests in the majority of domestic violence calls even where arrest is mandated in that jurisdiction.

For example, in an analysis of National Incident Based Reporting System (NIBRS) data on situationally ambiguous cases where police had identified both parties as a victim and perpetrator, Durfee found that "even in cases where officers have determined that both partners have committed acts of IPV, officers only make an arrest 54% of the time; in 46% of these cases no arrest is made, despite the fact that mandatory arrest policies *require* arrest when acts of IPV have been committed" (Durfee, 2012, p. 79). Likewise, in an analysis of National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) data Dugan found that "Mandatory arrest laws do not necessarily lead to more arrest. Laws will only continue to prevent violence if they are known to be enforced" (2003, p. 305). Even when an arrest occurs, perpetrators are much more likely to be diverted to batterer programs than to be incarcerated. Although dropping out of such programs ostensibly attracts criminal justice sanctions when attendance is court ordered, there has been remarkably little research on what happens when participants fail to meet required conditions. There is no evidence that dropouts are consistently penalized.

Batterer Program Evaluation

Since many jurisdictions use batterer intervention programs as part of coordinated community and criminal justice responses to violence, there have also been efforts to study the outcomes of these programs (Parmley, 2004). Like the studies on the effectiveness of arrest polices, findings from studies on the effectiveness of batterer programs are equivocal. As with other interventions into violence, the answer to the question "does it work?" depends on who you ask, what outcome you are measuring, which program you are talking about, whether the criminal justice system follows up on mandated participation, and what other resources are available to survivors (Gondolf, 2012).

The most prevalent model is "batterer intervention based on cognitive-behavioral counseling, reinforcement from the criminal justice system, and coordination of additional community services" (Gondolf, 2007, p. 644). A recent review of the larger quantitative studies reported "Research over the previous 20 years concerning the effectiveness of batterer intervention programs suggests that batterer intervention programs result in a small average reduction in intimate partner violence" (Eckhardt et al., 2006, p. 370). However, the authors also noted that "*To date, there are no interventions for partner violence perpetrators that approach the standard of 'empirically valid,' and it is debatable whether any intervention can be labeled 'empirically supported'*" (emphasis in original, p. 373). Accordingly, scholars working in this area have insisted that batterer intervention programs need to be considered in the wider

community context of response or nonresponse to violence (Bennett & Williams, 2001; Gondolf, 2012). The most consistent lesson that can be drawn from any of these studies is that no single intervention can be accurately understood beyond the context in which it occurs. Locations vary in terms of time from court date to program intake, staff supervision, facilitator qualifications and styles, police response to domestic violence, local media coverage, and the availability of community social services (Gondolf, 1999, p. 46).

Research on Unintended Consequences

Scholars and advocates have critiqued many aspects of criminal justice system responses to violence, noting that the well documented and interconnected problems with racism, homophobia, class discrimination, and sexism in the deployment of state power not only fail to protect everyone subjected to intimate partner abuse, but ultimately contribute to conditions that can make marginalized women more vulnerable to violence and abuse (INCITE!, 2003, 2009; Richie, 2012). Many scholars have argued that the emphasis on criminal justice system responses to violence against women has diverted attention away from the campaigns for broad-based social *and structural* change that characterized early responses to violence against women (Bumiller, 2008; Coker, 2004; Goodmark, 2011; Richie, 2012).

Substantial scholarly attention has been directed toward studying the unintended consequences of policy changes around intimate partner violence such as following through with prosecution against the victim's wishes, disproportionate increases in the arrests of women, increases in dual arrests, and the assignment of victims of violence to batterer groups, all of which disproportionately affect women with marginalized racial, gender, class, and sexual identities (Bloom, Owen, & Covington, 2004; Buzawa & Buzawa, 1996; Chesney-Lind, 2002; Durfee, 2012; Miller, 2001; Osthoff, 2002; Richie, 2012; Zorza, 1994). Significantly, heightened criminal justice attention to domestic violence has coincided with the deployment of punitive pro-incarceration policies which Richie (2012) terms the "prison nation." They are also interlinked with retrenchment polices that have cut essential social programs such as income support, health care, education, and social services – the very resources that have been shown to be essential to survivors trying to extricate themselves from abusive relationships (Bloom, Owen, & Covington, 2004; Richie, 2012).

Complicating these vital critiques is the fact that police are frequently called upon as a resource by victims of intimate partner violence (Gordon, 1996). In fact, "Domestic-violence-related police calls have been found to constitute the single largest category of calls received by police" (Klein, 2009, p. 1). Despite greater risk of mistreatment by police, black women and men are significantly more likely to call police for help with intimate partner violence than white women or men (Rennison & Welchans, 2000). In addition, several of the key legal challenges seeking to force police response to domestic violence have been brought by women of color and their families For example, in *Estate of Macias v. Ihde* (2000) "the Appellees denied Maria Teresa Macias's right to equal protection by providing her with inferior police protection on account of her status as a woman, a Latina, and a victim of domestic violence." This case is clearly an example of a legal effort to force police to respond to domestic violence to remedy a failure based upon what legal scholars term "intersectionality" (Crenshaw, 1991). Since so many abused women want a response from the police and

the courts when they need protection, and since domestic violence calls make up a significant portion of police and criminal justice work, it is essential that program and policy efforts work to ensure access to equal protection of the law even as they address the structural inequalities that produce violence and entrap its targets.

Future Directions in Research

There are many areas where more research is needed to assess policies and interventions as well as improving them. Three key issues for future research to address are: intimate partner homicide, evidence based research, and the contexts of violence

Preventing Intimate Partner Homicide

At the most fundamental level, antiviolence efforts are geared toward homicide prevention. Academic research on homicide, the most serious manifestation of violence against intimates, has lagged behind the development of many other areas of inquiry. Rapid changes in intimate partner homicide rates beg further investigation in part because of their potential to inform prevention efforts around sublethal violence. Most national research on intimate partner homicide is drawn from the Federal Bureau of Investigation Supplementary Homicide Reports (SHR). Like all data sources, SHR has limitations. The fact that SHR data are drawn from cases identified by the police, the voluntary nature of reporting, missing data – especially about the relationship between the perpetrator and victim, and poor ability to analyze multiple killings are all significant limitations which are important to accurately understanding the dynamics of homicide (Puzone et al., 2000). Nonetheless, the SHR is currently the only nationwide database that systematically collects information including the relationship between victims and offenders of homicide (Biroscak et al., 2006; Langford, Isaac, & Kabat, 1998; Puzone et al., 2000).

The most recent report from the United States Bureau of Justice Statistics analyzed SHR data on homicides occurring between 1980–2008 (Cooper & Smith, 2011). Homicide victims were killed by an intimate in 16.3% of all cases where the relationship to the offender was known. Women were six times more likely to be killed by an intimate than men, with 41.5% of female murder victims and 7.1% of male murder victims killed by an intimate. 63.7% of all intimate partner homicides were of women, and 36.3% were of men. 70.3% of perpetrators of intimate partner homicide were men and 29.7% were women. Intimate partner homicides of men decreased by 53% between 1980 and 2008. As of 2008, 45% of female homicide victims were killed by an intimate. In the same year, 5% of male homicide victims were killed by an intimate. While homicides rates are stratified by race, age, and income, the proportion of all homicides perpetrated by intimates is similar for black and white men and for black and white women (Cooper & Smith, 2011, pp. 10, 18).

Since homicide is easier to detect and count than sublethal intimate partner violence, it can provide clues about the distribution of violence that can be difficult to discern from reports of sublethal violence. In addition, lethal violence helps provide a context for the relative risks of violence by an intimate compared to that by other categories of perpetrator. In the absence of a truly comprehensive national data collection effort on domestic violence related homicide, state level efforts have sought

alternative routes to collecting high-quality information from multiple sources. While Cooper and Smith asserted that "Homicide counts suffer from a minimal level of underreporting" (Cooper & Smith, 2011, p. 34), state level investigations have uncovered significant omissions.

Langford, Isaac and Kabat (1998) produced one of the earliest studies that supplemented SHR data with data from other sources in order to produce a more accurate account of intimate partner violence related homicides. Langford et al. constructed a database on Massachusetts homicides between 1991 and 1995 from sources including: "news articles, SHR reports, lists assembled by district attorney's offices, and reports from domestic violence advocacy agencies" (p. 358). They found that the SHR identified only 71% of intimate partner homicides and 26.7% of deaths of others related to domestic violence (p. 353). Langford and colleagues identified 175 incidents and 194 victims. 149 of these, or 76.8%, were intimate partner victims. Women comprised 86.6% of the partner victims in the sample. The 45 nonpartner victims made up almost a quarter of the sample (23.2%). Significantly, Langford et al. found that in 73.3% of incidents in which other victims were killed, the targeted partner did not die (p. 360). Such collateral killings where the partner did not die are very likely to be undercounted as domestic violence related deaths in official data.

The Michigan Intimate Partner Homicide Surveillance System (MIPHSS) also uses a multisource database to identify domestic violence related homicides. The MIPHSS combines information from "death certificates, newspaper articles, law enforcement reports, and medical examiners' records" to identify domestic homicide cases (Biroscak et al., 2006, p. 393). By triangulating data from multiple sources, MIPHSS identified homicides of intimate partners as well as what they termed "intimate partnership related deaths" or collateral killings like suicides and killings of others such as a children or new partners. This approach resulted in a more comprehensive account of intimate partner homicide in Michigan. For example, while police records identified 120 intimate partner homicides between 1999 and 2001, the MIPHSS identified 66 additional partner homicides for a total of 186. The MIPHSS methodology identified 128 additional intimate partner related homicides (Biroscak et al., 2006, p. 395). The large magnitude of collateral killings related to domestic violence challenges conventional understandings of both intimate partner violence and homicide.

In addition to formalized public health surveillance programs that have demonstrated the utility of drawing upon multiple existing data sources, many states have established domestic violence fatality review initiatives. Domestic violence fatality reviews use multiple sources of information to analyze the characteristics of domestic violence homicides in order to recommend changes to the ways that systems respond to domestic violence in order to prevent further deaths. Several states produce excellent reports based on this data, and the National Domestic Violence Fatality Review Initiative (NDVFRI) provides a central repository for these reports (NDVFRI, n.d.) Like other multisource efforts at improving our understanding of intimate partner violence, domestic homicide reviews have made valuable contributions to our understanding of the problem. For example, the Washington State Coalition against Domestic Violence has produced a series of excellent reports that investigate not only partner homicides but also domestic violence related suicides and collateral killings (Fawcett, Starr, & Patel, 2008; Starr & Fawcett, 2006). These findings have highlighted the significant and understudied connection between suicide and violence against intimate partner violence for both victims and perpetrators.

Such interdisciplinary models have the potential to significantly add to our understanding of the dynamics and outcomes of intimate partner violence. Given the accessibility of the sources used in these studies, future work on intimate partner violence should account for the collateral killings that comprise considerable harm due to intimate partner violence. The National Violent Death Reporting System also has the potential to add to this knowledge, especially if it is funded at a national level. Projects from pilot states are already changing our understanding of violent deaths, illuminating a toll of intimate partner violence much heavier than was previously understood (Bennett et al., 2006; Logan et al., 2008).

Significantly, the best work on homicide has been conducted by interdisciplinary teams of antiviolence advocates, scholars, and statisticians from criminology and public health whose combined knowledge of the dynamics of violence has informed the research methodology. These studies explicitly integrate the goal of changing community conditions and responses to violence to decrease the harm. These praxis-oriented, collaborative efforts bring attention to the significant limitations of narrow methodological approaches. This brings us to the downside of increasing calls for "Evidence Based Practice" (EBP).

Rethinking Evidence Based Practice

As Goldenberg observed, "The appeal to the authority of evidence that characterizes evidence-based practices does not increase objectivity but rather obscures the subjective elements that inescapably enter all forms of human inquiry" (Goldenberg, 2006, p. 2621). As in medicine, calls for EBP in the social sciences function "through the positivistic elimination of culture, contexts, and the subjects of knowledge production from consideration, a move that permits the use of evidence as a political instrument where power interests can be obscured by seemingly neutral technical resolve" (Goldenberg, 2006, p. 2622). The elevation of a very narrow array of positivist research methods derived from the physical sciences as the only acceptable form of inquiry is especially inappropriate in studying complex human behaviors such as violence. Indeed, scholars do not agree on the terminology to use (violence, conflict, aggression, abuse, battering?), much less the definitions for those forms of abuse or how to quantify them. Although calls for EBP invoke a "return to Science," reviewing the literature provides clues about the sort of nostalgia at play.

The claim that evidence can take the politics out of discussions about how to address forms of violence that are profoundly shaped by gender, class, and racial hierarchies is at best hopelessly naïve. Likewise, the notion that certain types of positivist research can or should settle scholarly differences about the best way to study complex human behavior is poorly considered. Epistemological practices are inherently political. Perhaps it needs to be stated that even the best evidence cannot discern whether it is better to prioritize arrest over services, when to prioritize individual therapy or broad based social programs, what scholars should study and how, or if battered women's shelters are effective and who gets to decide. These are political decisions in every sense of the word.

Future research on policies and interventions for intimate partner violence needs to take up many of the issues explored elsewhere in this volume. While there is now a large body of research on men's violence against female intimate partners, there is more to be done to integrate this research with the other research on violence and abuse. Future research should: build upon survivors' needs; take the context of

violence seriously; include multiple forms of victimization (especially homicide, strangulation, sexual assault, and emotional abuse); include attention to batterers; consider how violence against intimate partners relates to other types of human violence, and address both immediate survival needs and cultural and structural change. Practices that are comprehensively evidence based would extend beyond studies of correlation to consider the multiple data sources and methodologies that can contribute to our understanding of violence and abuse.

Contextualizing Intimate Partner Violence

To date, most of the research on policy and interventions around intimate partner violence is somewhat narrowly centered on policy and program evaluation. However, the shared conclusion of all of these studies is that no one policy or practice is adequate to address violence against intimate partners. It is the interaction across levels of the social ecology which shapes the effectiveness of individual interventions. Furthermore, it is the relationship between individual beliefs, actions, and responses to them that shape violence and abuse in the first place.

Those subjected to abuse by intimate partners have been extremely generous in telling researchers about the structural, legal, social, and cultural factors that entrap them in abusive situations. Housing, income, child care, health care, safety, and access to community support are the key factors that shape individual responses to violence (Fleury-Steiner et al., 2006; Goodkind et al., 2003; Goodkind, Sullivan, & Bybee, 2004; Moe, 2007). Fatality reviews point to the same factors as essential for reducing harm (Fawcett, 2010; Fawcett, Starr, & Patel, 2008; Starr & Fawcett, 2006). It is in the face of these multiple contexts that individuals navigate violence. Unfortunately for policymakers and advocates, none of these is amenable to a single quick fix that can solve intimate partner violence (Humphries, 2002). As Chesney-Lind argued,

> If "abuse" is de-contextualized, if the motive of the violence cannot be considered, and if the meaning of the "violent" behavior is irrelevant, then we will arrest more girls and women. Further, if we more heavily police communities of color, and implement the mandatory arrest policy strictly, the law enforcement approach to domestic violence has gendered and racialized consequences that are very serious. Clearly, child abuse and wife battery are very serious and complex social problems, but simplistic solutions (particularly ones that fail to address age, gender, and race inequality) bring with them very heavy collateral costs. (Chesney-Lind, 2002, p. 86)

These comments point to the need to address violence beyond criminal justice systems.

There is a role for social science in informing interventions, but the relationship between research and policy is complicated. As Moore put it,

> social science methods, when well deployed, can offer bits of information that are important to policymakers. As a matter of principle, however (to say nothing of practice), social science findings can never fully dictate the right answer to an important policy question … And it is not just because the relevant sciences are not yet mature. It is because important normative questions remain entirely beyond the reach of science, and because any important policy choice involves important positive issues that science has not yet, or could not easily ever reach. (2002, pp. 41–42)

In other words, social science research, no matter how well designed, cannot answer what are essentially political questions about social norms, resource allocation, and power. As Hearn and McKie suggest, "A key task in policy analysis and development is not to even out policy effects on men and women but to probe processes sustaining gendered inequities and hierarchical relations among diverse women and men" (Hearn & McKie, 2010, p. 151).

Future research must take context into account. The multiple, interlinked structural hierarchies which shape individual experience along lines of gender, race, class, and culture are an essential part of understanding violence in order to prevent or intervene in it effectively. Intimate partner violence is a significant portion of all crime, but it cannot be understood if we only look at the individual criminal incidents or the demographic, attitudinal, or behavioral characteristics of individual offenders or victims. Future research in intimate partner violence should contextualize the violence within the broader landscape of personal experience, interpersonal interactions, community context, and culture. Research based on the perspectives and needs of those affected by intimate partner abuse provides a key starting point for understanding violence.

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Part Six
Sexual Violence

Rape and Sexual Assault Victimization

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Rape and Sexual Assault Victimization Definitions

Rape and sexual assault remain pervasive phenomena in our society today, despite increased understanding of the negative consequences of such victimization. Sexual victimization can occur across the lifespan in childhood, adolescence, and adulthood, and among both men and women. Accurate definitions and measurement of sexual victimization experiences are crucial for our understanding of this phenomenon and for informing public policies, and risk reduction, prevention, and treatment programming.

Legal definitions of sexual assault and rape vary somewhat across legislatures and can vary in degree of severity of offenses. In general, sexual assault has been defined as unwanted behaviors that can consist of exhibitionism, unwanted exposure to pornography, public show of images that were taken in private or without a victim's awareness, voyeurism, sexual contact of breasts, genitals, or anal orifice with a part of the body or an inanimate object, and penetration. Such behaviors are attempted or committed either against a victim's will or when consent cannot be obtained due to age (e.g., status as a minor), disability (e.g., mental or cognitive disability), or the influence of alcohol or drugs. Across legislations, specifics of age criteria vary somewhat with respect to victim and perpetrator ages and age differences (e.g., statutory rape). Additionally, sexual assault may be committed through use of coercion, intimidation, pressure, use of a weapon, and threat, or actual use of physical force (National Institute of Justice, 2010). More recently, most states have amended sexual assault laws to make these crimes gender neutral such that victims and perpetrators can be both male and female; for example, penetration qualifications for rape extended beyond just vaginal penetration to include oral or anal penetration (Koss et al., 2007). Legal definitions of sexual victimization differ somewhat from research definitions, and not all incidents defined as sexual victimization in research may qualify as criminal acts. However, legal definitions and public policy of sexual assault and rape have been informed by advancements in research methodology and results, which allow for more accurate assessment of such victimization.

Incidence and Prevalence

Currently, it is widely understood that assessment and measurement of history of sexual assault and rape is more valid when assessed with behaviorally specific descriptions of unwanted sexual experiences that describe the specific act and tactic used (Fisher & Cullen, 2000; Koss et al., 2007). Use of broader questions with terms such as "rape" or "sexual assault" (e.g., asking "have you ever been raped?") in assessment of sexual victimization histories can result in underestimates in rates of such experiences, given that these terms are typically poorly, or differentially, understood by men and women (Harned, 2005; Koss, Gidycz, & Wisniewski, 1987). For illustration, Fisher and Cullen (2000) compared prevalence rates of rape obtained through behaviorally specific assessment to measurement from a US national survey using broader terminology, and found that rates were nine times higher using the behaviorally specific methodology. In fact, many men and women do not label their sexual victimization experiences as such, even when their experiences meet the research or legal definitions of sexual assault (Fisher, Cullen, & Turner, 2000). The term "unacknowledged victim" has been used to describe someone who has had an experience that meets the research and/or legal definition of sexual assault or rape but does not conceptualize or define it as such.

Unacknowledgement is a fairly common phenomenon, with estimates of unacknowledgement of rape occurring in up to 68% of female victims (Dardis & Gidycz, 2012). Although rates of unacknowledgment in male victims have been virtually ignored in the empirical literature, it could be assumed that because being victimized is incongruent with our society's traditional view of masculinity, and rape myths suggest that "real men can defend themselves against rape" (Turchick & Edwards, 2012), men might be even more reluctant than woman to label a sexual assault as such. Indeed, data from narratives of male sexual assault victims gathered in the context of the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) suggest that few men used the word rape to describe what had happened to them, although they experienced a range of sexually aggressive experiences which included rape, attempted rape, and coercion (Weiss, 2010).

In general, research using such behaviorally specific methodology has documented that a large proportion of women and men experience some form of sexual victimization in their lifetime. However, variability in general incidence and prevalence rates reflects differences in definitions of sexual victimization, methodologies, and populations studied. The majority of sexual victimization research thus far has focused on women, although recently increased attention has been on men. Lifetime prevalence rates indicate that between 17% and 25% of women experience rape (Fisher et al., 2000; Koss et al., 1987). In terms of history of any type of sexual victimization, estimates range between 45% and 75% of women reporting such victimization in adulthood (Brecklin & Ullman, 2002; Koss et al., 1987). In a recent investigation, data collected from women in 23 states and two US territories suggested that the 12-month prevalence rate for attempted or completed nonconsensual sex was 1.2% (Blac, Basile, Breiding, & Ryan, 2014). Further, college-aged women are at particular risk for sexual victimization; longitudinal studies indicate that over 22% of college women report an experience of any type of sexual assault over a 2 month interval, and between 3% and 8% of college women experience rape in just a 2 to 3 month time span (Gidycz, Hanson, & Layman, 1995; Gidycz, Loh, Lobo, Rich, & Lynn, 2007; Gidycz, McNamara, & Edwards, 2006).

Rates of sexual victimization among men are generally lower, accounting for approximately 5% to 10% of rapes reported annually (Scarce, 1997). For example, in a recent study, Gardella et al. (2015) found that in a college student sample, women experienced four times the amount of sexual victimization as men. According to a review by Peterson and colleagues (Peterson, Voller, Polusny, & Murdoch, 2011), lifetime rates of forceful rape among men varied from between 0.2% (married/cohabitating community sample; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000) to 14% (college student sample; Aizenman & Kelley, 1988). In general, rates of sexual victimization of men are somewhat higher among college samples compared to community samples. Research indicates that up to 73% of college men report experiencing some form of unwanted sexual behavior (Peterson et al., 2011); whereas between 25% and 30% of community men experience some form of attempted or completed sexual victimization (through use of force, coercion, or incapacitation from alcohol/drugs) (Krahe, Scheinberger-Olwig, & Bieneck, 2003).

Sexual victimization is experienced in essentially all demographic groups, regardless of gender, age, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, or socioeconomic status. Just as rates of sexual victimization vary across gender, they tend to vary similarly across demographic groups and geographic regions. There is information that some subpopulations may be at greater risk for sexual victimization, as are women. For example, data from the 2008 NCVS indicated that age-adjusted rates of rape/sexual assault were two to three times greater in persons with disabilities who were aged 12 years or older, compared to persons without disabilities (Harrell & Rand, 2010). Other research indicates that women who identify as Native American or African American report greater rates of sexual victimization (Lodico, Gruber, & DiClemente, 1996), highlighting differential rates of sexual victimization among different racial groups.

In terms of international sexual victimization statistics, rates tend to vary somewhat across geographic region and are difficult to integrate for a variety of reasons. For example, rates of sexual violence among women committed by a nonpartner range from approximately 1% in Ethiopia and Bangladesh to between 10% and 12% in Samoa and Peru (e.g., UN Department of Public Information, 2011). It has been proposed that rates of rape of women in South Africa are among the highest, with about 2,070 attempted or completed rapes per 100,000 women per year (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002). Rates of rape among women in the Democratic Republic of the Congo are also markedly high with an average of around 36 women and girls raped every day; with some researchers noting the influence of the use of rape as a weapon of war (UN Department of Public Information, 2011). Furthermore, research on international statistics of sexual violence among men is less prevalent (Stemple, 2009). The rate of lifetime prevalence of attempted or completed rape among American men is estimated around 3% (Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998), with a similar rate found in England (Stemple, 2009). An aggregate of 120 prevalence studies found an average of 3% of men worldwide had experienced rape in their lifetime (Spitzberg, 1999). International rates of sexual victimization must be interpreted with high caution at this time; many developing countries do not yet have a sufficient amount of data available nor the infrastructure for accurate crime reporting (e.g., Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002), and there exist many cultural factors (e.g., existence of forced marriages) and barriers to reporting or assessing sexual violence that may complicate a comparison of international statistics.

Unfortunately, rates of sexual victimization have increased among lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) populations, which may be partially reflective of increases in anti-LGBT crimes in general (National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs, 2009). Among victims presenting for emergency medical care, LGBT victims reported greater rates of sexual assault than heterosexual victims (Cramer, McNiel, Holley, Shumway, Boccellari, 2012). In a review of studies conducted in the United States from 1989 to 2009, Rothman, Exner, and Baughman (2011) found that lifetime sexual assault prevalence rates reported by gay and bisexual men ranged from 12% to 54%, and between 16% and 85% among lesbian and bisexual women, with median prevalence at 30% and 43% for these groups, respectively. Finally, in a recent study, Edwards, Sylaska et al. (2015) found a significantly higher 6-month incidence rate for sexual assault for sexual minority college students (24.3%) compared to heterosexual students (11.0%). As these findings reflect wide ranges in estimates of prevalence, further research is needed to fully understand the impact of sexual victimization in LGBT communities; and similarly to better understand what factors may account for differential rates of victimization among different subpopulations.

Overall, researchers have highlighted the variance in victimization among subpopulations. The identification of such characteristics of sexual victimization is important for building general public awareness of the continuum of sexual victimization experiences that can occur.

Contextual Factors

Much research has been conducted to better understand the characteristics and contextual factors of sexual victimization. Regarding characteristics of victims and perpetrators, research indicates that the majority of sexual assault experiences, approximately 66% to 80%, are committed by an acquaintance of, or someone known to, the victim, rather than by a stranger (Koss, Dinero, Seibel, & Cox, 1988; Truman, 2011). However, in comparing the victimization of men and women, although the percentage assaulted by strangers is comparable, there is some evidence that more women than men are assaulted by intimate partners (Weiss, 2010). The frequency of involvement of alcohol or substances in sexual victimization has also been documented. The Alcohol and Crime Study sponsored by the US Department of Justice found that one-third of perpetrators of sexual assault were intoxicated during the incident; 30% with alcohol and an additional 5% with other drugs (Greenfield, 1998). Additionally, research with community women indicates that incapacitated rape (i.e., rape occurring when a victim is either unable to consent to or resist sexual intercourse due to alcohol or drug intoxication) occurs at least as often as forcible rape (Testa, Livingston, VanZile-Tamsen, & Frone, 2003), whereas research with college women indicates that incapacitated rape is more common than forcible rape in this population (Lawyer, Resnick, Von Bakanic, Burkett, & Kilpatrick, 2010). In one study with men it was found that for female to male sexual assault exploiting the man's ability to resist through alcohol or drugs was the most frequently utilized tactic (Krahe et al., 2003). The study of common characteristics of sexual assault, including but not limited to victim-perpetrator relationship and substance use, allows for a better understanding of such victimization.

Risk Factors and Correlates

In addition to the noted subpopulation differences in rates of sexual assault, researchers have examined factors that increase risk for sexual victimization or are correlated with such experiences. This information is important for intervention and prevention programming, as well as the provision of treatment for survivors of sexual assault. Risk for sexual victimization involves a number of environmental, contextual, cognitive, and behavioral variables that can be either distal or proximal in temporal relationship to the unwanted sexual experience.

Sociocultural Factors

For both men and women, rape is embedded within a larger context of sociocultural factors, which may demonstrate a dynamic nature across time, populations, and geographic regions. It has been proposed that sexual aggression is a product of cultures in which such aggression is accepted or tolerated. From a feminist perspective, sexual violence is a result of normal male socialization and sociocultural conditioning (e.g., Rozee, 1993). In this framework, sexual violence and attitudes that are accepting of sexual violence serve to maintain patriarchal ideals of male as dominant and female as submissive; ideals that are often reflected in institutional and social settings (Anderson & Doherty, 2008). Similarly, gender role socialization theory outlines that girls and women are socialized to be compliant, passive, and submissive via their family environment, peer groups, and school environment; whereas boys and men are socialized to be tough, assertive or aggressive in order to obtain their goals (Letendre, 2007). Further, men and women often differ in terms of size, strength, and economic dependency (Anderson, 2005); all factors that contribute to a sociocultural context that maintains violence against women. Also within the feminist perspective, anger towards women may be culturally disseminated when women are subordinated, making them viable targets for aggression (Hall & Barongan, 1997). Cognitive distortions (e.g., rape myth acceptance) about the impact and meaning of sexually aggressive behavior are prevalent in patriarchal societies and contribute to sexual assault perpetration. Ethnic minority groups adopting a collectivist orientation may exhibit increased risk for victimization among individuals perceived to be part of an outgroup with less status and power (Hall & Barongan, 1997). Among women, the experience of sexual violence may be partially influenced by social and sexual role expectations whereby a women must place men's sexual needs above her own, and by conflicting messages regarding female sexuality (e.g., a woman must please her male partner, yet be assertive enough to set boundaries) (Philips, 2000). Traditional social role expectations influence men to exhibit greater agency and women to exhibit other-focused and affiliative qualities (Helgeson, 1994). These expectations and roles are related to unwanted sexual experiences among women. For example, belief in the sexual double standard is associated with decreased communication and levels of assertiveness in initiation and refusal of sex (Greene & Faulkner, 2005). Furthermore, Hynie and Lydon (1995) proposed that social norms discourage women from being sexually assertive in sexual situations which may increase the likelihood for sexual assault. To the extent that such social role expectations are held within a population, these

factors may influence rates of sexual victimization among women as well as influence their reluctance to come forward when they are assaulted.

   Although sociocultural theories to explain sexual violence have their roots in feminist theory and have focused on sexual violence perpetrated by men against women, Hines (2007) argues that, regardless of the sex of the perpetrator, when individuals view relationships as exploitative, deceptive, manipulative, and as a means of gaining power rather than obtaining love and tenderness, that forced or verbally coerced sex is more likely to occur. Illustrative of this point, Hines (2007) conducted a large-scale study of sexual coercion among men and women across a number of countries and found that the greater level of reported gender hostility against men at a particular site, the higher rates of verbally coerced and forced sex against them.

Past History of Victimization

Throughout the period since the mid-1990s, researchers have explored the link between early sexual abuse in childhood and risk for sexual victimization in adolescence and adulthood (see Gidycz, 2011). Data consistently underscore that an individual's experience of sexual abuse in childhood is associated with an increased risk for subsequent sexual assault(s) in adolescence and/or adulthood (Gidycz et al., 1995; Messman-Moore & Long, 2003; Waldron, Wilson, Patriquin, & Scarpa, 2015). Whereas the bulk of the research in this area has focused on the sexual victimization of women, more recent research has also substantiated this link among men (see Coxell & King, 2010; Hines, 2007 for example) and across various cultures (Hines, 2007). For example, Elliott, Mok, and Briere (2004) found in their national sample of men that those who were victimized in adulthood were five times more likely than nonvictims to have a history of childhood sexual abuse. Further, in a recent study, Aosved, Long, and Voller (2011) found that 37% of male victims of child sexual abuse reported an adult sexual victimization compared to 15% of men without a history of childhood sexual abuse.

   Increasingly researchers are going beyond describing this robust link between early sexual victimization and victimization during a subsequent developmental period and addressing important mediators and moderators of this relationship. For example, this association may be moderated by the severity of previous sexual victimization experiences. Indeed, Humphrey and White (2000) found that among college women, increased severity of victimization in adolescence (i.e., prior to age 18) was associated with greater risk of victimization during college years. Furthermore, Messman-Moore, Walsh, and DiLillo (2010) found that emotion dysregulation (involving the control of emotional experience, understanding, expression, and management), resulting from history of victimization in childhood, increased risk for subsequent sexual assault through its effect on risky sexual behaviors for women. Other factors including interpersonal difficulties, substance use, and changes in cognitive representations of sexuality have been found to play a role in later sexual behavior and risk for subsequent revictimization (Gidycz et al., 2007; Messman-Moore & Long, 2003; Niehaus, Jackson, & Davies, 2010). Finally, in addition to victim characteristics, environmental and contextual factors have been proposed as important variables to consider when examining sexual revictimization (Messman-Moore & Long, 2003). Much of the research on revictimization has been conducted with women; research exploring mediators of sexual revictimization in men is comparably lacking.

Risky Sexual Behavior

An additional risk factor for sexual victimization is heightened engagement in risky sexual behavior, which is also correlated with alcohol use (Kilpatrick, Acierno, Resnick, Saunders, & Best, 1997). In general, the term risky sexual behavior refers to behaviors including (but not limited to) high number of sexual partners, early age of onset of engagement in sexual behaviors, early engagement in sexual intercourse in a relationship, engagement in sexual activity while under the influence of alcohol or other drugs, and lack of contraceptive use (Davis, Combs-Lane, & Jackson, 2002; Koss & Dinero, 1989). It has been suggested that early childhood sexual abuse can lead to risky sexual behaviors that then act as a risk factor for continued abuse (see Finkelhor & Browne, 1985). More specifically, an increased number of sexual partners is associated with an increased risk for sexual assault among women (Gidycz et al., 1995). Whereas the bulk of this research has been conducted with women, in a recent study, Turchik (2012) found that male sexual victimization was associated with increased risky sexual behaviors that encompassed impulsive and casual sexual experiences. Such risky sexual behavior can thereby increase risk for sexual victimization by increasing the exposure to potentially dangerous situations. It should be noted, however, that the direction of the relationship between sexual victimization and risky sexual behavior is unclear. It is possible that risky sexual behavior can lead to sexual victimization, that sexual victimization can lead to risky sexual behavior, or that there is a reciprocal relationship between risky sexual behavior and sexual victimization (Messman-Moore & Long, 2003; Orcutt Cooper, & Garcia, 2005; Turchik, 2012).

Alcohol

Alcohol use has also been identified as a risk factor for sexual victimization experiences, especially among college populations where use of alcohol is quite high (Gidycz et al., 2007). Data suggest that alcohol use in general, as well as immediately preceding a sexual assault experience, is a relevant factor in sexual assault; with estimates that an average of 50% of sexual assaults against college women involve the use of alcohol and/or other drugs by the victim, perpetrator, or both (Abbey, Wegner, Woerner, Pegram, & Pierce, 2014; ; Fisher et al., 2000). Further, although data suggest that men drink more than women, alcohol use in general, as well as other drug use, have been related to sexual victimization in both men and women (Banyard, Ward, Cohn, Plante, Moorhead, & Walsh, 2007; Turchik, 2012). A study examining sexual assault among college men and women found that the prevalence of alcohol-related sexual assault among college men aged 19 and above was lower than that of women in the same age group (8.6% and 26.7%, respectively) (Howard, Griffin, & Boekeloo, 2008).

The specific relationship between alcohol use and victimization is somewhat unclear and complex; although it is likely that alcohol use plays both an indirect and direct role in sexual victimization (e.g., Ullman, Karabatsos, & Koss, 1999). Some research indicates that both women and men with a history of sexual assault consume alcohol as a means to cope with the negative effects of the victimization and to cope with future sexual interactions (Turchik, 2012) which can increase risk for subsequent unwanted sexual experiences. Further evidence exists that among childhood sexual

assault survivors, alcohol misuse is prevalent and is associated with risky sexual behaviors and adolescent/adult sexual assault risk (Siegal & Williams, 2003). Alcohol use may also directly increase risk for sexual assault because it impairs the ability to recognize sexual aggression risk cues and engage in effective resistance (Gidycz & Dardis, 2014). Furthermore, the social settings in which individuals drink alcohol (e.g., in bars and at parties) include intoxicated men and women in a sexually laden context, and pose increased risk for aggression such as sexual assault (Norris, Nurius, & Dimeff, 1996; Parks & Zetes-Zanatta, 1999). The complex interplay between substance use, context, and risk for sexual victimization highlights the multilayered nature of the sexual victimization phenomenon.

Risk Perception

Sexual assault risk perception and response to danger cues in dating or sexual situations have also been explored as risk factors for sexual victimization. Gidycz and her colleagues (2006) identified two important levels of risk recognition: general understanding and estimate of perceived vulnerability, and identification of situational risk in a review of women's risk perception and sexual victimization. They found that women are generally aware that sexual assault occurs but exhibit an optimistic bias regarding their personal risk for sexual victimization, such that they believe they are less likely to encounter sexual aggression than their peers or the average college woman. Whereas some early research indicated that risk for sexual assault is increased among individuals who are less able to recognize potential threats; more recently, it appears that inhibited behavioral responses (e.g., low assertiveness) to assault-related danger cues is more predictive of sexual victimization risk (Messman-Moore & Brown, 2006). Lower levels of assertiveness and self-efficacy in behavioral response and resistance are also an important factor in sexual revictimization. Furthermore, behavioral response can be affected by social demands and concerns about the relationship (Kearns & Calhoun, 2010); especially considering the high rates of sexual assault committed by acquaintances of the victim. Therefore, risk for sexual victimization is influenced by perception and behavioral response to danger cues. Although research on risk perception has been only conducted with women, it is likely that men may have difficulty recognizing risk cues given to the general lack of public awareness and educational programs geared towards male sexual victimization risk.

In sum, the contribution of each of these risk factors may vary across subpopulations and types of sexual victimization; however, it is clear that a combination of such factors, rather than a single factor, increases an individual's vulnerability to sexual assault. It should be noted that although these are correlates of sexual assault documented in samples of victims, there are also identified risk factors associated with sexual violence perpetration (e.g., history of past sexual violence, perceived past token resistance, adherence to hypergender ideologies; accepting attitudes towards the use of sexual violence; Loh, Gidycz, Lobo, & Luthra, 2005). When examining correlates of sexual victimization it is important to remember that it is ultimately the perpetrator(s) who is responsible for committing sexual violence. Rape myths that are victim blaming and attitudes that are supportive of sexual violence (e.g., it was the victim's fault they were raped; they were asking for it) only serve to maintain the sociocultural context that is accepting of sexual violence.

Outcomes

Over the past 40 years, substantial research has emerged that documents the traumatic impact of sexual victimization. Sexual victimization is associated with a number of psychological, interpersonal, and physical health consequences both among women and among men.

Regarding outcomes of sexual victimization among women, research has fairly consistently documented that sexual victimization among women is associated with a myriad of psychological effects including increased rates of anxiety, depression, posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD), interpersonal problems, sexual problems, health risk behaviors, including alcohol use and suicidal ideation as well as a number of physical health complaints (e.g., Briere, Elliott, Harris, & Cotman, 1995; Golding, 1999; McMullin & White, 2006; Rumstein-McKean & Hunsley, 2001; Shapiro & Schwartz, 1997; Tomasula, Anderson, Littleton, & Riley-Tillman, 2012; Turchik, 2012; Weaver, 2009). Physical health complaints include gastrointestinal and gynecological problems, poorer health perceptions as well as increased somatization and unexplained medical symptomology (Tansill, Edwards, Kearns, Gidycz, & Calhoun, 2012). Further, data also underscore that the negative health outcomes may at least be partially mediated by the negative psychological effects associated with sexual victimization (see Tansill et al., 2012). Research also documents a wide range of negative sexual functioning outcomes following sexual victimization in childhood or adolescence/adulthood among women. The range of such outcomes span from sexual difficulties and dysfunctions (e.g., vaginismus, dyspareunia) or anxious-avoidance of sexual stimuli (e.g., decreased sexual desire, sexual aversion), to increased rates of dysfunctional/risky sexual behavior (e.g., using sex to meet nonsexual needs; lack of contraceptive use) and increased risk for sexually transmitted infections (STIs) and unwanted pregnancies (Turchik, & Hassija, 2014; Van Berlo & Ensink, 2000; Weaver, 2009). Some proposed mechanisms of the relationship between sexual victimization include changes in cognitive variables and disturbances of the self (e.g., self-esteem, sexual self-schemas) and maladaptive coping strategies (Kelley & Gidycz, 2015; Merrill, Guimond, Thomsen, & Milner, 2003). It is evident that sexual victimization in women can negatively influence mental, physical, sexual health across the lifespan and involves a complex interplay of factors.

Although the vast majority of research that addresses the consequences of sexual assault has focused on women, and some data suggest that assaults against men, particularly when they are perpetrated by women, may be less upsetting to men than they are to women (e.g., Krahe et al., 2003), more recent data for male victims indicate that men experience many of the same consequences to sexual assault as do women (see Peterson et al., 2011 for a review). Psychological consequences include anxiety, PTSD, increased distress, anger, self-harm, and alcohol problems (Turchik, 2012). Similar to reactions for women, men who are assaulted also report interpersonal consequences which include mistrust, being nervous around people, and uncomfortable about being physically close to others (Struckman-Johnson & Struckman-Johnson, 2006). Men are also likely to experience physical consequences that include injuries as a result of the assault as well as STIs. Similar to outcomes for women, men report sexual problems following an assault which include sexual inactivity as well as sexual promiscuity (Mezey & King, 1989) and sexual functioning difficulties (Turchik, 2012). Such research points to many common negative

health outcomes of victims of sexual violence that may be reflected across gender; however, sociocultural context (e.g., gender role expectations) is also important to consider in understanding men's and women's potential unique health outcomes.

For instance, when men are assaulted, in addition to the correlates that women experience, they appear to also experience sexual identity issues (Peterson et al., 2011; Struckman-Johnson & Struckman-Johnson, 1994). It has been suggested, for example, that when a man is assaulted by a woman it can lead to doubts about his sexuality because he resisted a sexual opportunity with a woman. Similarly, when men are assaulted by other men, this can also lead to sexual identity confusion as the victims may believe that there might be something "homosexual" about them that led to the assault (Struckman-Johnson & Struckman-Johnson, 1994). These data also suggests that men who are assaulted by other men may experience stronger negative reactions than those assaulted by women (Peterson et al., 2011; Struckman-Johnson & Struckman Johnson, 1994). Unfortunately, such concerns are likely related to a number of other variables (e.g., whether they disclose or not) that interact to lead to negative outcomes.

Factors that Influence Outcomes

Polyvictimization

Whereas the early research on revictimization in sexual assault survivors focused on the experience of early sexual abuse as a risk factor for subsequent sexual victimization, more recently, researchers have explored the link between a number of different types of nonsexual traumas (e.g., physical and emotional abuse) either during childhood or adolescence and their relationship to subsequent sexual victimization (Casey & Nurius, 2005). Sexual victimization risk is heightened among individuals with histories of other types of victimization including physical and psychological abuse in childhood (Cloitre & Rosenberg, 2006). Data from diverse samples suggest that various forms of violence tend to co-occur and it is noteworthy that this pattern has been found in male and female teenagers (Hamby, Finkelhor, & Turner, 2012); men and women college students (Sabina & Straus, 2008), a national sample of Latino women (Cuevas, Sabina, & Picard, 2010) and general community samples of women. Further, there is some evidence that patterns of co-occurrence of various forms of abuse are similar for men and women (Hamby et al., 2012). Overall, polyvictimization appears highly prevalent with a national study of university students finding that approximately 20% of them were victims of sexual, physical, and psychological abuse (Sabina & Straus, 2008). These findings are alarming as data is accumulating which highlights that experiencing multiple forms of victimization leads to heightened distress in terms of increased likelihood of posttraumatic symptomatology, heightened anger, depression, and dissociation (see Sabina & Straus, 2008; Cuevas et al., 2010). Thus, it is important to consider the notion that sexual victimization often does not occur in isolation.

Disclosure and Social Reactions

Whether or not a survivor discloses a sexual assault, and to whom, is a decision that presents itself after a victimization experience. Given that sexual assault is a crime, much research has been conducted on the extent of disclosure to the police. Most of

this research has been conducted with women victims. Unfortunately, recent data from a national sample of adult women suggest that only approximately 16% of rapes were reported; a percentage that has remained virtually unchanged over the past twenty years (Wolitzky-Taylor, Resnick, McCauley, Amstadter, Kilpatrick, & Ruggiero, 2011). Data with female college students further corroborates even lower rates of disclosure to the police as Fisher, Daigle, Cullen and Turner (2003) documented that less than 5% of attempted rape and rape victims report their experience to the police; also a percentage that has remained fairly constant on college campuses over the past twenty years. Data for men indicate that they disclose to the police much less frequently than women (Weiss, 2010) and data for other minority populations reflect similar differential rates of disclosure and reporting of sexual assault. For example, African American women are less likely to report their sexual assault experiences as compared to White women (Wyatt, 1992). Asian American and Latina women also exhibit low rates of sexual assault reporting for a number of sociocultural reasons such as language barriers, religious beliefs, fear of shaming one's self and family, social stigma, mistrust of government officials stemming from previous experiences of violations, and lack of education and psychoeducation regarding sexual assault (Bryant-Davis, Chung, & Tillman, 2009).

Factors found to be related to likelihood of reporting victimization to the police include demographic characteristics and characteristics and context of the sexual victimization incident such as severity of assault, relationship between victim and perpetrator, locale of incident, and use of alcohol or substances (Fisher et al., 2003). More specifically, older age, existence of injury as a result of the incident, use of a weapon, less intimate/familiar victim-perpetrator relationship, presence of alcohol/drugs, and unfamiliar location of the incident are each related to greater likelihood of reporting the incident to police (e.g., Bachman, 1998; Fisher et al., 2003; Gartner & Macmillan, 1995; Hanson, Resnick, Saunders, Kilpatrick, & Best, 1999). Interestingly, more recent research suggests that rates of reporting by third parties and by female victims who had experienced rape committed by an acquaintance or intimate partner have increased significantly between 1973 and 2000 (Baumer, 2004), perhaps in part due to changes in institutional and social barriers.

The secondary victimization of those who report is likely another factor contributing to victims' nondisclosure to police (Campbell, Wasco, Ahrens, Sefl, & Barnes, 2001). Indeed, Campbell et al. (2001) compared female survivors' experiences with different types of community service providers, and found that the majority of rape survivors who had contact with legal services did not get their needs met. In fact, of the various support systems that were investigated in this study (i.e., medical, mental health, rape crisis center, or religious community), survivors had the most trouble with the legal system. Only 25% of the cases that were reported to the legal system were prosecuted and 75% of the reported rapes did not result in prosecution. Other reasons for nonreporting include not acknowledging a rape as such (Cohn, Zinzow, Resnick, & Kilpatrick, 2013), fear of blame from others (Kilpatrick, Edmunds, & Seymour, 1992), not wanting their families or others to know, not having enough proof, and fears of reprisal from the perpetrator (Wolitzky-Taylor et al., 2011).

For men, additional fears about reporting to the police center around concerns about being labeled "gay" if they are heterosexual, and if they are gay, there may be concerns about having their sexual orientation disclosed (Weiss, 2010). Individuals who are transgendered have also reported concerns about seeking police assistance

(Grant, Mottet, Tanis, Harrison, Herman, & Keisling, 2011). These data are problematic because when a victim does not report the incident, it allows perpetrators to repeatedly victimize others and likely puts the victim at risk for revictimization (Miller, Canales, Amacker, Backstrom, & Gidycz, 2011). However, when they do report the crime to authorities, the difficulties that they encounter are related to negative health outcomes (Campbell et al., 2001).

Whereas data suggest that survivors tend not to disclose to legal personnel, there is substantial evidence that suggests that the majority of them do disclose to others, in particular informal support providers. Orchowski and Gidycz (2012) in a study with female sexual assault survivors found that 75% of college student sexual assault survivors disclosed the experience to someone, with 86% of those who disclosed disclosing to a female peer and 36% of disclosers telling a male peer. In Banyard, Ward, et al.'s (2007) comparison of college student male and female victims of unwanted sexual contact (excluding unwanted intercourse), they noted that men were significantly more likely (33%) than women (15%) to tell no one about the assault. Interestingly, London, Bruck, Ceci, and Shuman (2005) found in a review of retrospective studies with adults, that only about one third of individuals with histories of child sexual abuse reported telling anyone during childhood about the abuse. Furthermore, they found in several studies that there was often a delay in disclosing childhood sexual abuse among these samples; for example, Smith et al. (2000) found that 47% of women with a history of childhood rape reported waiting more than five years to disclose the abuse. Patterns of disclosure of sexual victimization is likely influenced by contextual and sociocultural variables including victim-perpetrator relationships (e.g., perpetration committed by a family member is more common in child sexual abuse), social stigma, and access to resources.

Social support for sexual assault survivors can be an important variable in the recovery process, and is certainly important in promoting self-worth and wellbeing in general. Types of social support include both structural (e.g., type of support system size, frequency of contact) and functional (e.g., types of response or assistance provided) constructs. Subsequently, research has identified social reactions or responses to the disclosure of sexual victimization experiences as a significant factor influencing the outcomes of victimization. Social reactions to disclosure refer to the responses of recipients of the disclosure of sexual victimization experiences by the survivor. Types of social reactions can be positive or negative in terms of how they are perceived by the victim and their consequences for the sexual trauma victim. Types of positive social reactions include feeling believed, receiving emotional support and comfort, receiving tangible aid, and being listened to by the recipient of disclosure (Ullman, 2003). Negative social reactions to disclosure include assault-specific responses that are less supportive, such as blaming or stigmatizing the victim and treating the victim differently (e.g., withdrawing from the victim), attempting to control the victim or take control away from the victim, minimizing the sexual assault event, and engaging in egocentric reactions such as expressing or demonstrating anger in a way that victims are distracted from focusing on their own needs and care (Orchowski, & Gidycz, 2012; Ullman, 2003). Most sexual assault victims, if they disclose their experience to others, receive a mixture of both positive and negative social reactions.

Some research indicates that more positive reactions to disclosure are related to better recovery of sexual assault survivors (Orchowski, Untied, & Gidycz, 2013); still other research suggests a rather minimal or even nonexistent relationship between

positive social reactions and psychological and physical health outcomes (e.g., Ullman, 2003). Unfortunately, many victims of sexual assault report experiencing reactions to their sexual assault disclosure that are negative, with up to 75% of women reporting responses that leave them feeling hurt, not believed, or that they were to blame for the incident (Campbell & Raja, 1999; Campbell et al., 2001). These types of negative responses to sexual assault disclosure are related to more detrimental outcomes and may even create additional harmful effects to the victim (Edwards, Dardis, Sylaska, & Gidycz, 2015; Ullman, 2007). For example, negative social reactions can lead to greater psychological distress and poor adjustment, as well as more physical health symptoms (Davis, Brickman, & Baker, 1991; Ullman & Filipas, 2001a). Data also show an association between the experience of multiple victimizations (compared to single victimizations) and the perception of less helpful reactions from informal support providers (Casey & Nurius, 2005). Interestingly, a sexual assault survivor's expectations of such negative reactions are associated with decreased likelihood that they may disclose the event (Ullman & Filipas, 2001b), which may inhibit their access to care. Whereas this research has been primarily conducted with women, the limited studies that exist on this topic for men suggest that they fear disclosure and are particularly vulnerable to secondary victimization when they disclose to others, resulting in men being "silent victims." It has been suggested that men may disclose or go for help only when they consider the trauma severe enough to warrant attention (Ellis, 2002).

In general, these findings are important to recognize because they highlight the need for education and increased awareness of sexual victimization. Given the high rate of sexual victimization it is likely that many people, in both informal and formal roles, would receive a sexual assault disclosure. It is important that programming efforts provide education on the most helpful ways to respond to a sexual assault victim, and certainly aim to decrease negative types of reactions.

Attributions

Variables that relate to the perception of specific sexual assault experiences can contribute to the outcomes of such victimization. Much research has been conducted on attributions of blame and responsibility for sexual victimization. These attributions typically involve the role and focus of blame for the assault (e.g., victim-blame, self-blame, perpetrator blame, societal blame). Self-blame is associated with more negative recovery trajectories, such as increased rates of PTSD and depression (e.g., Ullman, Townsend, Filipas, & Starzynski, 2007). Levels of self-blame can be affected by a number of sources, such as characteristics of the assault itself (e.g., use of alcohol) as well as social reactions from others (e.g., victim-blaming responses from others). Self-blame and negative social stigmatization can even increase vulnerability to sexual revictimization (e.g., Arata, 1999) and psychological trauma.

Unfortunately, many victims of sexual assault experience victim-blaming responses from both informal and formal systems. Racial and ethnic minorities are more likely to receive such responses (Campbell et al., 2001), and homosexual victims are more likely to be blamed and are incorrectly believed to experience less trauma than heterosexual victims (Doherty & Anderson, 2004; Mitchell, Hirschman, & Hall, 1999). Experiencing blame from community service personnel was associated with increased psychological distress in a sample of community women (Campbell, Sefl, Barnes, Ahrens, Wasco, & Zaragoza-Diesfeld, 1999). Further, certain characteristics of sexual

assault experiences (e.g., when the perpetrator is an acquaintance of the victim) are related to increased likelihood of victim-blaming responses as well as self-blame (Filipas & Ullman, 2006). As noted earlier, such negative social reactions can contribute to increased negative symptomatology, or, in the case of men or certain minority groups, a reluctance to seek help. In an analogue study of male rape, for example, Mitchell and colleagues (1999) found that participants held homosexual men who were raped more responsible than heterosexual men who were raped. Undoubtedly, sexual assault survivors are influenced by societal attitudes towards sexual victimization highlighting the need for sexual victimization to be considered a matter of global and public concern.

Services and Treatment for Victims

Since the advent of the rape crisis movement in the 1970s there have been several noted advancements in the treatment services and protocols available for sexual assault survivors. For example, in response to inadequate and insensitive treatment of victims in medical settings, Sexual Assault Nurse Examiner (SANE) programs began in the 1970s (Campbell & Patterson, 2011; Maier, 2012). SANEs are nurses who have been trained to collect forensic evidence, provide emotional support to victims, and to coordinate with others for the optimal treatment of victims (Maier, 2012). In a review of the effectiveness of SANE programs, Campbell, Patterson, and Lichty (2005) highlighted many benefits of these programs including the promotion of psychological recovery in victims, the facilitation of interagency coordinated care, the collection of forensic evidence, and the facilitation of prosecution of sexual assaults. Regarding the prosecution of assaults, empirical studies, note that the inclusion of medical forensic evidence collected by SANEs did lead to a greater number of prosecutions (Campbell, Bybee, Townsend, Shaw, Karim, & Markowitz, 2014; Campbell, Patterson, Bybee, and Dworkin, 2009). Further, many SANE programs are a critical part of Sexual Assault Response Teams (SART) which consist of health care providers, law enforcement personnel, advocates and other community providers whose goals are to better coordinate care for victims (Cole & Logan, 2012).

   The past 20 years has also evidenced a proliferation of treatment approaches for victims of sexual assault with the majority of the investigations of their efficacy being conducted in the United States and consisting of cognitive-behavioral approaches (Taylor & Harvey, 2009). Overall, it has been shown that these treatments typically evidence large effect sizes, resulting in beneficial outcomes for numerous victims, and results have been maintained over follow-up periods that range between 6–12 months (Taylor & Harvey, 2009). Two trauma focused cognitive-behavioral approaches that have been most widely investigated include Cognitive Processing and Prolonged Exposure Therapy. Both treatments are believed to lead to change through prolonged exposure to the traumatic event which leads to emotional processing of it as well as a change in meaning of the trauma (Resick et al., 2008). Well controlled clinical trials suggest that both treatments are effective for sexual assault victims (e.g., Foa et al., 1999; Resick, Nishith, Weaver, Astin, & Feuer, 2002) and positive results are maintained for up to 5–10 years post-treatment (Resick, Williams, Suvak, Monson, & Gradus, 2012). Such current interventions that have been supported by the literature are in contrast to

historical approaches to intervention that were sorely lacking in support and victim blaming.

Summary and Recommendations

Over the past 30 years, researchers have made significant progress in the identification and measurement of sexual assault. Awareness efforts have called attention to the widespread occurrence of sexual victimization, particularly among acquaintances, which has led to significant developments in better understanding the aftereffects of these experiences as well as risk factors and correlates. Community resources for sexual assault victims have increased including the presence of SANE nurses and SART programs. Currently, for example, it has been estimated that over 590 SANE programs are operating in the United States (National Institute of Justice, 2012). Additionally, empirically supported interventions that target PTSD symptoms in sexual assault survivors have also been developed and demonstrated to be effective over both the short- and long-term. Despite these significant advancements, there is still much work to be done.

Given the high rates of polyvictimization among individuals that has been documented in a number of recent studies, investigating sexual victimization in isolation from other forms of abuse no longer seems warranted. It is important to explore the relationship among the different forms of abuse as well as to try to identify factors that likely represent shared vulnerability for the different forms of abuse. It also seems increasingly important for treatment protocols to address polyvictimization. We know that approximately 15% to 50% of individuals who are treated do not show substantial improvement (e.g., Vickerman & Margolin, 2009) and the extent to which multiply victimized women may need more specialized interventions has not been explored.

Whereas the existence of programs that are empirically supported for sexual assault survivors is a major advancement in our field over the past 20 years, it has been argued that the majority of evidence documenting the efficacy of such cognitive-behavioral approaches with sexual assault survivors comes from well controlled research studies conducted under conditions where there is greater client and therapist selectivity than what occurs in community and naturalistic settings (Forbes et al., 2012). Indeed, the extent to which such programs can be transported to community agencies and demonstrate success within such populations warrants further investigation. Although not specific to sexual assault victims, it is positive that cognitive processing therapy has demonstrated success with community-based studies with refugees (who experienced various traumas), and military veterans (Alvarez, McLean, Harris, Rosen, Ruze, & Kimerling, 2011; Forbes et al., 2012; Schulz, Resick, Huber, & Griffin, 2006). Future research is needed which further substantiates the efficacy of such programs with victims who seek services in naturalistic settings.

Although in this chapter we attempted to highlight differences in the experience of sexual assault as a function of ethnicity, gender, and sexual minority status, there are still rather limited data about how such background factors influence one's experience of sexual assault as well as what occurs postassault. For example, few studies have explored differences in treatment outcome for individuals from different cultural backgrounds. In one recent study, Lester, Resick, Young-Xu, and Artz (2010) did not find differences in treatment outcome between African Americans and Caucasians,

however, African Americans dropped out (55%) at higher rates than Caucasians (27%). Given these disparities in treatment engagement have been found in other studies as well (Alvidrez, Shumway, Morazes, & Boccellari, 2011), further research is needed to explore the barriers that individuals from diverse backgrounds experience when they seek services. Further, the vast majority of well-controlled treatment outcome research for sexual assault victims has been conducted with women. The extent to which the positive findings are generalizable to male sexual assault victims is unclear.

Whereas both community resources for victims have improved as well as the advent of empirically supported interventions, very limited research exists on the effectiveness of community-based resources. The need for methodologically sound research has been highlighted by others (Campbell & Patterson, 2011). In a review of eight investigations of SART's effectiveness, promising findings were suggested including improvements in cross-disciplinary relationships, increased participation of victims in the criminal justice process, as well as improvement in victims' help-seeking experiences. However, significant challenges were identified for SART as well (e.g., organizational barriers, issues with confidentiality) and resources are needed to continue evaluation of such a promising approach to intervention (Greeson & Campbell, 2012). These community-based resources not only provide much needed care for victims of violence, they are likely a critical component to helping to stop the repeated victimizations that often occur for many individuals. In addition to both a needed increase in both integrated community-based services and the evaluation of such services, the development and evaluation of primary prevention efforts needs to be enhanced. The majority of the empirical work evaluating primary prevention programming has occurred on college campuses (see Gidycz, Orchowski, & Edwards, 2011 for a review). Whereas early efforts demonstrated short-term changes on attitudes as a function of programming efforts, more recent work has focused on the examination of programming efforts on actual rates of victimization (see Orchowski, Gidycz, & Raffle, 2008) and perpetration (Gidycz, Orchowski, & Berkowitz, 2011) and the results have been promising. Further, recent approaches have focused on targeting the wider community through bystander intervention programming. Bystander (i.e., third-party witnesses to situations of high risk for sexual assault) interventions have gained support in their effectiveness in sexual assault prevention (Moynihan, Banyard, Cares, Potter, Williams, & Stapleton, 2015). Bystanders in such situations have the ability to effect sexual victimization risk in a number of ways; by not responding; by ignoring or supporting the perpetrator thereby making the situation worse, or acting in a prosocial way to intervene (McMahon & Banyard, 2012). Bystander intervention programs work to empower and encourage individuals to intervene, and attempt to stop potentially threatening dating situations when they encounter them (Banyard, Moynihan, & Plante, 2007). Bystander prevention efforts also involve helping individuals to overcome psychological barriers that might inhibit prosocial action as well as strengthening the safety and support networks for victims after an incident (Banyard, Moynihan, et al., 2007). Future research is needed to link such approaches with reductions in sexually aggressive behavior.

In summary, it is clear from the existing research that sexual victimization is a complex phenomenon influenced by sociocultural factors and experienced by individuals across a range of demographic factors. Whereas the past several decades of research have profoundly increased our understanding of the characteristics, risk factors, correlates, and outcomes of such victimization; continued work is needed to

better inform public policy, risk reduction, prevention, and treatment for all individuals at risk. Increased funding to conduct evaluation of our efforts to better understand sexual violence is sorely needed. Further, it is hoped that over the next couple of years, that increased resources will be allotted to greater exploration of the experiences of violence among diverse groups such as LGBT individuals as well as individuals from various other minority groups. Although a discussion of perpetrators was outside of the focus of this chapter (see Chapter 24 for a review), it is crucial to obtain a better understanding of the myriad of factors that contribute to the perpetration of violence in our society in order to most effectively use resources to prevent it.

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24

A Motivation-Facilitation Model of Adult Male Sexual Offending

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Introduction

Sexual violence appears across cultures and times (Lalumière et al., 2005; Seto, 2008). According to the Uniform Crime Report, the incidence of officially reported forcible rape against a female aged 12 and older in the United States is 54.2 per 100 000 (United States Department of Justice, 2010). This incidence rate does not include male victims, nonrape forms of sexual assault (e.g., sexual touching without penetration), or child victims under the age 12. Additionally, recent data suggest only 1 in 3 rapes are reported to police (Langton, Berzofsky, Krebs and Smiley-McDonald, 2012). This indicates the true rate of sexual violence is substantially higher than officially recorded rates.

The Present Chapter

Understanding the psychology of sexual violence is vital for efforts to reduce victimization, improve offender risk assessment and design more effective and efficient interventions. In this chapter, we describe a motivation-facilitation model of adult male sexual offending and provide an overview of relevant research on major motivational and facilitatory factors underlying male sexual offending (see also Lalumière et al., 2005; Seto, 2008). Other, more complex models of sexual offending have been described elsewhere (see Ward, Polaschek, & Beech, 2006). For our purposes, many of the factors identified in these models can be classified as motivational or facilitatory factors. *Motivational factors* create the intention or desire to sexually offend, while *facilitatory factors* increase the likelihood that a sexual offense will be committed, given the presence of relevant motivations. Due

to space limitations, our list of these psychological factors is not exhaustive, but we cover the most important ones below.

Motivations to Sexually Offend

Paraphilias

Some paraphilias are important motivations for sexual offending. The most common paraphilias to consider as motivations for sexual offending are pedophilia, hebephilia, sexual sadism, coercive paraphilia (also known as biastophilia), exhibitionism, voyeurism, and frotteurism (see Table 24.1). According to the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (*DSM-5*), a distinction is made between ascertaining a paraphilia and diagnosing a paraphilic disorder. A paraphilia is an intense and persistent atypical sexual interest in a particular type of activity or object, whereas a paraphilic disorder is a paraphilia that causes significant distress or impairment to the individual or causes harm or risk of harm to others (American Psychiatric Association, 2013). In the case of the paraphilias listed in Table 24.1, acting on these sexual interests with a nonconsenting partners raises the possibility of a paraphilic disorder diagnosis because it causes harm to others.

For the sake of simplicity, the following section will use the term paraphilia to denote an atypical sexual interest, whether it has been acted upon or not. Two of the paraphilias listed – hebephilia and coercive paraphilia – are not in the *DSM-5*. While these paraphilias were proposed for inclusion in the *DSM-5*, they were eventually rejected. However, they have been included in this review because of the legal implications of these sexual interests, whether they are defined as a mental disorder or not.

Table 24.1 Paraphilias that can motivate sexual offending.

Paraphilia	Description
Pedophilia	An atypical sexual interest in prepubescent children (typically below age 11)
Hebephilia	An atypical sexual interest in pubescent children (typically between the ages of 11 and 14)
Sexual sadism	An atypical sexual interest in the psychological or physical suffering of another person.
Coercive paraphilia	An atypical sexual interest in cues of nonconsent, including verbal and physical resistance
Exhibitionism	An atypical sexual interest in exposing one's genitals to unsuspecting (and therefore nonconsenting) strangers.
Voyeurism	An atypical sexual interest in observing unsuspecting (and therefore nonconsenting) persons while they are naked, disrobing or engaging in sexual activity.
Frotteurism	An atypical sexual interest in touching or rubbing one's genitals against a nonconsenting person.

Note: All of the paraphilias listed can be manifested in recurrent sexual thoughts, urges, fantasies, arousal or behavior

Paraphilias are not illegal in and of themselves; it is the enactment of paraphilic interests on a nonconsenting or unknowing person that might violate the law. To illustrate, having pedophilia is not illegal in United States – though it is highly stigmatized – but accessing child pornography or engaging in sexual activities with a child are criminal offenses. In contrast, a man with an atypical sexual interest in women's shoes (fetishism) would typically not commit a crime unless part of his fetishistic interest was stealing women's shoes or he stole because he could not afford to buy shoes to satisfy his sexual desire. Additionally, the association between paraphilias and sexual offending is not one to one. Some pedophiles have not committed sexual offenses involving children (either child pornography, sexual solicitation, or sexual contact crimes), and many sex offenders with child victims would not meet the diagnostic criteria for pedophilia. Seto (2008) estimated that approximately 50 to 60% of sex offenders against children are pedophilic. Other motivations besides pedophilia (see below) explain some sexual offenses involving children.

Prior to the release of the *DSM-5* in 2013, there was a great deal of debate about including hebephilia as a paraphilia. While some researchers and clinicians argued that hebephilia is a valid erotic age preference and therefore should be included (e.g., Blanchard et al., 2009), others argued that this sexual interest was not a mental disorder (e.g., DeClue, 2009; Frances & First, 2011). The proposal to include hebephilia in the *DSM-5* was eventually rejected. Nonetheless, hebephilia can be diagnosed under the pedophilia category of the International Classification of Diseases and Related Health Problems-10th Revision (ICD-10; World Health Organization, 2015), which recognizes sexual interests toward prepubescent and early pubescent children, and could be diagnosed under the *DSM-5* as an Other Specified Paraphilic Disorder or Unspecified Paraphilic Disorder. Despite the controversy about hebephilia, hebephilia has been included in this review because having sexual interactions with a minor in the pubescent age range (typically between the ages of 11 and 14) is illegal in many jurisdictions and would meet biologically informed criteria for a mental disorder (Seto, 2002). Being sexually attracted to an older, more mature looking adolescent (e.g., an adolescent between the ages of 15 and 17) does not constitute hebephilia and is in fact not paraphilic, given that being sexually interested in sexually mature persons is normative, even if that person is under the legally defined age of consent (Seto, 2008).

Similarly, we talk about coercive paraphilia here despite the controversy surrounding its proposed inclusion in the *DSM-5* (e.g., Knight, 2010) and eventual rejection from the *DSM-5* because there is good evidence that a majority of men who commit rape show a distinctive sexual response to depictions of coercive sex. This sexual response can be distinguished from any sexual response to physical violence or suffering that could be evidence of sexual sadism (Harris et al., 2012; Lalumière et al., 2005; Seto et al., 2012).

Paraphilias are one of the strongest predictors of sexual recidivism, defined here as committing new sexual offenses as indicated by new criminal arrests, charges or convictions. Indeed, in a meta-analysis conducted by Hanson and Morton-Bourgon (2005) with a total sample of 2769 predominantly adult male sex offenders, the authors found that having paraphilic sexual interests was significantly related to sexual recidivism. Additionally, in a meta-analysis conducted by McCann and Lussier (2008), paraphilia variables were significantly associated with sexual recidivism in adolescent sex offenders. Current models of sexual offending also identify paraphilias as important factors in the onset of sexual offending (Seto, 2008, 2009).

Hypersexuality

Hypersexuality can be defined as an exaggerated expression of sexual desire, manifesting as a high sex drive and excessive sexual preoccupation (Kafka, 2003). Based on normative data obtained in several large surveys (e.g., Janus & Janus, 1993; Kinsey, Pomeroy, & Martin, 1948; Laumann et al., 1994), Kafka (1997) defined high sex drive in males over the age of 15 as having seven or more orgasms per week, over a 6-month period or longer. For example, Kinsey, Pomeroy & Martin (1948) found that 7.6% of American males (adolescents to age 30) experienced high sex drive according to this criterion. Related to high sex drive is sexual preoccupation, which involves the amount of time spent in sexual thoughts, fantasies or planning of sexual gratification. Based on the same surveys, Kafka (1997) defined excessive sexual preoccupation as an individual who spends over one hour per day in sexual thoughts, fantasies, or planning, for at least 6 months.

These cutoffs for high sex drive and excessive sexual preoccupation do not necessarily denote pathology, because they are simply extreme values in the general population. An important consideration is whether high sex drive or excessive sexual preoccupation manifest in clinically significant distress or impairment (e.g., causing relationship difficulties). In many cases of hypersexuality, the sexual focus is conventional sexual acts such as masturbation, viewing pornography, or having sex with a consenting partner. However, hypersexuality can become a motivation for sexual offending when the person's sexual interests are illegal if acted upon (e.g., exhibitionism or accessing child pornography) or if the person's desire for sex overcomes inhibitions they have about coercing a sexual partner or engaging in sex with someone who cannot legally consent to sex as a result of young age or incapacitation.

There is evidence that hypersexuality is related to sexual offending. In the meta-analysis by Hanson and Morton-Bourgon (2005), sexual preoccupation was a significant predictor of sexual recidivism among adult sex offenders. Additionally, high sex drive/sexual preoccupation was associated with sexual recidivism in a sample of adolescent sex offenders (Rajlic & Gretton, 2010). Lastly, in a study conducted by Malamuth et al. (1995), sexually aggressive men were significantly more likely to score higher on measures of sexual preoccupation than nonaggressive men, and were also more likely to self-report needing a higher number of orgasms per week to feel satisfied, compared to nonaggressive men.

Mating Effort

Mating effort, a concept derived from Parental Investment Theory (Trivers, 1972), is related to the concepts of high sex drive and excessive sexual preoccupation. While high sex drive and excessive sexual preoccupation can be seen as proximate explanations for sexual offending, reflecting immediate factors in the current environment, mating effort can be seen as an ultimate explanation for sexual offending that reflects the development of a behavior/trait in a species, as the development relates to inclusive fitness (see Lalumière et al., 2005, for further discussion of proximate and ultimate causes in sexual offending).

Broadly speaking, an organism's energy and resources can be directed towards parenting effort (a longer term approach that involves committing to a particular

sexual partner and investing in one's offspring) or mating effort (a shorter term approach that involves seeking new sexual partners and not investing in any resulting offspring). Though men do commit and invest in offspring, they are, on average, higher in mating effort relative to parenting effort than women. However, there are large individual differences in mating effort: Lalumière et al. (2005) hypothesized that men who are high in mating effort are more likely to be sexually coercive, partly as a result of opportunity (more encounters with new sexual partners increases the likelihood that sexual violence can occur) and partly as a result of the strategy itself (men who are high in mating effort may make more efforts to overcome partner reluctance or refusal). This motivator does not readily help explain sexual offending against children, except in cases where offenses are committed against older youth who are under the legal age of consent but look sexually mature (Seto, 2008). Mating effort does not help explain sexual offenses committed against prepubescent or pubescent children.

High mating effort has not been studied in depth with identified sex offenders in clinical or criminal justice settings. However, community samples of self-identified sexually coercive men have a greater preference for multiple partners, uncommitted sex, as well as experience less intimate relationships than men who report no perpetration of sexual coercion (Lalumière et al. 1996; Malamuth 1998), indicating that sexually coercive men are more likely to be high in mating effort. In a study conducted by Senn et al. (2000) with a sample of 125 community men, the number of sexual partners in adolescence (one indicator of high mating effort) was one of the best predictors of engaging in sexual coercion in adulthood.

Social Incompetence

Social incompetence refers to an inability to initiate and maintain appropriate relationships, for example, as a result of social skills deficits. Many models have highlighted the importance of social incompetence in sexual offending (see Finkelhor 1984; Hall & Hirschman 1992; Knight & Prentky 1990; Marshall & Barbaree 1990). One such model was proposed by Finkelhor (1984) to explain sexual offending against children. He suggested that some individuals have sex with children because they are blocked from achieving their sexual and emotional needs in prosocial ways with same aged peers. Others experience emotional congruence with their victims, meaning they feel more of an emotional connection with children than with adults.

There is mixed evidence as to whether social incompetence – social skills deficits or emotional congruence with children – is related to sexual offending. In a meta-analysis conducted by Emmers-Sommer et al. (2004), sex offenders had substantially fewer social skills than nonsex offenders. Wilson (1999) found that boy-attracted pedophiles had a tendency to experience emotional congruence with their victims, compared to other types of sex offenders. Conversely, in a meta-analysis of adolescent sex offenders conducted by Seto and Lalumière (2010), there was no significant difference in social skills between adolescent sex and nonsex offenders. In a meta-analysis conducted by Hanson and Morton-Bourgon (2005), emotional congruence with children was a significant predictor of sexual recidivism, but social skills deficits were not related to sexual recidivism. In a study conducted by Kenny, Koegh, and Seidler (2001), the authors found that poor social skills were related to sexual recidivism in a sample of adolescent sex offenders.

Low Embodied Capital

Related to the notions of mating effort and social incompetence is the idea of low embodied capital. In this context, embodied capital refers to attributes that help one be successful when interacting with others, including personal attributes (e.g., intelligence, personality, physical attractiveness) and material attributes (e.g., wealth). Individuals with low embodied capital are more likely to engage in criminal and antisocial behavior to achieve their goals (Ellis & McDonald, 2001). In the specific context of sexual offending, a mate deprivation model has been proposed to explain some incidents of sexual aggression against older adolescents or against women. Lalumière et al. (2005) observed that many young men have lower social status and resources than older men, and may therefore try to gain sexual access to females through more antisocial means. Those who only lack resources are likely to stop sexually offending as they grow older, because they are able to gain resources and gain sexual access legitimately. However, those who lack personal capital (e.g., being low in intelligence or physical attractiveness) are more likely to continue sexually offending as they grow older, as they are still not able to achieve their goal in a prosocial manner. In practice, embodied capital is typically measured as individual components (e.g., wealth, physical attractiveness, intelligence) rather than a composite factor.

There is mixed evidence about how low embodied capital is related to sexual offending. In regard to socioeconomic status or material resources, a number of researchers have found that samples of adolescent and adult sex offenders are primarily composed of individuals from lower socioeconomic backgrounds (see Thornhill & Thornhill, 1983). However, these findings do not control for the relationship between low socioeconomic status and general criminality, and they do not rule out the possibility that socioeconomic status is related to decisions about arrest, prosecution, and conviction. Indeed, Milloy (1994) found that adolescent sex offenders did not significantly differ from other adolescent offenders on family economic circumstances, indicating that low socioeconomic status may be more related to crime in general, as opposed to sexual offending in particular. Other researchers have suggested that sexual offending encompasses all socioeconomic levels, but individuals from lower socioeconomic backgrounds are more likely to be detected by authorities (see Marshall & Barbaree, 1990; Ryan et al., 1996; Ryan & Lane, 1997). In regard to intelligence, a personal attribute, in a meta-analysis conducted by Cantor et al. (2005), the authors found that adult sex offenders scored significantly lower on measures of intelligence compared to nonsex offenders and nonoffending controls. These results were not replicated for adolescent sex offenders in this study, but there were fewer adolescents in the meta-analysis.

Facilitators of Sexual Offending

Facilitators increase the likelihood that an individual will actually commit a sexual offense, especially someone who is already high in motivation to act in this way. In the following sections, we discuss the trait facilitators of psychopathy, self-regulation, hostile masculinity, and offence-supportive attitudes and beliefs, and the state facilitators of sexual arousal, intoxication, and negative affect.

Some might argue that most of the facilitators we discuss are components of psychopathy, the first trait facilitator listed. For example, we discuss poor self-regulation

as a state facilitator, and poor behavioral control is one of the characteristics of psychopaths (Hare, 2003). However, each facilitator is a psychologically meaningful risk factor (Mann, Hanson & Thornton, 2010). Psychologically meaningful risk factors can be specifically targeted in treatment and/or supervision, and they also are more easily understood by clinicians and their clients than a complex, global psychological construct such as psychopathy. One could participate in treatment to improve self-regulation skills, for example, but it is less clear how one would participate in treatment to reduce psychopathy per se. We do discuss psychopathy as well, however, given its clinical, empirical and theoretical importance in understanding sexual violence and violence more generally.

Trait Facilitators

Psychopathy

Psychopathy is an enduring personality constellation comprised of interpersonal-affective traits and antisocial tendencies (Hare, 2003). Sex offenders who are high in psychopathy are more likely to sexually or nonsexually reoffend (Harris, Mazerolle, & Knight, 2009; Hanson & Morton-Bourgon, 2005). It has been argued that the sexual offenses committed by psychopathic offenders can be viewed as an extension of an overall criminal lifestyle (e.g., Harris et al., 2009) as these offenders tend to be more opportunistic in nature (e.g., Brown & Forth, 1997). In line with research on opportunism, those who score high on measures of psychopathy (including general offenders) seem better equipped to pick up on cues of vulnerability exhibited by potential victims (Book, Costello, & Camilleri, 2013; Book, Quinsey, & Langford, 2007; Wheeler, Book, & Costello, 2009).

Porter and colleagues (2000) hypothesized that the more varied selection of victims (e.g., offender victimizes both adults and children) by psychopathic sexual offenders may be partially explained by sexual thrill seeking. This hypothesis has been supported, as psychopathic sexual offenders were found to score higher on measures of sexual sensation seeking (Skorvan, Huss, & Scalora, 2010). There is evidence that individuals who score higher in psychopathy also score higher in mating effort, which suggests that psychopathic sex offenders might also score higher on sex drive/sexual preoccupation (Lalumière & Quinsey, 1996).

Poor Self-Regulation

Poor self-regulation encompasses a number of related concepts, including impulsivity, poor self-control, and poor problem solving skills, all of which can also be viewed as manifestations of poor executive functioning. Neuropsychological data suggests that both adolescent and adult sex offenders have deficits in executive functioning (e.g., Stone & Thompson, 2001; Veneziano, Veneziano, LeGrand, & Richards, 2004). These results are supported by a recent meta-analysis of 23 studies that also found deficits in executive functioning for sexual offenders (Joyal, Beaulieu-Plante, & de Chanterac, 2014).

General self-regulation deficits are manifested in multiple domains, whereas sexual self-regulation deficits are manifested specifically in sexual thoughts, fantasies, urges, arousal or behavior. Self-regulation deficits are important in the prediction of sexual

recidivism. Both poor general and sexual self-regulation are dynamic risk factors that are important predictors of sexual recidivism (e.g., Hanson, Harris, Scott, & Helmus, 2007). In further support of its importance to risk assessment, offenders who scored in the abnormal range on a measure of self-regulation following treatment had higher recidivism rates than offenders who scored in the normal range (Wakeling, Beech, & Freemantle, 2013).

The role of self-regulation is at the forefront of the Self-Regulation Model of sexual offending (Kingston, Yates, & Firestone, 2012; Ward & Hudson, 1998; Yates & Kingston, 2006). In this model, offenders are classified into one of four pathways based on their goal directed behavior. In the *avoidant passive pathway*, individuals try to refrain from sexual offending, but engage in ineffective and passive strategies to accomplish this goal (e.g., trying to ignore sexual thoughts about children). This is in contrast to the *avoidant-active pathway*, wherein individuals attempt to desist from offending by using active, though ineffective, strategies (e.g., substance use to distract from sexual thoughts) in order to avoid offending. Individuals in both avoidant pathways might be motivated to sexually offend, but this motivation is at least partially counterbalanced by being low in facilitatory factors such as a lack of concern about being caught or a lack of concern about the wellbeing of others.

This can be contrasted with individuals in the next two pathways. In the *approach-automatic pathway*, individuals are motivated to offend but do not seek out or create opportunities. Instead, these individuals respond to specific environmental cues (e.g., interacting with an intoxicated woman while sexually aroused), leading to an unplanned, opportunistic offence. The final pathway, the *approach explicit pathway* involves self-regulation that is intact and is characterized by planning and the explicit goal to commit sexual offenses. A prototypical example of an individual in this pathway is a pedophilic individual who seeks out employment and volunteering opportunities to be alone with children, targeting those who seem to be the most vulnerable. The self-regulation model of sexual offending has been supported in several studies and has important implications for treatment (e.g., Kingston, Yates, & Firestone, 2012).

Hostile Masculinity

Hostile masculinity consists of domineering and controlling characteristics, in which men have a general distrust and suspiciousness of women and/or gain satisfaction from controlling women. Hostile masculinity is an important construct in understanding sexual offending against women. In a longitudinal analysis of college students, Malamuth and colleagues (1995) found support for two major pathways in the explanation of sexual aggression: the first pathway involved hostile, suspicious and other negative attitudes towards women, and the second pathway involved high levels of sexual promiscuity, which can be related to the previously discussed concept of mating effort. Both paths independently increased the risk of sexual aggression, as did the interaction of these two pathways. Malamuth and his colleagues have described this as the confluence model of sexual aggression against adults, because sexual aggression is most likely when there is a confluence of hostile masculinity and sexual promiscuity factors.

In a meta-analysis, Murnen, Wright, and Kaluzny (2002) found a moderately sized relationship between measures of hostile masculinity and sexual aggression, with the strongest associations for measures that specifically assessed hostile attitudes towards women (e.g., dominance), as opposed to less specific measures (e.g., gender bias).

Empathy also plays an important role in this relationship: College-aged men were found to be most likely to commit an act of sexual aggression if they scored low in general empathy and high on measures of hostile masculinity and impersonal sex (Wheeler, George, & Dahl, 2002). Marshall and Moulden (2001) found that sex offenders against adults were more likely to hold hostile attitudes towards women in comparison to nonsexual offenders and community controls. The importance of the role of hostility towards women in sex offenders against adults has also been identified by other researchers (e.g., Milner & Webster, 2005).

Offense-Supportive Attitudes and Beliefs

Hostile masculinity can be expressed as a set of offense-supportive attitudes and beliefs that can facilitate sexual offending against women. The present section will focus on offense-supportive attitudes and beliefs that are more characteristic of offenders with child victims. Ward and Kennan (1999) summarized these cognitions as having the following themes: *children as sexual objects, dangerous world, uncontrollability, nature of harm,* and *entitlement.* Offenders who subscribe to the *children as sexual objects* theme believe that children are sexual beings who can enjoy sexual activity. The *dangerous world* theme involves the beliefs that others are unreliable and the world is dangerous, thus people should do what they want. The *uncontrollability* theme captures the belief that the adult is unable to control his sexual urges. The *nature of harm* theme involves a belief that offenders are not harming the child or that the child may in fact benefit from the sexual relationship. Some sex offenders with child victims express *entitlement¸* believing that they are superior and should be able to exert control (including sexual) over others (Marziano et al., 2006).

   These offense-supportive attitudes and beliefs distinguish sex offenders with child victims from other sex offenders or nonsexual offenders (Mihaildes, Devilly, & Ward, Mihailides et al., 2004). When compared to offenders who victimized girls, those with boy victims were more likely to endorse the dangerous world and child as sexual being themes (e.g., Marziano et al., 2006). These attitudes and beliefs are important treatment targets given that they operate like cognitive schemas (i.e., core beliefs) that can influence behavior (see Ward, 2000). The importance of targeting these schemas is supported by Hanson, Harris, Scott, & Helmus (2007) who found that endorsement of these offense-supportive attitudes and beliefs predicted sexual recidivism, over and above the prediction of recidivism offered by risk factors such as offender age, criminal history, and victim selection.

State Facilitators

Sexual Arousal

Research has also focused on facilitators that directly affect sexual arousal. Although sexual arousal is certainly a component of paraphilias, the two are not synonymous. Paraphilias reflect an abiding sexual interest for atypical sexual activities or targets, whereas sexual arousal reflects an expression of that interest and varies on the basis of sex drive, health, recent sexual activity, and other factors. Sexual arousal is elicited by exposure to sexual cues, for example, in the form of pornography or in contact with a real person.

Sexual arousal can influence one's ability to make decisions (Loewenstein, Nagin, & Paternoster, 1997). For example, Ariely and Loewenstien (Ariely and Loewenstein, 2006) found that male college students in a sexually aroused (masturbation until subjects were highly aroused) condition were more likely to report that a wide range of sexual behaviors (both legal and illegal) were sexually appealing to them, in comparison to those in the nonarousal condition. Further, Ariely and Loewenstein found that those who were sexually aroused were more likely to report that they would commit morally dubious behavior in order to obtain sexual activity.

Sexual arousal can also influence perceptions. Sexual myopia refers to an effect in which someone who is sexually aroused is more attentive to sexual cues at the expense of other cues, especially in conjunction with other facilitatory factors such as alcohol intoxication (Loewenstein, Nagin, & Paternoster, 1997; MacDonald, MacDonald, Zanna, & Fong, MacDonald et al., 2000). Men may be more likely to misperceive a women's friendly behavior as being promiscuous or flirtatious if they are sexually aroused (Abbey, 1982). This is in addition to the male tendency to perceive women as having more sexual intent than women actually do (Abbey & Melby, 1986; Abbey, Cozzarelli, McLaughlin, & Harnish, 1987).

Experimental studies have identified a number of variables that can facilitate sexual arousal. For example, anger towards a female confederate increased sexual response to rape stories among nonoffending controls, consistent with the idea that anger can disinhibit sexual violence towards women (Yates, Barbaree, & Marshall, 1984). Other research has shown that general sympathetic nervous system activation (e.g., through physical exercise or anxiety) can facilitate sexual responding (e.g., Cantor, Zillmann, & Bryant, Cantor et al., 1975; Meston & Gorzalka, 1996; Seto, 1992). These results suggest that factors that increase general levels of arousal can facilitate sexual arousal. Barbaree and Marshall (1991) summarized these findings in their disinhibition model of rape, which postulates that factors such as anger, exposure to pornography, and alcohol use can lessen inhibition to nonconsensual sexual activity.

Negative Affect

Negative affect can contribute to sexual offending (Howells, Day, & Wright, 2004): sexual recidivists are more likely to report a decrease in their overall mood and an increase in anger prior to committing the new offense (Hanson & Harris, 2000). In a series of studies, Cortoni and Marshall (2001) have argued that both sex offenders against adults and sex offenders against children use sex as a coping strategy for negative affect. Further, the use of sexual coping strategies predicted sexual offending, regardless of whether the victim was an adult or child. However, McCoy and Fremouw (2010) suggested that sexual offenders may score higher on the sex as coping measure simply because they endorsed some items on the basis of their sexual offending history.

Intoxication

Sexual offenders are more likely to be intoxicated while committing their offense than offenders who commit robbery, burglary, theft, or drug offences (Felson & Staff, 2010). Research suggests that approximately two-thirds of sex offenders were intoxicated when they committed their crimes, with a higher rate among those who target

adults compared to those who target children (Peugh & Belenko, 2001). When a perpetrator is intoxicated during the sexual offense, there is a greater likelihood of physical injury, sexual penetration, and verbal threats to physically harm or kill the victim (Busch-Armendariz et al., 2010; Parkhill, Abbey, & Jacques-Tiura, 2009).

Alcohol seems to play a bigger role in sexual offending than other substances (Kraanen & Emmelkamp, 2011). In a review, Kraanen & Emmelkamp (2011) concluded that approximately 50% of sexual offenders had been diagnosed with a substance abuse problem in their lifetime. Rates of alcohol misuse in sexual offenders ranged from 25–50% and drug misuse ranged from 20–25%. Alcohol can reduce inhibitions directly through physiological effects on the brain and indirectly through expectations (expectancies) about the effects of alcohol (see Seto & Barbaree, 1995). Research on the effects of alcohol on sexual arousal and sexual behavior suggest that expectancies may play a larger role than actual consumption of alcohol, because participants who incorrectly believe they have consumed an alcoholic beverage showed stronger effects than participants who incorrectly believed they had consumed a nonalcoholic beverage (see Crowe & George, 1989). Testa (2002) noted that men who abuse alcohol are more likely to put themselves in contexts where alcohol is consumed (e.g., bars, parties), and these contexts themselves are associated with a greater likelihood of sexual offending because there are more interactions among individuals, expectancies about the effects of alcohol are typically high, and intoxicated women are more vulnerable.

Sex Offender Risk Assessment

The motivational and facilitatory factors that have been summarized here (see Table 24.2) are well represented in the sex offender risk assessment measures that have been developed and validated since the mid-1990s (Hanson & Morton-Bourgon, 2009). These measures draw upon the same scientific literature on significant predictors of sexual and/or violent recidivism, and thus are similar to each other in content. Broadly speaking, long-term predictors of sexual and/or violent recidivism fall into one of two major risk dimensions: *antisociality* (antisocial/criminal tendencies such as hostility, impulsivity, offense-supportive attitudes and beliefs) and *atypical sexuality* (paraphilic sexual interests such as pedophilia, excessive sexual preoccupations; Hanson & Morton-Bourgon, 2005). In addition to these long-term predictors, which are usually static in nature (meaning they are historical or highly stable over time), research has identified dynamic risk factors that can change over time and therefore might be amenable to intervention efforts (Hanson et al., 2007). For example, the Stable set of measures (Stable-2000 and Stable-2007: Hanson et al., 2007) include items that assess atypical sexuality (expression of paraphilic thoughts, fantasies or urges and sexual preoccupation), poor general and sexual self-regulation, offense-supportive attitudes and beliefs, and negative affect.

Readers who are familiar with the most commonly used and best known sex-offender risk measures might wonder why only some of the motivational and facilitatory factors summarized here are included on those measures. Their explanatory value may instead be subsumed by other risk measure items; for example, hostility, impulsivity and offense-supportive attitudes and beliefs can be encompassed by psychopathy. However, each factor represents a distinct, psychologically meaningful

Table 24.2 Summary of motivation-facilitation framework.

Areas	Description
Motivators	
1. Paraphilias	Atypical sexual interest in activities or objects that are recurrent and intense. Diagnosed as a paraphilic disorder if it results in clinically significant distress or impairment, or harm to another person.
2. Hypersexuality	Exaggerated sexuality that consists of high sex drive and/or excessive sexual preoccupation, constitutes a motivator for sexual offending if behavior is illegal (e.g., exhibitionism, sex with nonconsenting person).
3. Mating effort	A shorter term strategy focused on sex with multiple partners as compared to a longer term strategy focused on investment in one's committed partner and offspring.
4. Social incompetence	Refers to social skills deficits and emotional congruence with children, which limit one's ability to connect with other adults. Can motivate sexual offending because these offenders still desire intimacy.
5. Low embodied capital	Men who have low social capital (an absence of the personal or material attributes deemed desirable by society) feel socially inadequate and may turn to sexual offending to attain their sexual goals.
Facilitators	
1. Trait facilitators	
a. Psychopathy	A personality constellation of interpersonal-affective traits that is closely related to antisocial and criminal behavior, including sexual offending.
b. Self-control	Problems in general or sexual self-regulation increase the likelihood of action. These problems can include impulsivity and other signs of poor executive functioning.
c. Hostile masculinity	Suspiciousness of women in combination with domineering or controlling characteristics, that has been shown to be related to sexual offending, especially among those who assault adult women.
d. Offence supportive attitudes and beliefs	Attitudes and beliefs that can justify or rationalize sexual offending, e.g., the belief that children can consent to sex increases the likelihood that someone might engage in sexual contact with children.
2. State facilitators	
a. Sexual arousal	Sexual arousal can impact upon decision making and contextual variables increase arousal to rape stimuli in healthy controls
b. Negative affect	Negative affect can contribute to the expression of coercive sexual activity by using sex as a coping mechanism for negative affect, or an inappropriate expression of anger.
c. Intoxication	Substance use, especially alcohol use, can disinhibit behavior. The effects may be more a result of expectancies than of the physiological effects of substance use.

risk factor that might be more easily understood by offenders and specifically targeted in treatment and supervision by professionals (see Mann et al., 2010). For example, rather than targeting psychopathy as a risk factor for future offending, treatment programs can use cognitive-behavioral techniques to influence offense-supportive attitudes and beliefs, decrease impulsive behavior, and increase self-regulation skills.

Interventions and Management

The most common sex offender treatment approaches involve cognitive-behavioral approaches incorporating relapse prevention or self-regulation skills training (McGrath et al., 2009). A common theme across adult male sex offender treatment programs is that individuals need to understand their motivations for sexual offending and the facilitators that contributed to their crimes. Treatment then aims to reduce motivations to sexual offend and teach strategies and skills to mitigate trait or state facilitators. For example, treatment programs can target paraphilic sexual arousal through techniques to increase awareness of sexually deviant thoughts, fantasies or urges, learn cognitive self-management skills, and in some programs, to learn how to voluntarily control sexual arousal through behavioral conditioning. Similar techniques can be used to increase regulation of sex drive and sexual preoccupation.

Many programs require recognition of "triggers" that could lead to a sexual reoffense. For example, it is very common for supervision conditions to include abstinence from alcohol or other substances as these may facilitate an offense, or to restrict mobility to reduce opportunities to offend (e.g., restrictions from being around children without another adult present). Additionally, probation and parole officers commonly use measures such as the ACUTE-2000 and Stable-2000 (Hanson et al., 2007) – faster moving and slower moving dynamic risk assessments, respectively – to assess an offenders imminent risk to commit a sexual reoffense. Items on the ACUTE-2000 include negative affect, hostility, and substance abuse among others. These facilitators are regularly monitored to reduce the risk of reoffense.

While cognitive behavioral and relapse prevention techniques are the most common approaches for the treatment and management of sexual offenders, pharmaceutical interventions are also available (see Miller, 2003). For example, sex-drive-reducing medications could be effective in reducing motivations for sexual offending, particularly excessive sexual preoccupation. While these interventions will not abolish an atypical sexual interest, it can reduce the expression of that interest. While there is some evidence that pharmaceutical treatments may be effective in reducing sexual recidivism (Lösel & Schmucker, 2005), there is still concern regarding the methodological limitations of studies showing a positive treatment effect (see Eher & Pfäfflin, 2011 for a review).

Conclusions

A better understanding of the motivating and facilitating factors associated with sexual offending would guide the development of evidence-based prevention and intervention efforts to reduce sexual violence. The most successful interventions will reduce motivations for sexual offending, and decrease the likelihood that offenders will seek

out opportunities to offend. Effective interventions would also teach offenders how to better manage their trait or state facilitators, given that opportunities might still arise despite best efforts. Even with reduced motivation to sexually offend, an individual might be at greater risk of acting in a criminal manner if they are sufficiently disinhibited by alcohol or drug use or unable to cope effectively with negative emotions.

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Pornography and Violence Against Women

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Pornography and Violence Against Women

Translated from Greek, the word "pornography" means "writing about prostitutes" (Katz, 2006, p. 188). Indeed, men having sexual relations with sex trade workers is a common theme in pornographic media. Still, women are represented in many different ways in pornography, but the thing that all pornographic images of and writings about them have in common is that they are:

> represented as passive and as slavishly dependent upon men. The role of female characters is limited to the provision of sexual services to men. To the extent that women's sexual pleasure is represented at all, it is subordinated to that of men and is never an end itself as is the sexual pleasure of men. What pleases men is the use of their bodies to satisfy male desires. While the sexual objectification of women is common to all pornography, in which women characters are killed, tortured, gang-raped, mutilated, bound, and otherwise abused, as a means of providing sexual stimulations or pleasure to the male characters. (Longino, 1980, p. 42)

This observation, albeit correct, is over 30 years old. Let's fast forward to 2010 and consider what Gail Dines (2010, pp. xix–xx) discovered while studying cyberporn:

> A few more clicks and I was at GagFactor.com owned by JM Productions, a much talked-about site in the porn trade magazines. When I clicked on it I was invited to "Join us now to Access Complete Degradation." On the site there were hundreds of pictures of young women with penises thrust deep into their throat. Some are gagging, others crying, and virtually all have faces, especially their eyes, covered in semen. The user is bombarded with images of mascara running, hair being pulled, throats in a vicelike grip, nostrils being pinched so the women can't breathe as the penis fills the mouth, and mouths that are distended by either hands pulling the lips apart or penises inserted sideways.

Such images are part and parcel of much, if not most, of the pornography featured on the Internet, which, today, is the main purveyor of scenes like those described by Dines. What is even more alarming is that there is a giant market for videos and pictures that depict much pain and suffering. Adult women and men, of course, are not the only people featured and hurt in cyberporn. For example, there is a major increase in the number of child pornography sites. In 2006, there were nearly 100 000 of them and now there are at least 500 000, with new ones emerging every day (Ibrahim, 2011; Law et al., 2011). Arrests for child pornography production in the United States more than doubled from 402 in 2000–2001 to 859 in 2006 (Wolak, Finkelhor, Mitchell, & Jones, 2011).

Pornography is not "just fantasy" (Funk, 2006). A rapidly growing social scientific literature shows that degrading, racist, and violent sexual images presented on the Internet and elsewhere are strongly associated with various types of "real life" male violence against women and children. The main objective of this chapter is to review empirical, theoretical, and policy work on the association between adult heterosexual pornography and woman abuse. This is not to say that the linkage between child pornography and child abuse is less significant. However, the literature on child and adult pornography is so voluminous that it is impossible to adequately cover both topics in one chapter. Note, too, that special attention is devoted to the impact of Internet pornography, given that it has eliminated more traditional means of distributing and consuming derogatory images of and stories about women (DeKeseredy & Olsson, 2011).

The Pornography Business

In this "post-*Playboy* world" (Jensen, 2007), defining pornography is still subject to much debate. For the purpose of this chapter, I am not referring to all sexually explicit media, much of which is erotica. This material depicts sexual relations with mutuality and respect (Bridges & Jensen, 2011; Russell, 1993). On the other hand, in this current era, pornography is "gonzo – that genre which is all over the Internet and is today one of the biggest moneymakers for the industry – which depicts hard-core, body-punishing sex in which women are demeaned and debased" (Dines, 2010, p. xi). Millions of people around the world routinely consume gonzo and other forms of pornography. In fact, there is ample evidence that men who do not consume pornography are atypical (DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 2013). Keep in mind that every second, over 28 258 Internet users view pornography (DeKeseredy & Olsson, 2011; Zerbisias, 2008), and the vast majority of them are men and boys.

Pornographers are the chief pioneers of new electronic technologies and they are closely associated with the development and success of video streaming, "tweeting," DVDs, 3G mobile phones, and broadband (Barss, 2010; Maddison, 2004). Moreover, many people watch sexual images at home by themselves and this market started to drive the home entertainment industry (Jordan, 2006). To be sure, "sex has shaped the Internet as it currently exists" (Slayden, 2010, p. 58).

There are over four million pornography sites on the Internet (Dines, 2010), with as many as 10 000 added every week (DeKeseredy & Olsson, 2011). As well, worldwide pornography revenues from a variety of sources (e.g., Internet, sex shops, hotel rooms, etc.) recently topped US$97 billion. This is more than the combined revenues of Microsoft, Google, Amazon, eBay, Yahoo!, Apple, Netflix, and EarthLink (DeKeseredy, 2015; Zerbisias, 2008). More recent evidence of the growth of pornography is the

emergence of "tubes," such as YouPorn, XTube, and PornoTube, all based on the widely used and popular YouTube. YouPorn had 15 million users after launching in 2006 and were growing at a monthly rate of 37.5% (Mowlabocus, 2010; Slayden, 2010). Undoubtedly, cyberporn is "the quietest big business in the world" (Slayden, 2010, p. 57).

Pornography consumption is a widespread problem that will only intensify due to easy access offered by the Internet. For example, a national US study of undergraduate and graduate students ages 18 to 26 found that 69% of the male and 10% of the female participants view pornography at least once a month (Carroll et al., 2008). Also take into account that:

- every second, US$89 is spent on cyberporn;
- sex is the most searched word on the Internet;
- thirty-five percent of all Internet downloads are pornographic (Slayden, 2010, 54).

Regardless of whether researchers ever obtain accurate estimates of the percentage of males who consume adult cyberporn, most leading experts in the field agree with Robert Jensen's assertion that "It's become almost as common as comic books were for you and me" (cited in Gillespie, 2008, p. A3). Actually, almost all Northern European boys have ever been exposed to pornography and 42% of Internet users ages 10 to 17 in the United States had viewed cyberporn (Hammaren & Johansson, 2007; Mossige, Ainsaar, & Svedin, 2007; Wolak, Mitchell, & Finkelhor, 2007). A study done in Alberta, Canada found that one in three boys aged 13 to 14 accessed sexually explicit media content on digital or satellite television, video and DVD, and on the Internet. More than one-third of the boys reported viewing pornography "too many times to count" and a sizeable minority of the boys in the sample planned social time around viewing porn with their male friends (Betowski, 2007).

Pornography, again, is big business, but it is a violent one for women, and they do not last long in the industry (Bridges & Jensen, 2011). The average employment period only ranges from 6 months to 3 years and actors and often end their careers without money saved in the bank (Calvert & Richards, 2006). It is also, as stated before, common for female actors to be humiliated, degraded, and abused in the process of making cyberporn and other types of pornography. Pornography also hurts other women (Funk, 2006), including the thousands who are romantically involved with men who use it or who have left such men (DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 2013). Unfortunately, "pornography is a training manual for abuse" (Bergen & Bogle, 2000, p. 231). To make matters worse, boys see their first pornography site on average at 11 years of age (Dines, 2010), and an unknown but large number of them go on to become graduates of what Lundy Bancroft (2002, p. 185) refers to as "the Pornography School of Sexuality." Romita and Beltramini (2011, p. 1) correctly state, "Childhood and adolescence are key periods in relation to pornography exposure."

Pornography and Violence Against Women

Research

Men's use of pornography hurts their intimate female partners on numerous levels. Many women report feeling betrayed, lowered self-esteem, anger, being pressured to imitate what their male partners had seen online, and a range of other negative effects

that are not the result of physical force (Bridges & Jensen, 2011; Schneider, 2000). Male pornography consumption, is also a powerful determinant of physical and sexual violence against current and former female partners (DeKeseredy, 2015), and it is positively associated with attitudes supporting violence against women (Hald, Malamuth, & Yuen, 2010). Scientific evidence supporting these conclusions has improved considerably over the past 30 years (DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 2013). Before the early 1990s, there was limited data on the extent to which graphic sexual imagery influences men's violent behavior outside artificial laboratory settings (DeKeseredy & Olsson, 2011). Hence, some critics argued that there is little to support any connections with "real world" behavior (Berger, Searles, & Cottle, 1991; Brannigan & Goldenberg, 1987; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1998). Now, there are studies that generate much more valid, yet disturbing, data.

Jensen (1995, 1996), for example, used personal histories and narrative accounts of men who used pornography. Other researchers conducted surveys of women to determine how male consumption of pornography affected them. For example, of the 1835 women who participated in the Canadian national survey of woman abuse in university/college dating (CNS), 1638 answered a quantitative question on whether they had ever been upset by a dating partner/boyfriend's attempt to get them to do what they had seen in pornographic pictures, movies or books. Over 8% of these women stated that they were upset by their dating partners trying to get them to do what they had seen in pornographic media (DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 1998a). This is comparable to the 10% figure that Russell (1990) uncovered from asking a random sample of 930 women in the San Francisco area a similar question.

What is more salient is that the CNS found a significant relationship between being upset by men's attempts to imitate pornographic scenes and sexual victimization. Of those who were sexually assaulted, 22.3% had also been upset by efforts to get them to imitate pornographic scenarios. Only 5.8% of the women who were not victimized reported not being upset by pornography. The relationship also holds for physical violence. Of the female CNS respondents who reported being physically abused in a dating relationship, 15.4% also reported being upset by pornography. Only 4.5% of those who were not physically victimized reported being upset. These statistics resemble the pornography-related abuse reported in surveys of married and formerly married women (Bergen, 1996; Bergen & Bogle, 2000; Harmon & Check, 1989).

More recently, DeKeseredy & Schwartz's (2009) qualitative study of separation/ divorce sexual assault in rural Ohio also found that male pornography consumption contributed to woman abuse. Sixty-five percent of the male estranged partners of the 43 women they interviewed used pornography, and 30% of the women stated that pornography was in involved in sexually abusive events they experienced. Still, since watching or reading pornography is often a private or secret event, it is possible that many, if not most, of the women in their sample who stated that their ex-partners did not view pornography were probably unaware of these men's consumption of it. The same can be said about numerous women who participated in other studies, such as the CNS (Bergen & Bogle, 2000).

The correlation between pornography and violence against women is not restricted to North America. For example, in Italy, one study of high school students uncovered strong associations between sexually harassing or raping peers and pornography

consumption (Bonino, Ciairano, Rabaglietti, & Cattelino, 2006). Another Italian survey of high-school students found that females exposed to psychological violence committed by family members and to sexual violence by any type of perpetrator were significantly more likely to watch pornography, especially violent porn, than females who were not exposed to such abuse (Romito & Beltramini, 2011). As well, CNS data reported above compare well with Itzin and Sweet's (1992) report of the British *Cosmopolitan* Survey, which was administered to over 4000 readers of this women's magazine and was one of the first large-scale sources of information on women's experiences with pornography in the United Kingdom.

Other studies examined the content of today's most popular pornography. Bridges, Wosnitzer, Scharrer, Sun, and Liberman's (2010) inquiry was the most recent at the time of writing this chapter. As pointed out by several scholars (e.g., DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 2013; Dines, 2010; Jensen, 2007), pornography has become more violent and normalized. Bridges et al.'s study of 304 scenes in 50 of the most popular pornographic DVDs confirms this point. Nearly 90% contained physical aggression (mainly spanking, gagging, and slapping) and roughly 50% included verbal aggression, primarily name calling. Not surprisingly, males constituted most of the perpetrators and the targets of their physical and verbal aggression were "overwhelmingly female." Furthermore, the female targets often showed pleasure or responded neutrally to male aggression. What makes the data uncovered by Bridges et al. more troubling is Brosi, Foubert, Bannon, & Yandell's (2011, p. 27) observation:

> [A]s the pornography industry grows and seeks to satisfy its increasingly large customer base, it has continuously innovated its products and materials in a direction of more extreme, violent, "edgy," material, often featuring underage actors and scenes depicting a wide variety of dehumanizing behaviors not heretofore seen.

Despite a growing amount of research, it is still unclear whether pornography of any sort directly causes violence against women. A long-term, expensive longitudinal design is required to determine whether such a relationship exists (DeKeseredy & Olsson, 2011; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1998). Additionally, there are some important competing arguments. For example, for men who abuse women, pornography may well be just one more weapon in their arsenal. Thus, a man who cares that his intimate female partner would be scared or angry might not expose her to the lessons he learned from a pornographic video, while his abusive friend might try to force his partner to act out such scenes over her objections (DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 2009). In a somewhat related argument, the same factors that cause a man to abuse women may well also cause him to watch Internet pornography. In other words, the woman abuse came first, followed by his interest in pornography. In these scenarios, eliminating pornography might not have an effect on the amount of woman abuse, since the men are generally abusive anyway (DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 1998a). Maybe, then, it is appropriate to heed Robert Jensen's (2007, p. 103) advice: "Rather than discussing simple causation, we should consider how various factors, in feminist philosopher Marilyn Frye's terms 'make something inviting.' In those terms, pornography does not cause rape but rather helps make rape inviting."

Theories

There are competing explanations for why men consume Internet pornography and assault the women they love or are sexually involved with. One psychological perspective contends that antisocial personality characteristics motivate people to seek out pornography. According to this account:

> The "goodness of fit" of antisocial personality characteristics with antisocial sexual content will, it is speculated, promote a tremendous depth of involvement in antisocial sexual stimuli. Individuals may lose awareness of the constraints of reality regarding enactment of antisocial sexual behavior, and uniquely strong negative effects of antisocial sexual content on the Internet may be seen among those predisposed to access such material (Fisher & Barak, 2001, p. 312).

A related theory is that normal-range people will avoid antisocial, sexually explicit material and will reject such media's messages if encountered (Fisher & Barak, 2001). Psychological theories like those briefly described here may be popular among the general population,[1] but they raise some serious questions and are subject to sharp criticism. The truth is that there is no reliable evidence linking personality disorders, biological factors, or alcohol/drug use to Internet porn use (DeKeseredy, 2015; DeKeseredy & Olsson, 2011; Stack, Wasserman, & Kern, 2004). Similarly, a large literature shows that most men who abuse female intimates are not pathological (DeKeseredy, 2011a; Gondolf, 1999), with only 10% of all incidents of intimate violence resulting from mental disorders (DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 2011; Gelles & Straus, 1988).

If only a few men watched cyberporn and beat, hit, and raped women, it would be easy to accept individualistic explanations for their behavior. However, violence against women and the consumption of cyberporn are deeply rooted in our society. Note that in North America, annually, at least 11% of women in marital/cohabiting relationships are physically assaulted by their male partners, and large- and small-scale surveys consistently show that 25% of North American female undergraduate students experience some variant of sexual assault every year (DeKeseredy, 2011a; DeKeseredy & Flack, 2007). As well, recall the data on the staggering extent of pornography consumption presented in a previous section of this chapter. Therefore, sociologists ask, given the widespread nature of woman abuse and cyberporn, how can people effectively claim that the problems are the products of "sick" or pathological individuals? Even if this were the case, one would have to spend a great deal of time looking at the social structure of a country that produces more sick or pathological individuals than many other countries (DeKeseredy & Olsson, 2011). Since North American has high rates of these two social problems, individualistic perspectives have little to offer.

Of course, it is wrong to completely reject individualistic theories. These perspectives, to a certain extent, do help us make sense of criminal or deviant acts committed by *some* people. Further, some people are stopped from committing future crimes through the use of therapy, psychotropic drugs, and other psychologically informed treatments (DeKeseredy, 2011a).

More studies on the effects of cyberporn are needed and most of the empirical and theoretical work done thus far is psychological (Stack, Wasserman, & Kern, 2004). Yet, a few sociologists are starting to make theoretical contributions to the field. For example, DeKeseredy and Schwartz (1998b, 2013) contend that male peer support plays a key role in the relationship between pornography and woman abuse. Male peer

support is defined as the attachments to male peers and the resources they provide that perpetuate and legitimate various types of violence against women (DeKeseredy, 1990).

Male peer support is pervasive on college campuses. Following Kanin (1967a, b), DeKeseredy and Schwartz (2013) assert that existing at these institutions of higher learning are "hypererotic" subcultures that produce extremely high or exaggerated levels of sexual aspiration. Members of these groups expect to engage in a substantial amount of consensual sexual intercourse, or what is to them sexual conquest. Still, for most of these men, these goals are almost impossible to achieve. When they fall short of what they see as their friends' high expectations, and perhaps short of what they believe their friends are actually achieving, some of these men may experience relative deprivation (Merton, 1938). This sexual frustration, caused by a "reference-group-anchored sex drive" can result in predatory sexual conduct (Kanin, 1967a). These men are highly frustrated, not because they are deprived of sex in some objective sense, but because they feel inadequate in engaging in what they have defined as the proper amount of sex.

DeKeseredy and Schwartz (2013) build on Kanin's work by arguing that sexual assaults committed by members of college-based hyper erotic subcultures are also functions of a combination of the new "hook up culture" and pornography (Kimmel, 2008).[2] As Dines (2010, p. 89) notes:

> Given the increasing prevalence of hooking up in the culture, especially on college cam-puses, these men's perceptions that other guys seem to have no problem finding sex is not completely accurate. Where they seem to lose touch with reality is in the degree to which they assume this is the norm. In the porn world of never-ending sex, every interac-tion with a woman – be it a student, a doctor, a maid, a teacher, or just a stranger – ends up sexualized. Add to this the stories that men regale each other about their latest conquest, stories that often sound like the porn movie that just watched, and you have a constructed world of constant male access to every woman a man meets. When the real world doesn't play out like this, then disappointment and anger make sense.

DeKeseredy and his colleagues (see DeKeseredy & Olsson, 2011; DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 2009, 2013) offer two other sociological perspectives on the relationship between pornography, male peer support, and violence against women. The first one argues that many men learn to sexually objectify and abuse women through exposure to pornographic media, and they often learn these lessons in groups. Using porno-graphic videos to strengthen male "misogynist bonds" dates back to the short silent porn films of the 1890s (Slayden, 2010). Men would gather in various all-male set-tings, such as bachelor parties, to smoke, watch sexually explicit films, and to make derogatory remarks about women (Lehman, 2006). Now, due to the Internet and other new technologies, men who want to consume pornography can watch it at their peers' homes, which also enables them to drink excessive amounts of alcohol without the risk of stigmatization. Such gatherings are common and are salient expressions of patriarchy (DeKeseredy, 2011a; Jensen, 2007). To be sure, not only Internet pornog-raphy is consumed in these settings. For example, one rural victim of separation/ divorce sexual assault told DeKeseredy and Schwartz (2009, p. 74):

> They were drinking and carrying on and they had, um, they had a bunch of porno stuff in the garage, and I had walked in and I had started to tear it up. And I was, I was, I thought it was gross. I was mad at it. I was mad at him for being around it. And he

just started charging after me, and I started running to my car as fast as I could. And he got into the car and he threw me down in the seat and he just kept punching me, punching me.

The second theory focuses on proabuse cyberspace male peer support groups. Many men who never have face-to-face contact with each other share pornographic material with other men through the Internet (DeKeseredy, 2015; Doring, 2009). There is also evidence suggesting that an undetermined number of these consumers and distributors are "part of a broader subculture of sexual deviance that legitimizes various forms of deviant sexuality" (Stack, Wasserman, & Kern, 2004, 85). DeKeseredy and Olsson (2011) and DeKeseredy and Schwartz (1998b) contend that the sharing of cyberporn helps create and maintain sexist male peer groups. It also reinforces attitudes that reproduce and reconstitute ideologies of male dominance by approvingly presenting women as objects to be conquered and consumed. As well, sharing cyberporn makes it difficult for users to separate sexual fantasy from reality and assists men in their attempts to initiate female victims and break down their resistance to sexual acts (Dines, 2010; Dines & Jensen, 2008).

The theoretical offerings of DeKeseredy and his colleagues are heavily influenced by the writings of radical feminist scholars such Boyle (2010), Dines (2010), and Jensen (2007). Radical feminism dominates feminist perspectives on both woman abuse and pornography. Radical feminists see male power and privilege and the "root cause" of all social relations, inequality, and other social problems. For radical feminists, the most important set of social relations in any society is found in patriarchy. All other social relations such as class are secondary and originate from male-female relations (Beirne & Messerschmidt, 2011; Daly & Chesney-Lind, 1988; Renzetti, 2012).

At the time of writing this chapter, the work of Dines, Boyle, and other radical feminists who study pornography was subject to sharp criticism. For instance, Ronald Weitzer (2011, p. 673) states that books published by Dines (2010) and Boyle (2010) "present an extremely biased picture of pornography that stands in stark contrast to sound scholarly research." He further argues that these scholars operate within "an oppression paradigm" and "substitute ideology for rigorous empirical analysis and that their one-dimensional arguments are contradicted by a wealth of social science data that shows sex work to be much more variegated structurally and experientially" (p. 666).[3] Such attacks on feminist scholarship are not new and it cannot be emphasized enough that the radical feminist contributions of Dines and others who work in the same intellectual tradition is just as, if not more, rigorous than that of mainstream or conservative quantitative researchers like Weitzer (2011). Note, too, that feminists' scholarship is subjected to the same standards of rigorous peer as other types of social science and is clearly not published because it is "politically correct" (DeKeseredy & Dragiewicz, 2007).

Feminists like Dines have no problem being labeled *political*. After all, as Sartre (1964, p. 29) reminds us, "all writing is political" and radical feminists hope that their work will help reduce much pain and suffering. Moreover, no scientific method, theory, or policy proposal is value free. Nor are the arguments made by Weitzer and others who challenge radical feminist antipornography scholarship. Certainly, much can be learned by reading the work of radical feminists who use a variety of methods and theoretical tools to analyze how the pornography industry harms women (Dines, 2012).

Regardless of which theories scholars prefer, theoretical developments have not kept pace with the burgeoning empirical literature on the relationship between Internet pornography and violence against women. Hopefully, some important questions will be answered in the near future. For example, at this point in time, we do not know the reasons why men join and participate in male subcultures that use adult pornography and how they locate those who are like minded (DeKeseredy & Olsson, 2011).

Policy Issues

What is to be done about adult Internet pornography? Scores of people, especially those who produce it and consume it, respond to this question by raising concerns about freedom of speech and the First Amendment to the US Constitution. Yet, there is widespread outrage and anger about Internet child pornography, which is why some criminologists define it, like murder and robbery, as a "consensus crime" (DeKeseredy, Ellis, & Alvi, 2005; Hagan, 1994). This means that members of all or most social groups share norms and values that call for legally prohibiting the production and consumption of child pornography, and they want to impose the most severe penalties on people who engage in these behaviors. Criminal justice officials are responsive to these norms and values because, as stated earlier in this chapter, arrests for child pornography production has more than doubled in recent years.

Societal reactions are nowhere near as punitive when it comes to the "pornification" of women once they turn 18 years old (DeKeseredy, 2015; Nikunen, Paasonen, & Saarenmaa, 2007). Thousands of legal cyberporn sites "childify" adult women and typing "teen porn" into Google generates over nine million hits, given users a choice of thousands of sites (Dines, 2010). There are also thousands of sites explicitly featuring adult women being degraded and abused in ways that few people can imagine. Actually, a common feature of new pornographic video is gang rape, painful anal penetration, as well as men slapping/choking women and/or pulling hair while they penetrate them orally, vaginally, and anally (Bridges et al., 2010; Dines & Jensen, 2008). On top of featuring these behaviors, Internet pornography often involves stereotypical images of "the sexually primitive black male stud," "submissive Far East nymphos," and "hot blooded Latinas" (Dines, 2010; Funk, 2006; Jensen, 2007). Nevertheless, adult Internet pornography continues to flourish with minimal protest and the industry keeps growing larger every day. As Andrew Edmond, President and CEO of Flying Crocodile, a US$20-million Internet pornography company stated, "We operate just like any Fortune 500 company" (cited in Dines, 2012, p. 516).

Many people oppose adult pornography but do not have promising answers to the above question because of Gail Dines (2010, p. 163) observation: "We are so steeped in the pornographic mindset that it is difficult to imagine what a world without porn would look like." In other words, many people feel that there is no way of defeating the giant pornography industry because pornography is too deeply entrenched in our society to eliminate. This is not to say, however, that they do nothing. Rather, their response is to not view pornography, not read it, and to not participate in any private or public events involving pornography of any sort. These people are similar to what

Tony Porter (2006, p. 1), co-founder of A Call to Men Committed to Ending Violence Against Women, defines as a "well-meaning man." This is

> a man who believes women should be respected. A well-meaning man would not assault a woman. A well-meaning man, on the surface, at least, believes in equality for women. A well-meaning man believes in women's rights. A well-meaning man honors the women in his life. A well-meaning man, for all practical purposes, is a nice guy, a good guy.

Still, individual responses, such as changing one's behavior, are not enough. As Robert Jensen (2007, p. 182) puts it, "That's a bare minimum. Such change must be followed by participation in movements to change the unjust structures and the underlying ideology that supports them." In the United States, those opposed to pornography should consider becoming involved in StopPornCulture!, which has local chapters scattered across the country and a web site (see http://stoppornculture.org) that announces events, provides answers to frequently asked questions, and that includes slide shows and other resources. StopPornCulture!'s (2012) mission is as follows:

> Stop Porn Culture is an international feminist anti-porn organization with branches in the United States, Norway and the UK. We work as an advisory body, train trainers, and build public health educational materials based on empirical research. We have a tight network of enthusiastic, dedicated volunteers and activists and are thankful for our collaborations with numerous other secular organizations in the United States as well as in Europe. Some of the work we do is grassroots activist work.

> Pornography is misogynistic both in its production and consumption. While we agree that porn harms all people, it harms women disproportionately more than men. Our education program as well as all grassroots education are proving to be effective in building a deep understanding of the issues in the anti-porn movement.

> We envisage sexuality that is based on equality, dignity, and respect. We are mobilizing against the commodification of human needs and desires, and are against the subordination of anyone.

New electronic technologies have perils and promises, and some of the former are described throughout this chapter. Much good, though, can come from using the Internet and from joining progressive causes on social media sites like Facebook. Whether people like it or not and whether or not they are computer savvy, communicating via social media today is vital for two reasons. First, large numbers of people, especially North American youth, spend more time on their computers than they do in face-to-face relationships. As Jessie Klein (2012, p. 122) notes, "In a culture that values independence and self-reliance to such extremes over connection, community, and interdependence, technology is more likely to be used as a means of escape from others." And, there is ample evidence to support Klein's claim that most socializing among youth is done through electronic channels. Hence, using Facebook, Twitter, etc. enables more people to become aware of various types of patriarchal practices and discourses and may motivate them to voice their discontent with the prevailing status quo by electing politicians committed to ending pornography and other highly injurious symptoms of sexism (DeKeseredy, 2011b).

The other major reason for using new electronic media is that social networking sites are now key arenas of political struggle and resistance. According to Walker Rettberg (2009, p. 1):

> Obviously, people find it easier to join a Facebook group to make a political point than to march the streets. Perhaps it's actually more effective, too. Right now, it's entirely possible that you get more press, and thus more national notice for a Facebook group with 2000 members than a demonstration of 500 people. And it's a lot easier to get 2000 people to join a Facebook group than to get 500 people to show up at a particular time and place with banners.

Boycotting harmful companies, stores, products, and services may not be a novel idea, but it is a tried and true initiative. Following the Minnesota Men's Action Network: Alliance to Prevent Sexual and Domestic Violence Clean Hotel Initiative,[4] as individuals and as part of antipornography groups, people should encourages businesses, government agencies, private companies, and so on to only hold conferences and meetings in hotels that do not offer in-room adult pay-per-view pornography (DeKeseredy, 2011a, b). Boycotting pornographic video stores is another useful strategy. Boycotting does make a difference because of its financial impact. It is also most effective when combined with social media protests (DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 2013).

Boycotting is a daunting task because sexism and pornographic images are all around us, including in mainstream media. Furthermore, there is never enough time in the day to monitor the myriad of ways in which women are objectified, dehumanized, and exploited. Even so, new technologies make it much easier than it was in the past to collectively expose and criticize pornography and to boycott companies that profit from misogyny.

It is also essential for those involved in the antiporn movement to express their views in the mainstream media. That articles and letters written by feminists are periodically published by popular and widely read newspapers (e.g., *The New York Times*) and that some feminists appear on CNN serves as evidence that the orthodox media do not totally dismiss struggles against sexism (Caringella-Macdonald & Humphries, Carringella-MacDonald and Humphries, 1998; DeKeseredy, 2011b). For example, pioneering feminist Gloria Steinem's critique of the NBC series *The Playboy Club* recently appeared in the Canadian newspaper *Toronto Star*, which has a very large circulation. She stated:

> The question is the attitude of the film or series. Is it aggrandizing the past in a nostalgic way, or is it really showing the problems of the past in order to show that we have come forward and continue to come forward? I somehow think the Playboy shows are maybe not doing that. There are other shows that do. I feel dismay that young men especially are being subjected to that and made to feel that's a mark of masculinity (cited in Salem, 2011, p. 1).

Many more progressive solutions could easily be provided here, including educational workshops and effective methods of responding to pornography advocates' freedom of speech arguments.[5] Whatever approaches are used, the porn industry is an "economic juggernaut" and will not back down (Dines, 2010). Still, it is necessary to continue to put chinks in its armor until radical change occurs. As well, it cannot be emphasized enough that "we have a lot of work to do" (Jensen, 2007, p. 184).

Conclusion

Adult pornographic images are not simply "dirty pictures that have little impact on anyone." Rather, these images endorse "women as second-class citizens" and "require that women be seen as seen as second-class citizens" (Funk, 2006, p. 165). Further, due to major technological advances, pornography has changed substantially over the past 30 years. As Katz (2006, pp. 186–187) notes:

> People of a certain age who still associate heterosexual porn with "girlie magazines" and airbrushed photos of big-breasted women shot in soft light on luxurious beds with big pillows would be shocked by the brutality, outright contempt for women, and racism that is common in today's product.

To make matters worse, this chapter shows that Internet pornography and other types of porn are strongly associated with violence against women in intimate heterosexual relationships, such as dating and marriage/cohabitation. Pornography, too, plays a major role in many assaults on women attempting to leave or who have left patriarchal or abusive male partners (DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 2009). To be sure, though, more empirical and theoretical work on the issues covered in this chapter is necessary. However, for the many women who are directly and indirectly harmed by pornography, a much more important concern is eliminating this major social problem. At this point in time, it seems that Internet pornography will continue to grow and feature even more injurious images of women. Still, there is chance for change if more people decide to help make a difference and use the strategies suggested here and elsewhere (e.g., Funk, 2006). Certainly, the world we live in today is "the pornographers' world. They are the ones telling the most influential stories about gender and power and sex. But that victory is just for the moment, if we can face ourselves and then build a movement that challenges them" (Jensen, 2007, p. 184).

Notes

1 See Bridges and Jensen (2011) for other psychological theories of pornography's effects.
2 "Hooking up" is an ambiguous term and it means different things to different students. Generally, the phrase refers to a casual sexual encounter (with no promise of commitment) ranging from kissing to sexual intercourse (Bogle, 2008).
3 See Boyle (2012), Dines (2012), and Watson (2012) for responses to Weitzer's critique.
4 Go to http://www.menaspeacemakers.org/cleanhotels/ for more information on the Clean Hotel Initiative.
5 See DeKeseredy (2011b), DeKeseredy and Schwartz (1998b), and Funk (2006) for how to respond to claims of censorship.

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Prostitution and Sex Trafficking

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Background and Definitions

Prostitution is commonly understood as the exchange of money for sex. In many countries, including the United States (outside of a small number of counties in the state of Nevada), prostitution is illegal. Prostitution has traditionally been considered a victimless crime based on the assumption that neither party in the illegal exchange is engaged in the act unwillingly. Major sources of data on criminal victimization in the United States likewise do not conceptualize victims of prostitution. The Federal Bureau of Investigation's (FBI) National Incident Based Reporting System classifies prostitution, like gambling and drug offenses, as a "crime against society." Victimization surveys such as the National Crime Victimization Survey also do not include prostitution as a form of victimization. Despite classification as a victimless crime, research confirms that individuals who sell sex either voluntarily or through force or coercion (a distinction described in more detail below) often suffer significant emotional and physical harm (Raphael & Shapiro, 2002; Silbert, 1982). Additionally, individuals who sell sex do not always do so voluntarily, and in the case of minors are not be able to consent to such acts.

Public concern about prostitution has ebbed and flowed since the early 1900s. At the end of the nineteenth century, prostitution was not illegal. Those who sold sex could be arrested for other offenses such as vagrancy, but prostitution was tolerated in most urban areas as long as it did not disturb public order. At the turn of the twentieth century there was growing concern that mass immigration into urban areas of the United States increased social ills, including prostitution. In 1909, a commission appointed by the US Congress decreed that European women were being forced into prostitution in the United States as part of an international white slave trade. Antiprostitution reformers in this early period, commonly known as abolitionists, considered prostituted individuals to be victims of slavery (Rosen, 1983) and fought for the passage of legislation to restrict all forms of prostitution. In 1910, Congress passed the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic Act, which classified the transportation of women across state lines for "prostitution, debauchery or any other immoral purposes" as a federal crime (White Slave Act 1910, Chapter 395, 2–3). Individual states followed suit with laws outlawing the sale of sex in an effort to maintain public

order, prevent the spread of sexually transmitted disease, and protect women from exploitation. By the mid-twentieth century prostitution was illegal in almost every state though enforcement of antiprostitution laws varied by time and local climate.

The sexual revolution in the United States in the 1960s brought increased acceptance of prostitution as a form of sexual expression and facilitated new forms of commercial sex venues such as massage parlors and health clubs. By the 1980s and 1990s the sex industry was expanding both nationally and internationally. Social movements in the United States sought legitimacy of sex workers as an occupation (Jenness, 1990) and countries in Europe began experimenting with legalization and decriminalization of prostitution. The expansion of commercial sex markets also coincided with the increased movement of people, and particularly women, across borders to secure work (Agustin, 2003). Public officials and antitrafficking advocates warned that large numbers of women from developing countries were brought to Western countries, sometimes through force or deception, for the purposes of prostitution. By the end of the 1990s, politicians in the United States and across the international community again connected prostitution to human rights abuses and condemned the practice of trafficking of women and children for commercial sex (Farrell & Fahy, 2009). International groups such as the U.N. Development Fund for Women wove antitrafficking messages into campaigns to reduce violence against women (Son, 1995).

Concern about the rise of sex trafficking is not without controversy. Critics have accused antitrafficking supporters of overstating the magnitude and harms of sex trafficking (McDonald, 2004; Weitzer, 2006, 2012), of conflating sex trafficking with all forms of prostitution, and of misrepresenting the experiences of women in prostitution, many of whom have agency and make independent choices in their decision to engage in commercial sex either in their home country or abroad (Chapkis, 2003; Doezema, 2000; Kempadoo, 2005). While opponents of prostitution seized upon the momentum created by the antitrafficking movement to promote an abolitionist agenda in which all forms of prostitution are viewed as harmful and dehumanizing, national and supranational (e.g. United Nations) responses distinguish sex trafficking and prostitution.

In 2000, the United Nations adopted the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children (commonly known as the Palermo Protocol), as part of the Convention against Transnational Organized Crime. The protocol defines trafficking to include the

> recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons, by means of threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation or the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labor or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs. (p. 3)

Under US law, sex trafficking is defined in the Trafficking Victims Violence Prevention Act of 2000 (TVPA) as the "recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision or obtaining of a person for the purposes of a commercial sex act" (Section 103, 9). While commercial sex is included in both definitions, in order to rise to the level of human trafficking these acts must be induced by "force, fraud, or coercion" or the person induced to perform the act must be under the age of 18 (in the US definition).

It is important to note that the US definition does not require transportation of individuals across borders or state lines. As a result, sex trafficking victims can be US citizens or foreign nationals. As of 2014, all fifty states have passed laws criminalizing human trafficking and laws against the promotion and purchasing of commercial sex have been strengthened. While it is beyond the scope of this chapter to discuss state prostitution laws in depth, in later sections of this chapter we examine new state laws that explicitly define prostituted minors as victims.

For the purposes of this chapter we discuss both prostitution and sex trafficking as forms of victimization, recognizing that some individuals may sell sex voluntarily as a form of work. We also discuss harms that are known to be associated with prostitution even when there is no evidence of force, fraud or coercion. While not all prostitution is legally classified as a form of victimization it is important to include prostitution in a discussion of violence and victimization since as is discussed in more detail below, if considered a form of work, prostitution would be one of the most dangerous occupations. Additionally, the terms "prostituted individuals" and "persons involved in prostitution" are used interchangeable throughout the chapter recognizing that in some cases prostitution may be forced and in other cases prostitution may be a choice.

Prevalence of Prostitution and Sex Trafficking

It is difficult to measure the true scope of prostitution or sex trafficking because they often occur in private and individuals are reluctant to self-report such behavior. More than 832 000 individuals were arrested for prostitution from 2001 to 2011 – see https://www.fbi.gov/about-us/cjis/ucr/crime-in-the-u.s (accessed August 28, 2015) and Table 26.1. There are two major problems with using police data to understand the prevalence of prostitution. First, individuals who solicit or purchase prostitutes as well as individuals who engage in the sale of commercial sex (traditionally classified as prostitutes or prostituted individuals depending on one's definition of choice in prostitution) are both included in the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports' (UCR) counts of prostitution incidents. Second, missing from these numbers are those individuals engaged in prostitution who do not come to the attention of police or who have not been arrested.

While efforts have also been made to estimate the number of juveniles engage in prostitution, estimates vary widely, and their reliability is questionable (US Department of Justice, 2009). Arrests are less likely to be made in prostitution incidents involving juveniles, and youth engaging in prostitution often make up a hidden population of homeless and runway youth (Finkelhor & Ormrod, 2004; Klain, 1999). Stransky and Finkelhor (2008) note that estimates of children prostituted in the United States range

Table 26.1 FBI, crime in the United States arrest data tables.

National arrests	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Prostitution/ commercialized vice	80 854	79 733	75 190	87 872	84 891	79 673	77 607	75 004	71 355	62 668	57 345

Source: http://www.fbi.gov/about-us/cjis/ucr/crime-in-the-u.s. (accessed August 28, 2015).

from a few thousand to over two million with most estimates falling between 300 000 and 600 000. The authors, however, advise readers against citing those estimates indicating that "they are mostly educated guesses or extrapolations based on questionable assumptions" (p. 1). The most widely cited estimates of the number of juveniles involved in prostitution come from Estes and Weiner (2001), who conclude that over 300 000 children are at risk for commercial sexual exploitation. It is important to note that Estes and Weiner only estimate the number of children at risk for prostitution, as opposed to children engaged in prostitution, and there are numerous methodological problems with their estimation strategy, including the potential for double counting at risk youth. For example, many of the multipliers used in the estimate such as the proportion of runway youth who are involved in prostitution were not well established. The estimate of at risk youth also includes problem of double counting youth who fell into multiple at risk categories. In an attempt to estimate the incidence of juvenile prostitution in the United States, Mitchell, Finkelhor and Wolak (2010) conducted a survey of US law-enforcement agencies and asked whether their agency detained or arrested any juveniles for crime involving prostitution for the calendar year 2005. They estimated 1450 arrests for crimes related to juvenile prostitution occurred in the United States in 2005.[1] They also reveal, however, that 95% of US law-enforcement agencies did not make arrests in juvenile prostitution cases for that year (Mitchell, Finkelhor, & Wolak, 2010). Gathering reliable data on the scope of prostitution becomes increasingly difficult as the more visible forms of street level prostitution move underground and are replaced with what appear to be legitimate businesses that are actually fronts for prostitution, including unlicensed massage parlors and escort services that are advertised on the Internet (Newton, Mulcahy, & Martin, 2008).

Reliable data on the scope of sex trafficking is also scarce. Like prostitution, the hidden and underground nature of sex trafficking makes measuring its prevalence difficult (Laczko & Gramengna, 2003; Tyldum & Brunovskis, 2005). In 2013, the FBI began including a classification for sex trafficking in the UCR, but few states have fully integrated this new crime category into their state crime reporting program. As a result, our understanding of the prevalence of sex trafficking comes primarily from estimates based on limited data. While the United States is referred to as one of the principal transit and destination countries for women and children trafficked for the purposes of commercial sexual exploitation, the accuracy and reliability of estimates of its prevalence vary widely (Government Accountability Office, 2006)[2] ranging from 50 000 women and children trafficked annually into the United States (O'Neill-Richard, 1999), half of which are said to be trafficked for prostitution (Farr, 2005), to between 14 500 and 17 500 people trafficked each year in the United States (US Department of State, 2004).[3] Another study that developed statistical models to calculate the number of victims trafficked into the U.S estimated over 129 000 females who are at risk for sex trafficking are trafficked from Mexico, Central and South America, and more than 25 000 females are trafficked for sex into the United States (Clawson et al., 2006).[4]

Under the TVPA, minors involved in prostitution that involves a third party or pimp are considered victims of sex trafficking regardless of whether the there is evidence of force, fraud or coercion. Domestic minor sex trafficking (DMST) is the commercial sexual exploitation of American children within the United States,[5] and experts who study this phenomenon suggest that at least 100 000 American juveniles are prostituted in the United States each year (Smith et al., 2009). These figures are significantly

higher than the number of juveniles arrested for prostitution offenses; however, as discussed earlier the reliability of these estimates, like those for adults, is questionable.

A report by the United States Government Accountability Office (GAO) notes that there is also "a considerable discrepancy between the numbers of observed and estimated victims of trafficking" (2006, p. 2). Between 2001 and 2010, the federal government charged only 230 individuals with sex trafficking (US Department of Justice, 2011).[6] Additionally, the US Department of Justice (2011) reports that between 2002 and 2010, 2300 victims of human trafficking received T-visa[7] certification, including both sex and labor trafficking victims (US Department of Justice, 2011).[8] Critics of the antitrafficking movement suggest the discrepancy between estimated and identified trafficking victims is evidence that the number of victims is actually much smaller. They charge abolitionists and government officials with deliberately inflating estimates by conflating sex trafficking and prostitution in an effort to "discredit the practice of prostitution and delegitimize systems where prostitution is legal and regulated by the government" (Weitzer, 2012, p. 1342). It is important to note, however, that the numbers of identified cases of sex trafficking reflect only cases with federal charges and do not include cases charged under state human trafficking laws or more likely the large number of unidentified cases.

The Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) collects data about human trafficking investigations reported by a small number of local law enforcement participating in antitrafficking task forces. Between 2008 and 2010, a total of 2515 alleged incidents of human trafficking were reported to BJS, most of which involved allegations of sex trafficking (82%), including more than 1200 alleged incidents of adult sex trafficking and more than 1000 incidents with allegations of child sexual exploitation (Banks & Kyckelhahn, 2011). This represents only incidents identified by agencies participating in a federally funded human trafficking task force and thus is not nationally representative of either the types of trafficking cases that are investigated by law enforcement agencies throughout the United States or unidentified cases. A report released in 2012 that examined data from 140 closed human trafficking cases in 12 US counties revealed that the overwhelming majority of cases (85% of 140 cases) identified by law enforcement were sex trafficking cases (Farrell et al., 2012). Again, these findings should be interpreted cautiously as the sample used for this study was not nationally representative.

Demographic Characteristics of Prostitution and Sex Victims

Our understanding of the characteristics of individuals engaging in prostitution comes primarily from qualitative research that includes interviews with former prostitutes or individuals who are still engaged in prostitution as well as from those individuals who have been arrested for prostitution. According to the UCR, in 2011 females accounted for 69% of the 44,174 arrests for prostitution related offenses – see http://www.fbi.gov/about-us/cjis/ucr/crime-in-the-u.s/2011/crime-in-the-u.s.-2011/tables/table-40 (accessed July 30, 2015).

Additionally, whites (53%) and blacks (44%) made up the majority of prostitution related arrests for that year, and for arrests under the age of 18, blacks made up 64 percent of all prostitution related-arrests in the United States – see http://www.fbi.gov/about-us/cjis/ucr/crime-in-the-u.s/2011/crime-in-the-u.s.-2011/tables/table-43

(accessed July 30, 2015). While data on arrests do not distinguish the role of individuals engaged in prostitution or the degree to which the behavior was a result of force, fraud or coercion, women and girls are more likely to be victims of pimps or domestic traffickers and often make up 70 to 90% of the prostitution-related arrests while men who solicit or purchase sex acts often only make up 10 to 30% of the prostitution-related arrests (Hughes, 2005). Research on the commercial sexual exploitation of youth that is based on respondent driven sampling methods as opposed to data from police or client reports obtained from social or victim service agencies identifies a more even split between male and female youth involved in prostitution (Curtis et al., 2008).

Interviews and surveys of individuals who self-identify as being involved in prostitution indicate that women traditionally enter into prostitution at an early age, some as early as 13 or 14 (Friedman, 2005). In one study that included in-depth interviews with 222 women engaged in prostitution throughout the Chicago area, about one-third of the women entered prostitution before the age of 15, and 62% of the women started in prostitution before they turned 18 (Raphael & Shapiro, 2002). Another study by Silbert and Pines (1982) of 200 women and children involved in prostitution in San Francisco found that 62% were under the age of 16 when they started and 78% were under 18.

Research that has been done on males who engage in prostitution and/or individuals who are gay or bisexual indicate that these are largely youth who engage in what is referred to as survival sex, or exchanging sex for money, food, a bed, clothes or drugs (Kruks, 1991; Pennbridge et al., 1992; Rotheram-Borus et al., 1992). One study that examined samples of primarily minority adolescent males seeking services at community-based agencies in New York City found one quarter of the youths reported involvement in prostitution (Rotheram-Borus, 1992). Another study examining high risk behaviors among male street youth in Hollywood, California reported that of the 446 participants involved in the study, 27% had been involved in prostitution or had exchanged sex for money, drugs, clothes, food or a bed during the previous three months (Pennbridge et al., 1992). Similarly, Edwards et al. (2006) found that 68% of youth between the ages of 8 and 12 who indicated on a nationally representative survey that they had ever "exchanged sex for drugs or money" were male.

While males may suffer from the same risk factors for prostitution as females, including being a run away, drug and alcohol abuse, and poverty, and they are certainly susceptible to violence and harm associated with prostitution, research suggests females and transgendered prostitutes are more likely to experience physical assaults and/or be raped than males involved in prostitution (Farley & Barkan, 1998). While both males and females engaged in prostitutions serve mainly male clients, male prostitutes are less likely to be controlled by pimps or third parties (Barnitz, 1998; Curtis et al., 2008). Juvenile males engaged in prostitution are also more likely to be arrested by the police (Finkelhor & Ormond, 2004).

Like the patterns identified for prostitution, research on sex trafficking suggests most victims are young and female; however, some of these studies date back more than a decade while others include characteristics of only those victims who have come into contact with law enforcement and/or victim service providers (Raymond et al., 2001; Clawson et al., 2003; Clawson et al., 2006; Farrell et al., 2008; Newton et al., 2008). The identified racial characteristics of sex trafficking victims also vary across studies. According to a 2011 report released by the US Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, 83% of victims in sex trafficking cases investigated by law enforcement participating in federally funded task

forces were identified as US citizens, and confirmed sex trafficking victims were most likely to be Black or White (Banks & Kyckelhahn, 2011). Another study that surveyed law enforcement and victim service providers in 60 counties from 30 states in the United States indicated that victims of sex trafficking are mostly Asian, Black and Hispanic, and respondents were more likely to report that victims of all forms of trafficking were rarely US citizens (Newton et al., 2008).

Violence and Harm Associated with Prostitution and Sex Trafficking

We do not know how many people are forced into prostitution. A recent report that examined efforts to reduce demand for prostitution and sex trafficking cites multiple studies that found up to 80% of prostituted women and girls included in samples were coerced or forced into prostitution by pimps or traffickers; however the authors also stated that "there is currently no firm answer to the question of what proportion of prostituted persons in any given area in the US have been trafficked internationally or domestically, pimped locally, or are engaging in prostitution independently" (Shively et al., 2012, p. 11).

Research reveals that adult prostitutes who may not fit the legal definition of a sex trafficking victim are also susceptible to both high levels of sexual and physical violence (Farley, 2004; Nixon, 2002). At the outset of this discussion it is important to note that as critics of research on prostitution and violence remind us, not all individuals engaged in prostitution suffer violence (Weitzer, 2005). Additionally, our understanding of the harms faced by those engaged in prostitution is limited to studies that employ small samples of survivors who may not represent the experiences of all those engaged in prostitution. Despite these limitations, research commonly suggests there are numerous dangers associated with prostitution, including violence by clients and pimps or other third parties. Women engaged in prostitution have the highest rate of homicide of any group of women (Brewer et al., 2006). Violence frequently occurs in situations where pimps or other third parties control the actions of a person engaged in prostitution. Pimps will often target young girls who are vulnerable and lack self-esteem and may initially befriend them but then use emotional and physical coercion to get them into prostitution (Friedman, 2005; Klain, 1999; Raymond et al., 2001; Smith et al. 2009; Williamson et al., 2002). Often girls who are targeted by pimps have been exposed to physical, emotional or verbal abuse, have a history of running away or have come from a dysfunctional family where they may have witnessed interparental violence, parental alcohol abuse and/or drug use (Friedman, 2005; McClanahan et al., 1999; Nadon et al., 1998; Raphael et al., 2002; Widom & Kuhns, 1996). In addition to exploitation by pimps, some women report that they are forced into prostitution by drug deals as a condition of receiving drugs (Klain, 1999) and in other cases street gangs require women to engage in prostitution in exchange for membership and safety.

Women involved in prostitution also commonly indicated that they entered prostitution in order to survive and that they believed they had no other options (Raphael & Shapiro, 2004; Silbert & Pines, 1982). Pimps often manipulate girls by giving them a place to live, lavishing attention on them, buying them expensive clothes and jewelry and promising marriage; however, these are tactics used by pimps to make girls emotionally

and psychologically dependent on the pimp so he can control her later (Friedman, 2005; Klain, 1999; Smith et al., 2009). Once the girl is dependent on the pimp she may be asked to have sex with someone else to prove her loyalty and ultimately the next step is having sex with strangers for money, which she then is forced to hand over to the pimp (Klain, 1999). In addition to girls who are targeted by pimps, a woman already involved in prostitution may develop a relationship with someone who then begins prostituting her for money or other desirable commodities (Dalla et al., 2003).

Violence in the form of sexual and physical abuse is often used as a method of control by pimps and occurs in over half of pimp-prostitute relationships (Klain, 1999). Studies of individuals involved in prostitution reveal that violence is a common occurrence with more than 80% of women included in some samples reporting that they had been physically assaulted since entering prostitution (Dalla et al., 2003; Farley & Barkan, 1998; Kennedy et al., 2007; Raphael & Shapiro, 2002). A report on sex trafficking of women in the United States found that 86% of US women and 53% of international women reported being physically assaulted by their pimps and/or traffickers, including having their head and face split open, being punched until their teeth were knocked out, pounded unconscious, hit with hangers, choked, and pushed out of moving cars (Raymond et al., 2001). Women and girls involved in prostitution reported that they feared retaliation by their pimp if they left or if they did not give all or most of their money earned through prostitution to their pimp (Nixon et al., 2002; Raphael & Shapiro, 2002). Furthermore, the Raphael and Shapiro (2002) study revealed significant violence perpetrated against women involved in a variety of prostitution venues, including private residences, hotels, and escort services as well as the street, countering claims made about the potentially relative safety of indoor prostitution compared to street prostitution. Studies also reveal that women were required to make a specific amount of money, which would then be turned over to the pimp in return for food and shelter. Furthermore, women who gave a percentage of their money to someone else reported they were less likely to leave for fear that they would be physically harmed (Dalla et al., 2003; Raphael & Shapiro, 2002).

Despite the violence initiated against them by pimps, a number of girls and women remained loyal to their abuser with some even expressing feelings of love and admiration for their pimp or referring to their pimp as their boyfriend while others blamed themselves for causing the violence (Klain, 1999; Smith, 2009; Williamson, 2002). One girl prostituted by her "boyfriend" described how he treated her:

> I don't have my top teeth because of him. My eyes have been blackened so many times. He busted the inside of my mouth. He hung me from the Mystic Bridge by my ankles. When I got pregnant he beat me because it wasn't his kid. (Girls' Coalition of Greater Boston, 2005, p. 5)

The relationship between a pimp and/or trafficker and a prostituted woman and/or domestic sex trafficking victim[9] closely parallels the relationship between victims of domestic violence and their abusers. While women and girls involved in prostitution often have limited interactions with customers, or Johns, they typically developed a relationship with their pimps that leave them vulnerable to future abuse (Williamson et al., 2002). Pimps often follow the same pattern as batterers in that they first isolate girls and women from family and friends and use threats and intimidation to maintain control over the relationship (Giobbe, 1998; Klain, 1999). Pimps may use tactics such

as beating girls and women who have disobeyed them in front of other prostitutes to demonstrate their control and power and to ensure future obedience (Giobbe, 1998). Some notable differences when comparing domestic violence victims to victims of sex trafficking, however, are that domestic violence victims are typically dealing with one abuser; trafficking victims may face reprisal from multiple perpetrators and are generally more isolated than the average victim of domestic abuse particularly if they are not from this country and thus face language and cultural barriers (Clawson et al., 2003). Additionally, for victims of sex trafficking who are foreign nationals, the decision to stay with their trafficker or their lack of cooperation with law enforcement and prosecutors may have less to do with a sense of loyalty to their trafficker and more to do with fear of violence against them or members or their family especially if the trafficker(s) come from the same home country or village and have threatened violence against their family members (Aron et al., 2006; Farrell et al., 2008; Newton et al., 2008; Raymond et al., 2001). A federal prosecutor interviewed for a report examining the challenges of prosecuting cases of human trafficking talked about the differences between foreign national and domestic victims of sex trafficking saying,

> In terms of foreign nationals, they don't have that kind of loyalty [to a pimp or trafficker]. They don't feel like this person saved my life or this person is the only one that understands me. You know, they don't have that kind of intimacy with their trafficker. What they usually have is, they have fear. They have fear of deportation, they have fear of consequences to their family in their home country [by the trafficker], and they're also fearful of what's going to happen to me now because I don't have status. (Farrell et al., 2012, p. 86)

A case involving women trafficked from Mexico for prostitution demonstrates how perpetrators used fear, including threats of imprisonment for being in the country illegally, to force women into prostitution. In the late 1990s members of the Cadena family lured at least 20 girls and women from Mexico to the United States with promises that they would work in the family restaurant and work as nannies taking care of the restaurant owners' children. Instead, the women were kept in trailers that served as brothels located near migrant workers' camps in Florida and South Carolina and forced to work as prostitutes to pay off their smuggling debts. The women lived in brutal conditions with each servicing as many as 30 customers a day, six days a week. Most of the money went to members of the Cadena family to pay off their debt. The women reported being raped and beaten by brothel guards and that the money used to pay for abortions was added to their smuggling fee making it harder to pay off their debt (DeStefano, 2007; Raymond et al., 2001).

In addition to the violence perpetrated by pimps and traffickers, the consumers of prostitution, commonly referred to as "Johns,", also contribute to a significant portion of the overall violence that is directed at women and girls engaged in prostitution (Dalla et al., 2003; Hughes, 2004; Raphael & Shapiro, 2002). Prostituted women who are victims of homicide are primarily killed by their clients, though roughly a third are killed by serial killers (Brewer et al., 2006). Women involved in prostitution commonly report being raped with some studies indicating over 90% of samples of prostituted women report sexual assault victimization (Hughes, 2004). As prostitution moves away from the streets with more pimps and traffickers taking out advertisements in magazines and the Internet, Johns are free to move under the radar of law enforcement whose enforcement efforts may be focused on street level prostitution (Newton et al., 2008).

Interviews with women engaged in street level prostitution reveal that while still extremely dangerous, they often had more ability to protect themselves than women working indoors, including meeting clients in designated areas or making exchanges in visible areas, near street lights, for example (Dalla et al., 2003). Men who perpetrate violence against women engaged in prostitution often believe they are less likely to face criminal consequences largely based on public perception that prostitutes are less deserving of protection due to the high risk lifestyle that they lead. A woman interviewed for a study by Dalla et al. (2003) explained, "Society and law enforcement consider a prostitute getting raped or beat as something she deserves. It goes along with the lifestyle. There's nothing that you can do" (pp. 1380–1381).

The dehumanization of women engaged in prostitution is evident in several high profile cases, including an investigation that spanned decades and resulted in the conviction of a Seattle man, Gary Ridgway, for the murders of 48 women and girls, most of whom were involved in prostitution. Ridgeway, who had been arrested for soliciting prostitutes, dumped some of the bodies of his murder victims into the Green River, which earned him the moniker, "Green River Killer" (McCarthy et al., 2002). In a 2003 statement to the Court in which he pled guilty to murdering 48 women and girls, Ridgway said the following:

> I picked prostitutes as my victims because I hate most prostitutes and I did not want to pay them for sex. I also picked prostitutes as victims because they were easy to pick up, without being noticed. I knew they would not be reported missing right away, and might never be reported missing. I picked prostitutes because I thought I could kill as many of them as I wanted without getting caught. (Goldblatt-Grace & Porter, 2012)

The violence inflicted upon women and girls who are involved in prostitution extends beyond pimps and/or traffickers and customers/Johns to include other types of perpetrators, including the police and people living in neighborhoods where prostitution occurs (Raphael & Shapiro, 2002). Several studies included interviews with women who reported being raped by police or other professionals, and members of the public (Nixon et al., 2002). In the Raphael and Shapiro (2002) study 24% of women working on the streets reported being raped by a police officer, and 30% of exotic dancers reported they had been raped by a police officer. Additionally, a number of women indicated they had been victims of frequent assaults by neighbors particularly when they worked in the streets, in drug houses, and when exchanging sex for survival needs. The inability to escape prostitution may also lead to a variety of self-destructive behaviors or violence toward others. Studies have revealed that between 46 and 65% of prostituted women had attempted suicide (Hughes, 2004). Women also engaged in other of self-harm or self-mutilation, including cutting (Nixon et al., 2002). Drugs and/or alcohol may also be used to numb oneself from the physical and emotional pain that can result from the physical and emotional effects of prostitution and sex trafficking. For example, in the Cadenas sex trafficking case, victims reported that they drank whiskey to ease the shame and pain (DeStefano, 2007). Conversely, continued engagement in prostitution may be necessitated to support drug and alcohol additions that either existed prior to entry in prostitution or due to addictions developed during the course of exploitation (Muftic & Finn, 2013; Potterat et al., 1998). In addition to these behaviors, women who are involved in prostitution or victims of sex trafficking are exposed to a multitude of health related

issues, including HIV/AIDS, Hepatitis C, and other sexually transmitted infections (Farley, 2004; Nixon et al., 2002; Raphael & Shapiro, 2002; Raymond et al., 2001). They are also at an increased risk of cervical cancer, traumatic brain injury from being beaten or kicked in the head, and Posttraumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) (Farley, 2004; Hopper, 2004).

Criminal Justice System Responses to Prostitution and Sex Trafficking Victims

Attempts by law enforcement to confront prostitution in the United States have focused largely on arresting those individuals, primarily women and girls, who are engaged in prostitution as opposed to targeting those who sell or buy services from prostituted individuals (Hughes, 2005; Shively et al., 2012). This type of enforcement commonly includes undercover vice operations where police officers pose as potential clients encouraging individuals to offer sexual services for a fee (Joh, 2009). While some agencies also conduct reverse stings where female officers pose as individuals selling sex luring unsuspecting clients to solicit sex for a fee, these practices are less common because they depend on female officers – an asset many agencies do not have since female officers make up only 15% of sworn law enforcement nationally (Langton, 2010) – and penalties for purchasing sex are low in most states. As a result, potential victims of exploitation, violence and sex trafficking are not recognized by law enforcement and instead are punished for behavior associated with their victimization.

Laws recognizing sex trafficking attempt to reframe forced or coerced prostitution as victimization and promote police identification of perpetrators including pimps, third party promoters or clients. As discussed earlier, state and federal sex trafficking laws define those who sell sex as victims when they were forced, defrauded or coerced into the acts, or are under the age of 18. While juveniles made up a small proportion of those arrested for prostitution offenses prior to the identification of human trafficking and subsequent legal changes, the police used the threat of arrest to harass, intimidate or in the best of circumstances to persuade youth to seek assistance from social services. To date, eleven states have adopted safe harbor laws to protect minors who are involved in commercial sex from prosecution for acts to which they cannot legally consent. Despite legal changes aimed at recognizing victimization of some individuals engaged in prostitution, the criminal justice systems in most states continue to treat those who sell sex, regardless of their circumstances, as offenders. Arresting, fining and imprisoning victims forced or coerced into prostitution fails to address their significant physical and mental health and safety needs and in many cases exacerbates the problems that put individuals at risk for exploitation (Norton-Hawk, 2001).

The criminal justice system may be less inclined to identify individuals who are forced into prostitution and/or experience violence in their course of engaging in commercial sex as victims particularly since these individuals are unlikely to self-identify as victims to law enforcement due to fear of reprisal by their pimps or traffickers (Hopper, 2004; Newton et al., 2008) and fear of arrest or deportation upon self-identification to the police (Clawson et al., 2006, Farrell et al., 2010, 2012). Such fears are not unwarranted as many sex trafficking victims are arrested in the early stages of their identification, either due to misidentification, lack of secure facilities to house and protect victims, or as a means to coerce cooperation with law enforcement

(Farrell et al., 2012). Foreign national victims also face language barriers and/or cultural barriers that may prevent them from coming forward to authorities or effectively communicating their victimization experience if arrested (Aron et al., 2006; Clawson et al., 2006; Newton et al., 2008). Furthermore, sex trafficking victims suffer from physical and emotional trauma as a result of their trafficking situation, including psychological abuse and physical and sexual violence (Clawson et al., 2003; Commission on the Status of Women, 2005; Hopper, 2004), hindering their ability to leave their trafficking situation and seek help. While the hidden nature of forced prostitution and sex trafficking would suggest that law enforcement should adopt a proactive approach to identifying victims, studies have revealed the opposite. Law enforcement agencies are largely unprepared to identify and respond to sex trafficking outside of the traditional vice enforcement practices and have adopted a reactive approach to identifying victims (Farrell et al., 2010, 2012; Newton et al., 2008).

In cases where individuals engaged in prostitution or sex trafficking victims do seek help from either law enforcement or a victim service provider, significant challenges still exist. These victims suffer from a number of trauma-related conditions, including PTSD, that requires significant support, including health and mental health services. Additionally, women and men leaving prostitution face significant challenges securing housing and getting appropriate education and job training (McNaughten & Sanders, 2008). Services must be specific to the needs of this population, many of whom have ambiguous feelings towards being "rescued" that make them less suitable to participate in existing programs for sexual assault or domestic violence victims.

Studies of victimization have not traditionally recognized the experiences of men and women who suffer violence and emotional harm related to selling sex, or who are forced, defrauded or coerced into prostitution. Recent changes in law, which specify forced, coerced, or defrauded prostitution and exploitation of minors through commercial sex as crimes and provide services to victims, lay the groundwork to help criminal justice officials, victim service providers and the public transform perceptions of individuals engaged in prostitution from criminals or deviants to victims. They also promote recognition of the victim experiences of this population. Changing institutional norms and cultural perceptions, however, takes more work. Without such shifts, victimization of individuals engaged in prostitution will remain invisible.

Notes

1   The authors note that their numbers do not reflect the actual number of juveniles exploited by prostitution but only those in case where someone was arrested or detained. Additionally, six large agencies did not respond to the survey and a number of agencies reported problems retrieving cases. Additionally, the numbers did not include juveniles involved in prostitution but arrested or detained on other charges such as loitering, drug use, or disturbing the peace.

2   The Government Accountability Office (2006) report cites problems with "methodological weaknesses, gaps in data, and numerical discrepancies" (p. 2) as casting doubt on the accuracy of estimates. Additionally, the GAO report indicates that the US government's estimate is unreliable since the person who developed the estimate did not document all of his work.

3   This figure includes both sex and labor trafficking and excludes cases of the trafficking of US citizen victims.

4   The authors note that a primary limitation of this study was a lack of data. A Monte Carlo simulation was used; thus, "estimates are generated from probability distributions to simulate the process of sampling from an actual population" (Clawson et al., 2006).

5   Domestic minor sex trafficking (DMST) involves the "recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for the purpose of a commercial sex act" where the person is a US citizen or lawful permanent resident under the age of 18 years (Smith et al., 2009).

6   These numbers do not reflect prosecutions of cases involving the commercial sexual exploitation of children that were brought under statutes other than the sex trafficking provision codified at 18 USC § 1591.

7   The TVPA authorizes DHS to provide a T nonimmigrant status (T visa), which allows for valid immigration status for up to four years for victims who are physically present in the United States and who comply with any reasonable law enforcement requests for assistance with an investigation or prosecution of a human trafficking case.

8   These numbers include both victims of sex trafficking and victims of labor trafficking and victims of both sex and labor trafficking.

9   Here a domestic sex trafficking victim refers to a sex trafficking victim who is a US citizen or is lawfully permitted to reside in the United States.

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Interventions, Policies, and Future Research Directions in Sexual Violence

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Society's concern regarding sexual violence is warranted given the rates of sexual perpetration and victimization within the United States. In 2011 approximately 12% of the 1.4 million US state prisoners were being held for sexual assault crimes (Carson & Sabol, 2012) and estimates from 2014 reported that there were 819,218 registered sex offenders in the United States (National Center for Missing and Exploited Children, 2014). These prevalence rates make sex offender treatment and management an important issue facing society today. But, the problem of sexual violence extends beyond the treatment of perpetrators and the prevention of sexual offenses. According to the National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey (NISVS) (Black et al., 2010), approximately 18% of US women and 1% of US men experienced an attempted or completed rape at some point in their lives. Furthermore, recent estimates from the National Child Abuse and Neglect Data System (http://www.acf.hhs.gov/programs/cb/resource/child-maltreatment-2013, accessed August 28, 2015) reported that 9.5% of the 679,000 child victims of abuse and neglect were sexually victimized. Child and adult sexual victimization is concerning given the negative impact that this form of violence has on the lives of victims.

The impact of sexual violence on victims' psychological health, public safety, and our prison systems has brought this issue to the attention of policymakers, academics, and health professionals alike. As a result, a large body of empirical research has been conducted to assess the effectiveness of sex offender treatment protocols (e.g. Hanson, Bourgon, Helmus, & Hodgson, 2009; Schaffer, Jeglic, Moster, & Wnuk, 2010) and a number of policy interventions have been implemented, which aim to reduce the public safety risks posed by convicted sex offenders (Harris & Lurigio, 2010). Treatment interventions intended to address the needs of victims have also been assessed (e.g. Russell & Davis, 2007) in an effort to determine how victims of sexual violence can best be served. The following chapter reviews some of the advancements in sex offender treatment, recent sex offender policies, and victim interventions, while providing recommendations for future research in the area of sexual violence.

Sex Offender Treatment Interventions

Given the social concern regarding sexual victimization, sex offender treatment is an important area of research, practice, and policy. Studies suggest that sex offenders may benefit from participating in and completing treatment programs and that the completion of these programs may reduce future offending (Hanson et al., 2009; McGrath, Cumming, Livingston, & Hoke, 2003). However, not all sex offender treatment protocols are equal (Losel & Schmucker, 2005). Since many sex offenders will return to the communities from which they came, it is imperative that researchers identify which treatment interventions are most effective at reducing risks for sexual recidivism (Kirsch & Becker, 2006; Schaffer et al., 2010; Yates, 2003).

Traditionally, sex offender treatment has taken the risk-needs-responsivity approach (Andrews, Bonta, & Wormith, 2006), which advocates that treatment programs adhere to the risk / need / responsivity principles. The risk principle supports varying treatment intensity, so that high-risk offenders receive the most intensive treatment. The need principle emphasizes that treatment should be adapted to address the criminogenic needs (e.g., cognitive distortions) of offenders, and the responsivity principle supports the tailoring of treatment to the individual learning styles and motivational level of offenders. However, recently there has been a push for a more holistic approach to sex offender treatment through the Good Lives Model (Ward, 2002; Ward & Marshall, 2004; Ward & Stewart, 2003). The Good Lives Model proposes that treatment programs, which address offenders' personal goals and values, will motivate behavioral change and help offenders achieve a fulfilling lifestyle that does not include victimizing others (Ward, 2002).

Risk-Need-Responsivity Approach

Sex offender treatment and management approached through the risk-need-responsivity model (RNR) identifies offenders' risk levels for reoffending and directs more intensive treatment protocols to high risk offenders rather than low risk offenders (Andrews, Bonta, & Wormith, 2006; Schaffer et al., 2010). Research supports the effectiveness of treatment programs that adhere to the principles of RNR in general (Andrews, Bonta, & Wormith, 2006) but also, specifically, for sex offenders. In fact, sex offender treatment protocols, which follow RNR principles, may result in lower sexual and nonsexual recidivism rates when compared to other treatment protocols (Hanson et al., 2009). These findings have led researchers to recommend that RNR principles be a major component of sex offender treatment design and implementation (Hanson et al., 2009).

According to the RNR approach, offenders with different risks for reoffending are thought to respond differently to treatment. The RNR perspective classifies offenders according to static and dynamic risk factors. Static risk factors are stable, unchangeable, cannot be modified through interventions (e.g., prior offenses), and are predictive of recidivism (e.g. Craig, Browne, & Stringer, 2003). Dynamic risk factors, on the other hand, are factors that have the potential to change (e.g., deviant sexual preferences, sexual arousal) and may respond to interventions (Hanson, 1998).

Many actuarial tools, such as the Static-2002R (Hanson & Thornton, 2003), are static predictors of recidivism. These tools are utilized as objective measures of risk and are not based on clinical judgments. The reliability and validity of these tools have

been well established in the literature (e.g. Endrass, Urbaniok, Held, Vetter, & Rossegger, 2008; Hanson & Thornton, 2000) and studies have demonstrated that they are predictive of recidivism (Craig, Browne, Stringer, 2003; Craig, Thornton, Beech, & Browne, 2007). While many actuarial tools limit their assessment of static risk factors to adulthood events and characteristics, according to Cale and Lussier (2012) it may be beneficial for these tools to extend their consideration of criminal history across multiple developmental stages since a childhood onset of antisocial behavior may indicate a greater risk of sexual/violent recidivism. However, it may be difficult to obtain juvenile records, which may complicate the implementation of this recommendation and impair the ease of use for these instruments.

Although static risk factors are useful predictors of recidivism, these factors are stable and cannot be modified through treatment. Dynamic risk factors, however, have the potential to change and while they can remain relatively stable (stable dynamic risk factors) or change very quickly (acute dynamic risk factors), treatment provides an opportunity to alter them (Thornton, 2002). Dynamic risk factors have been related to sexual recidivism (e.g. Craig et al., 2007; Hanson & Bussiere, 1998; Hanson & Morton-Bourgon, 2005; McCann & Lussier, 2008; Pemperton & Wakeling, 2009), and researchers have established that offenders who respond to treatment interventions, which attempt to change dynamic factors, do demonstrate lower rates of sexual recidivism (Beech, Mandeville-Norden, & Goodwill, 2012; Beggs & Grace, 2011).

Good Lives Model

As an alterative approach to treatment, the Good Lives Model (GLM) (Marshall & Marshall, 2014; Ward, 2002; Ward & Marshall, 2004;) incorporates offenders' interests, skills, and support systems into a comprehensive treatment approach. This perspective includes psychological, social, and occupational components and it provides offenders with the opportunity to create better lives for themselves, which may in turn reduce recidivism (Ward, 2002).

According to Ward, "a conception of good lives is a coherent vision of what constitutes a fulfilling (i.e., beneficial) life for individuals" (2002, p. 516). Based on ideas from positive psychology, the GLM proposes we all seek "primary goods," which are actions or states that are fundamentally beneficial to our wellbeing. Primary goods include our physiological needs, psychological needs, and our social needs. And, these areas of need are broken down into eleven classes: (i) life, (ii) knowledge, (iii) excellence in play, (iv) excellence in work, (v) excellence in agency, (vi) inner peace, (vii) relatedness, (viii) community, (ix) spirituality, (x) happiness, (xi) and creativity (Marshall & Marshall, 2014; Ward, 2002; Ward & Stewart, 2003; Willis, Yates, Gannon, & Ward, 2012).

Secondary goods (also referred to as instrumental goods) are the activities or behaviors one engages in during the pursuit of primary goods (Ward, 2002; Willis et al., 2012). For example, achieving relatedness may involve establishing intimate relationships and/or spending time with family and friends (Willis et al., 2012). Problems arise when: people attempt to achieve primary goods in ways that are harmful or inappropriate; when an imbalance exists between primary goods; when there are conflicts between primary goods; and, finally, when people lack the capabilities to achieve primary goods (Willis et al., 2012). Thus, these problems may lead people to adopt maladaptive strategies, or secondary goods, that involve sexually victimizing

others (Willis et al., 2012). Treatment programs that adhere to a GLM identify and address these problems, as offenders work to develop their own idea of a fulfilling life (Ward, 2002; Ward & Marshall, 2004; Willis et al., 2012).

A strength of the GLM is its acknowledgement of both the individual and environmental factors that play a role the etiology of sex offending and which interfere with the attainment and/or balance of primary goods (Wilson & Yates, 2009). Proponents of the GLM emphasize its positive approach to treatment and suggest that it is a motivating force for offenders, since it assists offenders with envisioning a fulfilling life that does not involve offending and helps offenders work towards that life (McMurran & Ward, 2004; Ward & Stewart, 2003). Research suggests that the GLM is well received by sex offenders (Willis & Ward, 2011). Case studies illustrating the application of the GLM to treatment report positive treatment outcomes as well (Gannon, King, Miles, Lockerbie, & Willis, 2011; Whitehead, Ward, & Collie, 2007) and offenders report that they liked the positive and future-oriented focus of the intervention (Harkins, Flak, Beech, & Woodhams, 2012). Despite these positive findings, further research and comparisons between the GLM and alternative approaches is still needed (Olgoff & Davis, 2004; Willis, Ward, & Levenson, 2014).

Summary and Recommendations for Future Research: A Combined RNR and GLM Approach

There is an abundance of empirical evidence to support the RNR approach's efficacy as a sex offender treatment protocol (e.g. Beggs & Grace, 2011; Craig et al., 2007; Friendship, Mann, & Beech, 2003). However, criticism of the RNR model include its emphasis on criminogenic needs, focus on risk management, and the lack of attention given to self-identity development (Ward & Marshall, 2004; Ward & Stewart, 2003). Proponents of the GLM emphasize that it is a more holistic approach than the RNR model and that the GLM addresses areas of need that the RNR model does not (Ward, 2002; Ward, & Marshall, 2004). An important difference between these protocols is the GLM's emphasis on approach goals rather than avoidance goals in treatment (Looman & Abracen, 2013; Yates, 2013). That is, clinicians working within the GLM help offenders to actively take steps towards achieving life goals in law-abiding ways. In contrast, the RNR approach focuses on the activities and behaviors offenders must avoid, so that they do not perpetrate sexual crimes. Despite its advantages, researchers have cautioned against implementing the GLM in correctional settings until further empirical research has been demonstrated its effectiveness (Hanson & Yates, 2013; Looman & Abracen, 2013; Olgoff & Davis, 2004).

Conceptualizing the RNR and GLM as complimentary perspectives, rather than alternative approaches, may address both risk need and offender motivation (Robertson, Barnao, & Ward, 2011; Ward & Stewart, 2003; Whitehead, Ward, & Collie, 2007). Such a combined approach to treatment would, as Wilson and Yates (2009) state, not only identify offenders' characteristics, which increase risks for sexual offending, but also identify their strengths and goals. The development of a hybrid treatment protocol incorporating RNR and GLM components provides a promising future direction for sex offender treatment in both correctional and community settings. As with any new development in treatment efforts, the ability to evaluate the effectiveness of a new intervention must be incorporated into the treatment setting so as to move toward continued evidence-based practices in this particular therapeutic field.

Sex Offender Public Policy

Despite evidence that treatment interventions can be beneficial for sex offenders (e.g. Beggs & Grace, 2011; Hanson et al., 2009), it appears that the public may be skeptical about the ability of sex offenders to respond to treatment protocols (Quinn, Forsyth, & Mullen-Quinn, 2004; Levenson, Brannon, Fortney, & Baker, 2007). Public perceptions regarding the effectiveness of sex offender treatment and society's growing concern with sexual violence has led to a number of policy interventions intended to manage, regulate, and, in some cases, incapacitate convicted sex offenders. The implementation of sex offender policies has largely been influenced by the media and the public's reaction to particularly high profile cases, which impact legislators' beliefs about the problem of sex offending and their legislative responses (Center for Sex Offender Management, 2008; Sample & Kadleck, 2008).

Over the last several decades, sex offender policies have been enacted so that the public safety risks posed to communities by convicted sex offenders can be managed. These laws are known as sex offender registration and notification laws and they require sex offenders to register in publicly accessible databases (Center for Sex Offender Management, 2008). Other policies have been implemented in order to manage the risks posed by serious sex offenders through incapacitation and rehabilitation. The civil commitment of sexually violent predators confines a special class of offenders to treatment facilities after they have completed a criminal sentence until they no longer pose a threat to society (Center for Sex Offender Management, 2008; Cipolla, 2011). Each of these approaches to sex offender management was enacted in an effort to combat and, hopefully, reduce sexual violence. However, empirical research must evaluate the ability of these policies to reach their intended goals and the potential benefits of these policies must be considered in light of their unintended consequences.

Sex Offender Registration and Community Notification

The development of sex offender registration and notification laws has resulted in the enhanced public access to information regarding sex offenders as well as an increase in the number of individuals to whom these laws affect (Center for Sex Offender Management, 2008; National Center for Missing and Exploited Children, 2014). The 2006 passage of the Adam Walsh Child Protection and Safety Act (AWA) and the Sex Offender Registration and Notification Act (SORNA) replaced all previously established federal registration and notification laws in an effort to standardize registration and notification systems and establish a national registry of sex offenders, which has been extended to include juvenile perpetrators (Batastini, Hunt, Present-Koller, & DeMatteo, 2011; Caldwell, Ziemke, & Vitacco, 2008; Center for Sex Offender Management, 2008; Harris & Lobanov-Rostovsky, 2010).

Although registration and notification policies are intended to reduce the risk of sexual victimization, concerns have been raised by many academics regarding the faulty beliefs that these policies are based on, the ability of these policies to achieve their intended goals, and the many unintended consequences that have arose from the enactment of these laws such as offenders experiencing loss of housing or employment, or being harassed or assaulted (e.g. Anderson & Sample, 2008; Levenson & D'Amora, 2007; Prescott & Rockoff, 2011; Sample & Kadleck, 2008).

Sex Offender Recidivism The belief that sex offenders are particularly persistent offenders at high risk for recidivism serves as the basis for registration and notification policies (Tewksbury, Jennings, & Zgoba, 2012). This assumption however does not correspond with empirical evidence, which suggests that sex offenders may pose less of a recidivism risk than nonsexual offenders (e.g. Hanson, Scott, & Steffy, 1995; Traveras, Mann, & Hollin, 2014). In fact, studies have found that sex offenders demonstrate lower rearrest rates for any other offense and for additional sexual offenses when compared to other offender groups (e.g. Hanson & Bussiere, 1998; Hanson & Morton-Bourgon, 2005; Sample & Bray, 2003).

However, while sex offenders in general may display lower recidivism rates than nonsexual offenders, sex offenders are a heterogeneous group and some types of offenders may recidivate at higher rates than others. For example, researchers have suggested that sexual recidivism rates over a 15-year follow up period are lower for child molesters than rapists (Vess & Skelton, 2010). Other researchers report higher recidivism rates over a 15-year follow up period for extrafamilial male child victim offenders when compared to incest offenders (Harris & Hanson, 2004). The risks sex offenders pose to the public is therefore complicated by the differential recidivism rates associated with different types of offenders. Additionally, the risks for sexual recidivism may also change over time. Hanson, Harris, Helmus, & Thornton (2014) recently assessed sexual recidivism at 5 and 10 years postrelease finding that recidivisms rates were highest for high-risk sex offenders initially after being released into the community. Recidivism rates for high-risk sex offenders who did not sexually reoffend at the 5-year mark however dropped substantially at 10 years after release. Low-risk sex offenders in Hanson et al.'s (2014) sample sexually recidivated at low rates across all time periods.

It is imperative that sex offender policies address these differential risks, rather than treating sex offenders as if they are a homogenous group of individuals (Levenson & D'Amora, 2007; Sample & Bray, 2006; Vess & Skelton, 2010). Researchers have warned against the all inclusive nature of current sex offender policies and the expansion of sex offender policies to include low-risk offenders as this may be counterproductive and result in a number of unintended consequences (Vess & Skelton, 2010).

Evaluating Sex Offender Registration and Notification Policies and Their Unintended Consequences The goals of registration and notification laws are to (i) deter sex offenders from committing additional sex crimes (ii) increase the public's awareness of sex offenders' proximity, so that they can take additional precautions to protect themselves and (iii) assist law enforcement with investigating sex crimes and tracking sex offenders (Center for Sex Offender Management, 2008). Whether or not these policies are effective at achieving their intended goals at this point is somewhat unclear.

In general, the ability of registration and notification policies to reduce sexual recidivism has not received much empirical support (Caldwell, Ziemke, & Vitacco, 2008; Adkins, Huff, & Stageberg, 2000; Freeman, 2012; Letourneau, Levenson, Bandyopadhyay, Armstrong, & Sinha, 2010; Sandler, Freeman, & Socia, 2008), and, furthermore, these policies appear to have little impact on deterring first time sex offenders (e.g. Sandler, Freeman, & Socia, 2008). The limited ability of these policies to reduce sexual violence may be a result of the faulty beliefs about sex offenders that they are founded upon. Registration and notification policies have often been enacted in response to high profile cases involving the sexual victimization of children (Center

for Sex Offender Management, 2008). Yet, over time sexual recidivism rates specifically for child molesters appear to be similar to those of rapists (Harris & Hanson, 2004), if not lower (Vess & Skelton, 2010). Although these laws are based on the belief that sex offenders are particularly likely to reoffend, studies have concluded that a large percentage of sexual offenses are committed by first time offenders who are not included in such policies (Sandler, Freeman, & Socia, 2008). Additionally, polices seem to be directed towards targeting the "stranger danger" types of sexual crimes (Calkins, Jeglic, Beattey, Zeidman, & Perillo, 2014), despite the fact that most sexual offenses are committed by perpetrators known to victims (e.g. Finkelhor, Hammer, & Sedlak, 2008; NISVS, 2010). As a result, these policies may only be applicable to a small number of sex offenders and, thus, are unable to make a substantial impact on sexual violence.

It also appears that although residents may be aware that sex offender registries exist, many people have not accessed them (Anderson & Sample, 2008; Kernsmith, Comartin, Craun, & Kernsmith, 2009) nor taken any additional precautions as a result of the information contained within registries (Anderson & Sample, 2008). Anderson and Sample (2008) suggest that these policies appear to have little influence over the public's behavior. Instead, registration and notification policies may simply be effective at easing the public's fear – a fear that is based on faulty assumptions about the nature and risks associated with sex offenders (Anderson & Sample, 2008).

Finally, whether or not sex offender policies are effective at assisting law enforcement in detecting sex crimes and tracking sex offenders has received some empirical support, but also points to some possible unintended consequences of the legislation. Freeman (2012) compared sex offenders subject to New York State's registration and notification laws to a comparison group of sex offenders and found that offenders subjected to registration and notification laws were rearrested for a sexual offense twice as quickly as the comparison group and almost 50% more quickly for nonsexual crimes. Freeman (2012) concluded that these policies may be effective at increasing awareness and law enforcement's monitoring of sex offenders, but it is also possible that offenders who are subject to these policies have a more difficult time reintegrating into society, making them more likely to return to criminal lifestyles and do so more quickly.

In fact, researchers have suggested that registration and notification policies may unintentionally intensify factors associated with criminal behavior and recidivism. The effects of registration and notification requirements on offenders' lives have been examined and findings suggest that it was not uncommon for them to experience a number unintended consequences, such as losing a job or home, being threatened or harassed, social isolation, negative mental health effects, as well as experiencing physical assaults as a result of policies (e.g. Jeglic, Mercado, & Levenson, 2012; Levenson & Cotter, 2005).

The Civil Commitment of Sexually Violent Predators

Unlike registration and notification laws, the application of civil commitment laws to "sexually violent predators" (SVP) was intended to manage the risks posed by this particular group of offenders through incapacitation and rehabilitation. Like registration and notification laws, the first sexually violent predator civil commitment policy, The Washington Community Protection Act of 1990, was enacted in response to a

high profile case that involved the abduction, rape, and attempted murder of a seven year old boy by a convicted sex offender with a lengthy offense history. These policies allowed states to confine an "extremely dangerous" group of sex offenders indefinitely following the completion of their prison sentence (Center for Sex Offender Management, 2008; Cipolla, 2011).

Sexually violent predator laws generally require that offenders be diagnosed with a mental abnormality or personality disorder that predisposes them to engage in sexually violent behavior; have difficulty controlling this behavior; and, be deemed likely to reoffend in the future if not further controlled (Center for Sex Offender Management, 2008). Sex offenders who meet these criteria and are nearing the completion of a prison sentence may be subject to civil commitment proceedings and be committed to a secure mental facility until it is determined that they no longer pose a danger to society (Center for Sex Offender Management, 2008). In the United States, 20 states had enacted some form of an SVP law (Calkins et al., 2014), as of 2006 4534 individuals were held under such laws and only 494 individuals had been released from facilities (Gookin, 2007).

The civil commitment of sexually violent predators has been challenged on several fronts, including its constitutionality (Kansas *v.* Hendricks 521 US 346. 1997) and its intended goals (Miller, 2010). In 1997 the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of Kansas's SVP Act on the basis that the policy did not violate due process, since it required evidence of past violent sexual behavior and the presence of a mental condition that predisposed individuals to commit future acts of sexual violence. Additionally, the court concluded that the civil commitment of SVPs was not intended to be punitive; rather, it was protective in nature and required that committed individuals who no longer posed a threat be released from facilities. Thus, the act did not violate double jeopardy. Despite the court's ruling, empirical evidence suggests that when people support SVP laws, their support stems from primarily punitive desires, rather than protective purposes (Carlsmith, Monahan, & Evans, 2007).

If not punitive in nature, the court's finding in Kansas *v.* Hendricks implies that civil commitment should emphasize rehabilitation. Thus, programs should aim to treatment civilly committed sex offenders while they are confined within secure institutions, in order to lower their risk of reoffending (Miller, 2010). Yet, although the Supreme Court acknowledged that treatment should be offered "when possible," it still allows for the commitment of individuals for whom there is no treatment available (Janus, 2000). It is furthermore unclear why some civilly committed sex offenders do not receive sex offender specific treatment (Cohen & Jeglic, 2007) and why the treatment goals of these policies are undermined by strong incentives for committed offenders to *not participate* in treatment (Miller, 2010). Since treatment records are considered during assessments of dangerousness and can be introduced during release hearings, actively participating in treatment may actually serve to further incriminate civilly committed offenders (Miller, 2010).

Complicating the aforementioned matters is the criteria used to identify SVPs, which may be subjectively applied (Cohen & Jeglic, 2007; Perillo, Spada, Calkins, & Jeglic, 2014). Of particular concern is the criteria regarding the diagnoses of mental abnormalities/disorders within this class of offenders (Perrillo et al., 2014). Studies have evaluated the interrater reliability of diagnoses among clinicians in SVP evaluations (e.g. Levenson, 2004; Perillo et al., 2014). Findings have ranged from poor (Levenson, 2004; Wollert, 2007) to fair reliability (Perillo et al., 2014) among

clinicians' diagnoses, although higher levels of agreement have also been reported (Packard & Levenson, 2006).[1] The ambiguity involved in the SVP evaluation processes has also been highlighted with respect to clinicians' recommendations for commitment (Levenson, 2004).

Whether or not SVP laws decrease sexual violence and recidivism is a major question that has proven difficult to assess. At this point in time, only a few studies have begun to examine the efficacy of these policies. Prentky and Lee (2007) examined the effect of age at release on recidivism over 25 years for 265 sex offenders committed to the Massachusetts Treatment Center for Sexually Dangerous Persons. Results indicated that recidivism patterns by age varied between rapists and child molesters. For rapists, recidivism decreased in a linear fashion with age. However, child molesters displayed initially low rates of recidivism, which increased sharply, stabilizing for several decades, before declining again around 60. Ackerman, Sacks, & Greenberg (2012) used panel data on forcible rape reported by the FBI's UCR from 1970 to 2002 to assess the effect of SVP policies on the rates of rape perpetration. These researchers found no evidence that the implementation of SVP laws reduced rates of forcible rape. Although, Ackerman et al.'s (2012) study did not find support for the efficacy of SVP laws, further research in this area is certainly warranted.

Summary and Recommendations for Future Research   Contrary to public perceptions, recidivism research suggests that sex offenders may not pose a greater risk of recidivism (Sample & Bray, 2003) and that most sex offenders do not sexually reoffend over time (Harris & Hanson, 2004). The media's depiction of sex offenders as persistent offenders may perpetuate public misconceptions (Thakker, 2012) and fears about sexual victimization, which impacts sex offender legislation (Ducat, Thomas, & Blood, 2009; Mercado & Ogloff, 2006; Sample & Kadleck, 2008). Empirical research emphasizes that not all sex offenders are alike and policies intended to manage the risks posed by convicted sex offenders must acknowledge the differential rates of recidivism displayed by subgroups of offenders (Levenson & D'Amora, 2007; Sample & Bray, 2006; Vess & Skelton, 2010). Policies that treat offenders as if they are all alike may result in many unintended consequences (Vess & Skelton, 2010), which may exasperate the problems that these policies are intended to solve (Jeglic, Mercado, & Levenson, 2012; Levenson & Cotter, 2005). At this point in time, there is a real need for a union between empirical research on sex offenders and the policies intended to manage the risks posed by these offenders.

The extent to which registration and notification policies are effective at achieving their goals remains unclear. It may be that registration and notification laws are more effective at assisting law enforcement (Freeman, 2012) than reducing sexual recidivism (e.g. Sandler, Freeman, & Socia, 2008). An approach to sex offender management that considers differential rates of risk posed by different types of offenders may prove more effective (Levenson & D'Amora, 2007). This approach could involve a tiered registration and notification system – one that targets intensive restrictions towards offenders who pose the greatest risk to communities (e.g. Meloy, Saleh, & Wolff, 2007). A tiered approach could also include a time-sensitive threshold (Hanson et al., 2014) that lowers restrictions imposed on high-risk offenders once they have maintained a nonoffending status within communities for a certain of period time. In addition to these management policies, continued research and policy interventions should be directed towards sexual violence prevention programs (DeGue, Valle, Holt,

Massetti, Matiasko, & Tharp, 2014) given the large number of sexual crimes perpetrated by first time sex offenders (Sandler, Freeman, & Socia, 2008).

The efficacy of SVP laws on the other hand largely remains unknown (Cohen & Jeglic, 2007) and perhaps this should not be surprising given the controversy that surrounds the intended goals of these laws (Rollman, 1998; Miller, 2010). The lengthy confinement of SVPs further hinders the ability to assess the policy's effectiveness because offenders must be released in order to recidivate (Cohen & Jeglic, 2007). Given that the average annual program costs for the civil commitment of SVPs is $97,000 per offender (Gookin, 2007), evaluations regarding the effectiveness of these laws are crucial. So it appears that further evaluations must be conducted and certainly the results of these assessments should be considered in light of the unintended consequences and financial costs associated with policies.

Victim Interventions

Treatment interventions are an important area of research due to the impact of sexual violence on the physical, psychological, and social wellbeing of victims. Evidence suggests that victims of sexual violence may experience higher levels of lifetime post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) than victims of non-crime-related traumas such as accidents or natural disasters (Resnick, Kilpatrick, Dansky, Saunders, & Best, 1993). Rape victims may be three times more likely to have had a major depressive episode, four times more likely to have contemplated committing suicide, and 13 times more likely to have actually attempted suicide than nonvictims of crime (Kilpatrick, Edmunds, & Seymour, 1992). Victims of rape may also experience lower self-esteem, more difficulty with interpersonal relationships, and more substance use problems when compared to nonvictims (Briere & Elliott, 2003; Kilpatrick, Edmunds, & Seymour, 1992). Kilpatrick, Resnick, Ruggiero, Conoscenti, & McCauley (2007) also established that rape victims were more likely to experience PTSD, depression, and substance use when compared to nonvictims.

Researchers have investigated the impact of sexual violence with respect to different types of sexual victimization (e.g. Abbey, BeShears, Clinton-Sherrod, & McAuslan, 2004; Brown, Testa, & Messman-Moore, 2009; Kilpatrick et al., 2007). Kilpatrick et al. (2007), for example, examined drug facilitated rape, incapacitated rape and forcible rape establishing similar levels of mental health problems among victims of all three types of sexual violence. Brown et al. (2009) also concluded that victims of incapacitated rape and forcible rape experienced similar levels of PTSD, but victims of forcible rape perceived their rape as more traumatic and reported more significant social and relationship consequences than victims of either incapacitated rape or verbal coercion. Victims whose perpetrators used verbal coercion to facilitate rape may experience less severe mental health and social consequences (Brown et al., 2009).

Children who have been sexually abused also experience a number of consequences, including sexualized behavior, PTSD, problem behaviors, anxiety, and fears (Kendall-Tackett, Williams, & Finkelhor, 1993). Sexually victimized children may, additionally, be at an increased risk for revictimization in childhood (Finkelhor, Ormrod, & Turner, 2007a), may experience multiple forms of victimization or polyvictimization during childhood (Finkelhor, Ormrod, & Turner, 2007b), and are at an increased for sexual

revictimization in adulthood (e.g. Classen, Palesh, & Aggarwal, 2005). Although not every adult or child who is a victim of sexual violence requires treatment, when victims do experience symptoms and seek treatment, interventions have produced positive effects (e.g. Sanchez-Meca, Rosa-Alcazar, & Lopez-Soler, 2011; Vickerman & Margolin, 2009).

The Efficacy of Sexual Violence Treatment Interventions

Meta-analyses suggest that cognitive behavioral treatments may be one of the most effective interventions for child sexual abuse (e.g. Ross & O'Carroll, 2004; Sanchez-Meca, Rosa-Alcazar, & Lopez-Soler, 2011) and adult sexual assault victims (e.g. Russell & Davis, 2007; Vickerman & Margolin, 2009). Cognitive behavioral therapy (CBT) focuses on victims' thoughts, emotions, behaviors, and physiological responses and treatment protocols address these areas of functioning (Saunders, Berliner, & Hanson, 2004). Trauma-focused CBT was designed for victims of trauma (Saunders, Berlin, & Hanson, 2004) and has been shown to reduce PTSD symptoms in victims of sexual violence (e.g. Cohen & Mannarino, 1998). Trauma focused CBT gradually exposes victims to verbal, written, and/or symbolic descriptions of the sexual assault incident(s) and works on changing victims' faulty beliefs regarding its causes and consequences (Cohen, Mannarino, Berliner, & Deblinger, 2000; Saunders, Berlin, & Hanson, 2004). Stress management and parental participation in treatment are important components of this modality as well (Cohen et al., 2000; Saunders, Berlin, & Hanson, 2004).

The efficacy of sexual assault treatment interventions may vary depending on the symptoms being studied. Vickerman and Margolin (2009), for example, conducted a review of treatments for women who had been sexually assaulted during adolescence or adulthood. Results of their review suggested that CBT was more effective for PTSD symptoms than supportive counseling and cognitive processing therapy (CPT) and CBT demonstrated greater benefits for assault related guilt than prolonged exposure (PE) therapy. Vickerman and Margolin (2009) have pointed out that there are many similarities between different treatment techniques, suggesting that a productive research agenda may involve identifying which components of treatment are most effective and why. The efficacy of treatment interventions also needs to be assessed with different racial and ethnic groups and treatment modalities may need to be modified in order to make them more culturally appropriate (Whaley & Davis, 2007).

Culturally Competent Interventions for Victims of Sexual Violence

Providing culturally competent treatment interventions for victims of sexual violence is a critical issue facing mental health professionals. According to the NISVS (2010), 22% of Black, 15% of Hispanic, 27% of American Indian/Alaska native, and 34% of Multiracial non-Hispanic women reported that they experienced rape at some point in their lives. There is also some evidence suggesting that certain ethnicities may be at a higher risk for sexual revictimization. Urquiza and Goodlin-Jones (1994), for example, compared sexual revictimization rates between African American, White, Latino, and Asian American women, finding that African American women had the highest levels of sexual revictimization (62%), followed by White women (44%),

Latino women (40%) and Asian American women (25%). Although sexual violence affects people from many different ethnicities and cultures, research has only just begun to investigate ethnic and cultural differences in sexual violence experiences and its effects.

Those studies that have examined ethnic and cultural differences in symptoms associated with sexual violence have produced inconsistent findings. While some studies report no differences between ethnic groups in responses to sexual violence (e.g. Elliott, Mok, & Briere, 2004; Mennen, 1995; Ullman, Filipas, Townsend, & Starzynski, 2006), other studies have found significant differences. For example, Shaw, Lewis, Loeb, Rosado, & Rodriguez (2001) reported that Hispanic girls demonstrated more behavioral and emotional problems associated with sexual abuse than African American girls. Clear, Vincent, & Harris (2006) found that African American girls demonstrated significantly higher levels of PTSD avoidance symptoms associated with sexual abuse than Hispanic girls, but not Caucasian girls. African American women may also be more likely than White women to abuse substances as a response to adulthood sexual victimization (Kaukinen & DeMaris, 2005) and Asian women may experience more guilt and shame related to the loss of virginity or family dishonor (Lou, 2000). It is important to consider different ethnic and cultural responses to sexual violence – particularly in light of research that suggests the psychological effects of sexual violence may impact reporting decisions (Walsh & Bruce, 2014).

Culture may also impact whether or not victims seek help following victimization (Bryant-Davis, Chung, & Tillman, 2009; Sabina, Cuevas, & Schally, 2012). Cultural beliefs and attitudes regarding sexuality, honor, shame, virginity, and female status may influence whether or not victims speak out about sexual assault incidents (Fontes & Plummer, 2010). Some of these cultural barriers to disclosure may center on blaming victims or minimizing the seriousness of the experience. Studies have indicated that Latino women may hold more negative attitudes towards rape victims and demonstrate more tolerance of rape myths than European American women (Jimenez & Abreu, 2003). Black university students have attributed more responsibility to the victims of rape and been less likely to define incidents as rape than White university students (Varelas & Foley, 1998). Research has also demonstrated that White Americans may be two-and-a-half times more likely than ethnic minorities to believe that sexual violence between intimate partners even occurs (Basile, 2002).

While seeking treatment following a sexual assault can be beneficial for victims (e.g. Sanchez-Meca, Rosa-Alcazar, & Lopez-Soler, 2011; Vickerman & Margolin, 2009), the attitudes of victims' family members and friends may impact who victims seek help from (Yamawaki, 2007) and whether or not they seek help at all (Wyatt, 1992). Yamawaki (2007) reported that Japanese American students tended to encourage hypothetical rape victims to seek help from family members, while European American students were more likely to encourage victims to contact police and mental health professionals. In Yamawaki's (2007) study, Japanese American students minimized the seriousness of rape and felt more shame about the hypothetical victims' rape than American students did; these factors influenced whether or not Japanese American students advised victims to seek help at all. Wyatt (1992) examined the disclosure rates of African American and White women and found that African American women were less likely to disclose sexual assault incidents, possibly due to fears that their credibility as victims would be questioned.

Summary and Recommendations for Future Research

Prevalence rates of sexual victimization (e.g. NISVS, 2010) and the impact of sexual violence on victims (e.g. Briere & Elliott, 2003; Brown et al., 2009; Kilpatrick, Edmunds, & Seymour, 1992; Koss & Figueredo, 2004) make treatment intervention an important issue for research and practice. Focus has been directed towards identifying the most effective treatment modalities (e.g. Ross & O'Carroll, 2004; Russell & Davis, 2007) with consideration being given to specific symptoms (Vickerman & Margolin, 2009). Overall, CBT interventions may be one of the most effective treatment protocols for victims of sexual violence (e.g. Ross & O'Carroll, 2004; Sanchez-Meca, Rosa-Alcazar, & Lopez-Soler, 2011).

Sexual violence is an issue that affects people of diverse cultures and ethnicities. Cultural and ethnic differences in responses to sexual violence, attitudes towards victims, and help-seeking behavior make a holistic approach to treatment interventions imperative (Bryant-Davis et al., 2009; Fontes & Plummer, 2010; Missurell & Springer, 2013). Evidence-based treatments are being adapted for different ethnicities with promising results (Bernal, Jimenez-Chafey, & Rodriguez, 2009). Culturally competent interventions specifically for victims of sexual violence are also being developed (Misurell & Springer, 2013), although further research in this area is needed. Given that some studies report ethnic and cultural differences in psychological responses to sexual violence (e.g. Clear, Vincent, & Harris, 2006; Shaw et al., 2001), while other studies do not (e.g. Ullman et al., 2006) future research also needs to address these inconsistencies.

Researchers advocate that victims of violence should be encouraged to seek help (e.g. Kilpatrick et al., 2007; Cuevas, Bell, & Sabina, 2014), since help seeking has been linked to lower levels of psychological distress (e.g. Cuevas, Bell, & Sabina, 2014). However, studies have also suggested that help seeking may exacerbate the negative mental health effects of sexual violence, particularly when victims seek help from friends and family (Kaukinen & DeMaris, 2009). Strategies should be directed towards educating the general public with respect to what constitutes various forms of sexual violence so that victims receive positive responses from those they seek help from (Kilpatrick et al., 2007). Some victims who initially experience negative responses when they attempt to seek help may turn to anonymous online forums as a source of disclosure (Moors & Webber, 2012). There is limited researched regarding this source of disclosure (Moors & Webber, 2012); therefore, further investigation with respect to online forums needs to evaluate the use of this strategy as a potential help-seeking source. Further research regarding help-seeking strategies and associated outcomes for particular subgroups of victims who face additional barriers to disclosure, such as immigrants, victims of childhood sexual abuse, and victims of polyvictimization, is necessary.

Recent research regarding revictimization (e.g. Finkelhor, Ormrod, & Turner, 2007a; Cuevas, Finkelhor, Clifford, Ormrod, & Turner, 2008) and polyvictimization (e.g. Finkelhor, Ormrod, & Turner, 2007b; Turner, Finkelhor, & Ormrod, 2010) have also emerged as important areas of study. This body of literature emphasizes expanding the focus of research, assessment, and treatment to include multiple forms of victimization (e.g. Cuevas et al., 2008; Finkelhor, Ormrod, & Turner; Turner, Finkelhor, & Ormrod, 2010). Attention must also be devoted towards understanding the mechanisms, which underlie revictimization and polyvictimization (e.g. Cuevas et al., 2008; Turner, Finkelhor, & Ormrod, 2010). These efforts should not only

focus on identifying risk and protective factors, but also consider how risk/protective factors change over time (Finkelhor, Ormrod, & Turner, 2007b).

Note

1   As a point of reference, Cohen's kappa values 0.21–0.40 are considered fair, 0.41–0.60 moderate, and 0.61–0.80 substantial / excellent. Values of 0.81 and up are considered almost perfect agreement

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Part Seven

Cybercrime

28

Cybercrime Victimization

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Introduction

The growth of technology, and specifically the use of the Internet, over the last few decades has had an immense impact on society. Even a casual observer would agree that every aspect of civilization, from personal relationships to global commerce, has been irreversibly changed by and has become dependent on technology. Nowhere has this impact been felt more than in the criminal justice system. Almost every facet of the criminal justice system has undergone a technological evolution, including the tools, techniques, laws, and methodologies utilized by those working within the system. The growth of technology has led to the transformation and/or birth of many forms of criminal victimization and placed more demands on the criminal justice system to identify, charge and adjudicate cybercrime offenders as well as also provide prevention tips to possible victims. Cybercrime, also often referred to as Internet crime, online victimization, and computer crime, encompasses a wide range of illegal behaviors and is becoming one of the most prevalent forms of crime in the world (Mueller, 2012).

Cybercrime is a serious issue that much of the general public recognizes as a possible threat to their livelihood. Unfortunately, many individuals lack an understanding of the full scope and impact of cybercrime victimization. When the average individual discusses cybercrime, he or she will most likely be referring to crimes that can be categorized as property crimes, such as identity theft, online fraud, and/or digital piracy. Many see the virtual world of the Internet as a place where property can be easily stolen, but that has few other personal consequences. As cybercrime frequently involves little or no direct physical contact between the offender and victim, the psychological impact of cybercrime is often overlooked. However, there are a number of scholars that acknowledge the growth of personal types of cybercrimes (Hinduja & Patchin, 2008; Reyns, Henson, & Fisher, 2011). Many of these types of personal cybercrimes – such as cyberbullying, cyberstalking, and sexual exploitation – often

have emotional consequences for victims that closely parallel those experienced by victims of traditional violent crime.

With that parallel in mind, the purpose of this chapter is threefold. First, several types of personal cybercrime are discussed, including potential theoretical explanations for their occurrence. Second, the prevalence of the most common forms of personal cybercrime is described, with particular attention placed on those examined in academic research. Third, the potential impacts of personal cybercrime on its victims are examined, utilizing many examples from actual cases. Throughout the chapter, parallels are drawn between personal cybercrime and traditional forms of personal crime.

Understanding Personal Cybercrime Victimization

The term "personal crime" is often associated with criminal events involving the use or threat of violence and includes crimes such as assault, rape, robbery, and murder. Traditional personal crimes are distinguished from property crimes in three key ways. First, traditional personal crimes typically involve direct face-to-face contact between the offender and victim. For example, with street robbery the offender physically takes the victim's possessions directly from him/her. Second, with most personal crimes, the offender's target is a person, while with most property crimes the offender's target is the property. Third, traditional personal crimes have the ability to evoke a heightened sense of danger or fear in victims. Though property crimes, such as burglary, could easily evoke a sense of fear in someone, researchers often report that individuals' level of fear is much higher for personal crimes than property crimes (Dull & Wint, 1997; Skogan, 1987).

There is little debate among researchers that cybercrime rarely involves direct physical contact between the offender and the victim. In most cases, there is clear physical distance between the offender and victim, with some being as far apart as different countries around the world. As proffered by Reyns and colleagues (2011), however, in the realm of cyberspace, physical proximity between the offender and victim is replaced with the shared network. According to Reyns et al., "while victims and offenders involved in cybercrimes do not converge in the 'traditional' sense in physical space, they do come together within a system of networked devices …" such as the Internet (p. 1152). Further, though more often anecdotal, cybercrime has been known to produce levels of fear, dread, or worry for victims that rivals even the most serious types of traditional personal crime. For example, based on numerous research studies examining the impacts of cyberbullying, the Cyberbullying Research Center notes that many children who report being a victim of cyberbullying suffer serious emotional stress. Many change their behavior, and some even contemplate suicide (Hinduja & Patchin, 2010).

Types of Personal Cybercrime Victimization

There is a wide range of cybercrimes that could be categorized as personal crimes. As with most forms of cybercrime, many types of personal cybercrimes are simply electronic parallels of traditional personal crimes. For example, cyberstalking is often described as the use of electronic devices and/or the Internet to perform traditional

stalking behaviors. This chapter focuses on four forms of personal cybercrime victimization, including online harassment, online sexual exploitation, cyberbullying, and cyberstalking. Each type of personal cybercrime victimization is defined below.

Definitions of Personal Cybercrime Victimization

Online Harassment

Online harassment has been examined in a number of empirical studies (for examples, see Finn, 2004; Holt & Bossler, 2008). While the definitions of online harassment have varied somewhat across studies, it is generally described as any instance in which an individual annoys, torments, or threatens another individual online or through the use of an electronic communication device. In most cases, online harassment is performed through the use of online messengers (e.g., AOL Instant Messenger) or social networking sites (e.g., Facebook, Twitter). A selection of studies that have examined online harassment are presented in Table 28.1.

Online Sexual Exploitation

Though not as frequently examined as many other forms of cybercrime victimization, there are a number of studies that have focused on online sexual exploitation (for examples, see Finkelhor, Mitchell, & Wolak, 2000; Marcum, Ricketts, & Higgins, 2010). Sexual exploitation is typically defined as solicitation and/or exposure to unwanted sexual materials online. As with offline sexual exploitation, online sexual exploitation is often aimed at younger individuals. Online sexual exploitation often occurs through the use of email, online messengers, and/or text messaging, and it can lead to contact and exploitation in a physical environments. A selection of studies examining online sexual exploitation can be seen in Table 28.2.

Table 28.1   Selected online harassment research studies[a].

Author (date)	Sample composition	Percentage reported experiencing online harassment
Finkelhor, Mitchell, & Wolak (2000)	Nationally representative sample of 1501 youths	6% during year prior to survey
Finn (2004)	319 college students from a single university	10% while at university
Wolak, Mitchell, & Finkelhor (2007)	Nationally representative sample of 1500 youth Internet users	9% during year prior to survey
Holt & Bossler (2008)	578 college students from a single university	18.9% during year prior to survey
Marcum, Higgins, & Ricketts (2010)	744 freshman college students from a single university	16% since senior year of high school
Bossler, Holt, & May (2012)	434 students from a Kentucky middle and high school	35.3% during year prior to survey

Note: [a]Several of the studies listed also examined other forms of cybercrime victimization.

Table 28.2   Selected online sexual exploitation research studies[a].

Author (date)	Sample composition	Percentage reported experiencing online exposure	Percentage reported experiencing online solicitation
Finkelhor, Mitchell, & Wolak (2000)	Nationally representative sample of 1501 youths	25% during year prior to survey	19% during year prior to survey
Finn (2004)	319 college students from a single university	58.7% while at university	
Fleming, Greentree, Cocotti-Muller, Elias, & Morrison (2006)	692 Australian juveniles age 13–16	~80.8% during lifetime	
Wolak, Mitchell, & Finkelhor (2007)	Nationally representative sample of 1500 youth Internet users	34% during year prior to survey	13% during year prior to survey
Marcum, Higgins, & Ricketts (2010)	744 freshman college students from a single university	13.6% since senior year of high school	6.5% since senior year of high school
Ybarra, Mitchell, & Espelage (2012)	1149 juveniles age 10–15		18% over course of year

Note: [a]Several of the studies listed also examined other forms of cybercrime victimization.

Cyberbullying

Cyberbullying has become a frequently discussed topic among parents, educators, the media, and policy makers recently, as the result of several high-profile incidents. It is garnering much attention among researchers (for examples, see Hinduja & Patchin, 2008; Kraft & Wang, 2010). Though there has been some variation, cyberbullying is typically defined as the use of the Internet or electronic devices, such as cell phones, to repeatedly harass, tease, or torment others. Further, while not universal, most definitions of cyberbullying designate that both the offender and victim are be minors. It should be noted that the definition of cyberbullying is conceptually similar to online harassment. The key differences for the current discussion are that cyberbullying tactics *often* occur repeatedly (two or more times) and include only minors as victims and offenders. Table 28.3 displays a selection of studies focusing on cyberbullying.

Cyberstalking

Although researchers have examined traditional stalking extensively for almost 25 years, cyberstalking is a relatively new topic of research (for examples, see Kraft & Wang, 2010; Reyns, Henson, & Fisher, 2012). Cyberstalking is commonly described as repeated pursuit behaviors – such as unwanted contact, harassment, sexual advances, and/or threats of violence – using some type of online program (e.g., unwanted emails, text messages, or instant messages) or communication device (e.g., cell phone).

Table 28.3 Select cyberbullying research studies[a].

Author (date)	Sample composition	Percentage reported experiencing cyberbullying
Li (2006)	264 students from three middle schools in a large city in Canada	~25% during lifetime
Hinduja & Patchin (2008)	1378 Internet users under 18 years	32.7% males during lifetime 36.4% females during lifetime
Erdur-Baker (2010)	276 students from three high schools in northwest Turkey	29% during lifetime
Kraft & Wang (2010)	471 sophomores, juniors, and seniors from a single university	10% during lifetime
Mishna, Cook, Gadalla, Daciuk, & Solomon (2010)	2186 middle and high-school students from a large city in Canada	49.5% during 3 months prior to survey
Popović-Citić, Djurić, & Cvetković (2011)	387 middle school students from five state schools in Belgrade, Serbia	20% during lifetime

Note: [a]Several of the studies listed also examined other forms of cybercrime victimization.

The difference between cyberstalking and online harassment is that cyberstalking must involve repeat pursuit behavior. The difference between cyberstalking and cyberbullying is that the former typically involves adults as offenders/victims, while the latter typically involves minors. A selection of studies examining cyberstalking is presented in Table 28.4.

Theories Explaining Personal Cybercrime Victimization

Theories explaining personal forms of cybercrime victimization and empirical testing of these theories have made significant progress in a relatively short period of time. Researchers' primary emphases have been to utilize existing victimological and criminological theories to identify victims' lifestyles, routine activities, and personal characteristics (e.g., age, sex) that increase individuals' risk for victimization. At the same time, these theoretical approaches also argue that there should be protective factors that decrease the threat of victimization. Two theoretical perspectives stand apart as the most popular and well-supported explanations of personal cybercrime victimization: the lifestyle-routine activities perspective and the general theory of crime. In addition, lifestyle-routine activities theory recently has been revised for application to cybercrime victimization in cyberlifestyle-routine activities theory.

Lifestyle-Routine Activities Theory

The lifestyle-routine activities perspective emerged in the late 1970s as two separate theories: lifestyle-exposure theory and routine activity theory (Cohen & Felson, 1979; Hindelang, Gottfredson, & Garofalo, 1978). The former theory was developed

Table 28.4   Select cyberstalking research studies[a].

Author (date)	Sample composition	Percentage reported experiencing cyberstalking
Fisher, Cullen, & Turner (2002)	4446 college women in the United States	24.7% (of stalking incidents) since school year began
Spitzberg & Hoobler (2002)	235 undergraduate students from a large southwestern public university	31.0% during lifetime
Sheridan & Grant (2007)	1051 self-identified stalking victims	7.2% during lifetime
Baum, Catalano, Rand, & Rose (2009)	65 270 residents of the United States age 18 and older	26.1% (of those who were stalked) during year prior to survey
Kraft & Wang (2010)	471 students at a public liberal arts college	9% during lifetime
Reyns, Henson, & Fisher (2012)	Random sample of 974 college students from a single university	40.8% during lifetime

Note: [a]Several of the studies listed also examined other forms of cybercrime victimization.

to explain traditional forms of personal victimization, such as robbery and assault, based on an analysis of victimization data from the National Crime Survey. The latter theory was originally conceptualized to explain the rising crime rates in the United States following World War II. Because of their similar theoretical arguments and the eventual expansion of routine activity theory as a theory of individual victimization, victimologists have since combined the theories into a single victimization perspective – lifestyle-routine activities theory.

The primary thesis of lifestyle-routine activities theory is that individuals' lifestyles and routine daily activities create opportunities for their victimization. Lifestyles, which can be described as actions or behaviors associated with vocational (e.g., work, school) and leisure (e.g., shopping, playing sports) pursuits, expose individuals to varying degrees of victimization risk. For example, a consistent finding in the victimization research is that delinquent or criminal lifestyles produce a high level of exposure to potential offenders and situations in which victimization is more likely to occur (e.g., Sampson & Lauritsen, 1990). Hence, delinquent or criminal lifestyles are considered to be risky in the context of an individual's victimization likelihood.

Individual-level routine activity explanations of victimization argue that participation in certain daily routines facilitates the coming together of suitable targets (i.e., potential victims) and motivated offenders (e.g., those that will act on criminal opportunities) in places where crime is likely to be successful, such as environments with no witnesses or individuals who may intervene to thwart the crime (i.e., an environment lacking suitable guardianship). In other words, a central proposition of lifestyle-routine activities theory is that motivated offenders, suitable targets, and facilitating environments intersect in time and space to create opportunities for victimization to occur. Lifestyles and routines that enable this convergence, then, are hypothesized to increase individuals' risks of victimization. And, while the distinction between a lifestyle and a routine activity is not well established among the lifestyle-routine activities

scholars, examples of routine activities that might increase victimization risk among college students are drinking, partying, and recreational drug use. These are considered risky behaviors that increase one's likelihood of being victimized, because they increase target suitability, increase exposure and proximity to motivated offenders, and place individuals in environments conducive to victimization (Fisher, Daigle, & Cullen, 2009).

Numerous empirical studies have supported the lifestyle-routine activities perspective as an explanation of an ever expanding number of different types of victimization (e.g., Reyns, 2011; Spano & Freilich, 2009; Tillyer, Tillyer, Miller, & Pangrac, 2011; van Wilsem, 2011). Recent research also has begun to apply the lifestyle-routine activities perspective to different types of personal cybercrime victimization, including online harassment, cyberbullying, and sexual exploitation (e.g., Holt & Bossler, 2008; Marcum et al., 2010a; Navarro & Jasinski, 2012; Ngo & Paternoster, 2011). Further, the adapted cyberlifestyle-routine activities theory was originally developed and tested to account for cyberstalking victimization, but has the potential of explaining any number of different types of online and long-distance (i.e., victims and offenders are physically separate) victimizations (e.g., online harassment, cyberstalking) (Reyns et al., 2011).

Overall, these emerging tests of lifestyle-routine activities theory confirm its utility in explaining different types of personal cybercrime victimization, but the explanatory power of the theory has varied from study to study and across types of victimization. For example, in a study of online harassment victimization of juveniles, Bossler, Holt, and May (2012) reported that certain lifestyle-routine activities differentiated victims from nonvictims. In particular, routines that increased online proximity to potential offenders, such as social network activity and associating with peers who harass others online; and risky information sharing, such as communicating and sharing personal information with strangers online, increased juveniles' likelihood of online harassment victimization. Another study of online victimization, focused on college students, revealed other online lifestyles and routine activities that impacted victimization risk. In this study, Holt and Bossler (2008) reported that activities such as visiting chatrooms, engaging in computer deviance (e.g., computer piracy, viewing pornography), and peer deviance were among the significant influences on the probability of experiencing online harassment.

This lifestyle-routine activities perspective also has been used to explain cyberbullying victimization. For example, a recent study by Navarro and Jasinski (2012) identified several routine activities of teens that increased their risks of being victims of cyberbullying. Measures of routines representing target suitability such as Internet usage, buying things online, using social networking web sites, and visiting video sharing web sites were positively related to victimization. Further, parental guardianship in the form of using content filters was negatively related to cyberbullying victimization, suggesting that such actions protect teens from offenders while online. It is noteworthy that while these elements of lifestyle-routine activities theory were found to be related to victimization, this study did not consider all of the theoretical concepts – exposure and proximity to motivated offenders were not included in the analysis. Consequently, Navarro and Jasinski's study provides only partial support for the theory in relation to cyberbullying victimization. Thus far, this is one of only a few studies to test lifestyle-routine activities theory on cyberbullying victimization.

Forms of sexual exploitation also have been examined within a lifestyle-routine activities framework. For example, Marcum and colleagues (2010b) identified several online behaviors that increased risks for online sexual solicitation among university students. In their study, online routines such as emailing, sending instant messages, and other forms of online communication increased students' likelihood of victimization by up to three times. In another study of the online sexual exploitation of university students, Ngo and Paternoster (2011) examined whether online exposure to motivated offenders, target suitability, and/or capable guardianship influenced the likelihood of receiving unwanted pornography while online. Their analysis revealed two significant predictors of victimization: engaging in computer deviance (e.g., pirating media, hacking) and seeking information on cybercrime prevention (e.g., workshops, visiting web sites). Participation in online deviance represents a lifestyle or set of routines that research has consistently linked with different forms of online victimization. Yet, the positive effects of seeking prevention knowledge on victimization are less clear cut. Perhaps, this relationship is evidence of a temporal ordering issue wherein those who had problems online in the past (e.g., receiving unwanted pornography) later sought out the knowledge and tools to prevent future problems. In sum, lifestyle-routine activities theory appears to be useful in explaining and predicting different types of cybercrime victimization. This conclusion is further supported by the expanded version of the theory – cyberlifestyle-routine activities theory.

Cyberlifestyle-Routine Activities Theory

As previously mentioned, cyberstalking victimization also has been examined through the lens of lifestyle-routine activities theory. However, the researchers who did so adapted the theory specifically to the task. Reyns and colleagues (2011) revised lifestyle-routine activities theory to comport with victimizations that occur in cyberspace and therefore do not involve direct contact between the offender and the victim. Further, since online victimizations, including cyberstalking, involve indirect interaction between victims and offenders by their nature, these researchers presented arguments intended to reconcile two issues that made applying lifestyle-routine activities theory to cybercrimes problematic: space and time. The result was the development of cyberlifestyle-routine activities theory.

A central proposition of the original lifestyle-routine activities theory is that motivated offenders and suitable targets converge in the same place at the same time. Addressing the issue of *place*, Reyns and colleagues (2011) suggested that while offenders and victims are often physically separate, they still do come together. Instead of a physical location or place facilitating their interaction, it is a computer network that is the medium for interaction. In this sense, computer networks take the place of physical environments. Second, lifestyle-routine activities theory was developed under the assumption that offenders and victims would converge in *time*. This point too was adapted to better suit cyberspace by recognizing that even though offenders and victims may not interact in real time in the way that a robber and a robbery victim do, cyber offenders and cyber victims still have a temporal overlap. In reconceptualizing this aspect of the theory, Reyns and colleagues explained that the real time interaction is not necessary in cases of cybercrime victimization as long as offenders and victims eventually intersect in time (e.g., the offender sends an email that the victim reads at some later time).

In their study of cyberstalking victimization, Reyns and colleagues (2011) developed online-specific indicators of each of the theoretical components of lifestyle-routine activities theory (e.g., online exposure to motivated offenders, online target attractiveness) and examined their usefulness in explaining cyber-stalking victimization among college students. The authors reported that elements of online exposure to motivated offenders, online proximity to motivated offenders, and online guardianship were significantly related to cyberstalking victimization. For instance, study participants who allowed strangers access to their online social network profiles (e.g., on Facebook) – a measure of online proximity – were over two times more likely to experience cyberstalking compared to those who did not allow strangers access. As another example, use of AOL instant messenger – a measure of online exposure – also positively and significantly affected students' odds of cyberstalking victimization. Consistent with prior victimization research, Reyns and colleagues (2011b) also reported that engaging in online forms of deviance (e.g., hacking, piracy, harassment) increased cyberstalking victimization risk by over 14 times compared to those who did not participate in these online routines. Overall, this study supports the notion that lifestyle-routine activities theory, while developed to explain direct-contact offenses, does have utility in explaining cybercrimes.

A General Theory of Crime

The general theory of crime was developed by Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) to explain a wide range of criminal, delinquent, and analogous behaviors, excluding victimization. According to Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990), the primary reason that individuals engage in these sorts of behaviors is reflected in their level of self-control. Self-control includes several dimensions, including: impulsivity, self-centeredness, a quick temper, a preference for simple rather than complex tasks, a preference for physical rather than mental activities, and risk taking. The theory explains that these characteristics collectively represent the concept of self-control, with individuals low in self-control having a propensity to offend.

Schreck (1999), having recognized that victims and offenders are often the same, argued that the theory could be reconsidered as a victimological theory. In other words, given the frequent overlap between victims and offenders – the finding that offenders often become victims – Schreck argued the general theory of crime should also be useful in explaining victimization in addition to offending. Schreck's arguments involved rethinking the previously identified characteristics of self-control to better conform with potential correlates of victimization. According to Schreck, those with low future orientation (impulsivity), insensitivity (self-centeredness), low tolerance for frustration (quick tempers), lack of persistence (preference for simple tasks), preference for physical activities, and a proclivity for thrill seeking could be described both as having low self-control and being more likely to experience criminal victimization.

Building on the work of Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) and later Schreck (1999), researchers investigating cybercrimes have begun to utilize low self-control as an explanation of cybercrime victimization. In one such study, Bossler and Holt (2010) estimated the effects of low self-control on several different types of cybercrime victimization, such as online credit card theft, online harassment, and malware

infections. Their analyses revealed that individuals' low self-control was predictive of some types of online victimization, but not others. In particular, those with low self-control were more likely to: have someone obtain their passwords without authorization to access their files; have someone change information or files on their computers; and experience online harassment. Yet, once Bossler and Holt (2010) statistically controlled for the influence of participants' online deviant behaviors, low self-control was not significant. This latter finding suggests that it remains unclear whether low self-control influences online victimization risks or whether the relationship is driven more by online behaviors.

Another study to explore the effects of self-control on cybercrime victimization risk was conducted by Reyns, Burek, Henson, and Fisher (2013). They operationalized cybercrime victimization as an index reflecting individuals' experiences with unwanted online contact, online harassment, unwanted online sexual advances, and online threats of violence. Reyns and colleagues (2011) concluded that those with low self-control have increased odds of experiencing two types and three or more types of cybercrime victimization compared to those that did not have low self-control. This finding suggests that Gottfredson and Hirschi's general theory of crime is a useful theoretical perspective for understanding cybercrime victimization. Interestingly, the authors also reported that participating in sexting increased victimization risks. While these two studies are informative and conditionally supportive of the application of the theory to cybercrime victimization, further research is needed to explore the effects of low self-control on different types of victimization against diverse populations.

Extent of Personal Cybercrime Victimization

Online Harassment

As can be seen in Table 28.1, online harassment has been a topic of research studies for well over a decade, on both national and smaller scales. In one of the first studies to examine online harassment, Finkelhor et al. (2000) conducted a survey of a nationally representative sample of youths aged 10 to 17 that regularly used the Internet. Known as the Youth Internet Safety Survey (YISS), their instrument focused on experiences of threatening or other offensive behaviors sent or posted online. The authors found that about 6% of youth surveyed were either harassed or threatened in the previous year online (Finkelhor et al., 2000). The authors administered the YISS again in 2005, at which time they reported that the percentage of youth surveyed who had been victims of online harassment in the previous year increased to 9% (Wolak, Mitchell, & Finkelhor, 2007). In another early study of online harassment, Finn (2004) surveyed the students at the University of New Hampshire, asking if they had experienced any threatening, insulting, or harassing messages online that threatened, insulted, or harassed. Based on his findings, he estimated that 10% of the undergraduate students at the university had experienced online harassment.

More recently, Holt and Bossler (2008) examined a sample of college students, asking them how many times in the last 12 months they had been harassed in a chatroom, Internet relay chat, or instant message chat. They reported that nearly 19% of students

stated they had been harassed online. In another study of student victimization, Bossler, Holt and May (2011) studied online harassment in a juvenile population, administering an online survey to over 400 Kentucky middle- and high-school students. They reported that 35.3% of students in their sample were victims of some kind of online harassment in the past 12 months.

As the findings of these studies show, as well as the others presented in Table 28.1, there appears to be a gradual increase in the percentage of individuals who report experiencing online harassment over the last decade. While this is undoubtedly partially due to the fact that the studies utilized different sample types and sizes, which reduces the ability to make any precise comparisons, it is also likely that the development and widespread use of technology also is a contributing factor. For example, according to the US Census Bureau (2013), 41.5 % of residences in the United States had Internet access in 2000, while 71.1% of residences in the United States had Internet access in 2010. It is plausible that an increase in Internet use will lead to an increase in cybercrime victimization, as more potential targets are becoming readily available.

Online Sexual Exploitation

Online sexual exploitation is a general category, which includes several types of cybercrime victimization. The majority of online sexual exploitation research has focused on online sexual solicitation and/or unwanted online exposure to sexual materials. In addition to online harassment, Finkelhor and colleagues (2000) also examined online sexual exploitation with their YISS. They reported that 19% of youths in the study were sexually solicited online, while 25% were exposed to unwanted sexual materials online. In their five-year follow-up study, the authors reported that online harassment declined to 13% in 2005, but online exposure to unwanted sexual materials increased to 34% during that time period (Wolak et al., 2007). During a similar time period as the YISS studies, Finn (2004) examined the extent of online sexual solicitation among college students. He found that 58% of surveyed respondents had been exposed to unwanted sexual materials online.

More recently, Marcum and colleagues (2010b) examined online sexual exploitation among a sample of freshman college students. They focused on both unwanted online exposure to sexual materials and online sexual solicitation. They reported that 13% of students in their sample were exposed to unwanted online sexual materials, while 6.5% were targets of online sexual solicitation. With their study, Ybarra, Mitchell, and Espelage (2012) examined both online and offline sexual solicitation among children age 10 to 15. They found that 18% of children surveyed had experienced some form of online sexual solicitation, including being asked to describe their bodies and/or being asked about their sexual experiences.

The use of the Internet to sexually exploit children has become a major point of interest for parents, the news media, and law enforcement over the last several years. As a result, the research examining online sexual exploitation is still undergoing much development. The fact that many of the studies discussed and listed in Table 28.2 are by the same teams of researchers is an indication of the small number of scholars examining online sexual exploitation but also provides an invitation for more scientific scrutiny into the extent and nature of online sexual exploitation.

Cyberbullying

As with online sexual exploitation, cyberbullying is a relatively new area of focus for researchers. However, unlike online sexual exploitation, there has been a wide range of studies produced that examines cyberbullying. Among the first studies to examine the extent of cyberbullying, Li (2006) surveyed 264 Canadian middle school students about their experiences with cyberbully (a term they permitted students to define). She found that 25% of males and 25.6% of females had been cyberbullied. Further, 53.6% of all students surveyed knew someone who was being cyberbullied. In one of the more well known cyberbullying studies, Hinduja and Patchin (2008) surveyed over 1300 juveniles, asking a similar question of their respondents as Li (2006). They reported that almost 33% of males and just over 36% females had been a victim of cyberbullying.

More recently, Mishna, Cook, Gadalla, Daciuk, and Solomon (2010) examined the extent of cyberbullying among middle- and high-school students in a large Canadian city. They reported that 49.5% of students surveyed indicated that they had experienced cyberbullying in the three months prior to the survey. In a similar study, Erdur-Baker (2010) surveyed a sample of high-school students in Turkey about their experiences with cyberbullying. They found that 29% of respondents had experienced cyberbullying, while 47% had seen someone else being cyberbullied.

As seen in the previous discussion and in the studies presented in Table 28.3, cyberbullying is an issue that affects students of all ages and of varying nationalities. Unfortunately, while there have been numerous ongoing, wide scale efforts to prevent and/or reduce the extent of cyberbullying, it seems to be a crime that shows no sign of slowing. Further, as is discussed in the implications section below, cyberbullying appears to have some of the most extreme consequences of any form of cybercrime victimization.

Cyberstalking

Although there has been a resounding interest in stalking victimization for over a decade, there have been very few studies of cyberstalking victimization produced during the same time period. With one of the first studies to consider cyberstalking victimization, Fisher, Cullen, and Turner (2002) utilized a nationally representative sample of college women to estimate the extent of stalking victimization. They found that 13.1% of the female respondents surveyed had experienced stalking victimization. Further, of those that were stalked, 24.7% had experienced cyberstalking victimization. In one of the first studies to specifically examine cyberstalking victimization, Spitzberg and Hoobler (2002) also surveyed college students, focusing on 24 different types of cyber-obsessional pursuit behavior. While the prevalence of experiencing each type of behaviors ranged among respondents, sending tokens of affection and exaggerated messages of affection were the most common forms of online pursuit, reported by 31% of the sample.

More recently, Baum and colleagues (2009) at the Bureau of Justice Statistics reported the findings from the Stalking Victimization Supplement of the National Crime Victimization Survey. In 2006, the Stalking Victimization Supplemental focused on stalking victimization of adults residing in the United States was administered, which included questions about cyberstalking victimization. According to the results, 26.6% of those who were stalked also experienced cyberstalking victimization. In a study focusing specifically

on cyberstalking victimization among college students, Reyns and colleagues (2012) surveyed a random sample of college undergraduates from a large university in the Midwest. The authors examined the extent of victimization for four types of repeat online pursuit behaviors considered to be cyberstalking, including unwanted contact (23%), harassment (20%), sexual advances (13%), and threats of physical violence (4%). Nearly 41% of the sample reported they experienced at least one form of cyberstalking victimization.

As with the other forms of personal cybercrime victimization discussed, cyberstalking victimization is beginning to capture researchers' attention. Unfortunately, their progress has been rather slow. Further complicating the matter, many researchers fail to acknowledge cyberstalking as a unique form of victimization, more often categorizing it simply as another method of traditional offline stalking. As technology, and the Internet, continues to advance, however, it is likely that cyberstalking will emerge as a unique form of victimization.

Impact of Personal Cybercrime Victimization

As noted previously, cybercrime victimization is often considered less serious than traditional street crime because of the lack of direct physical contact between the offender and victim. While it is true that cybercrime lacks the physical proximity of traditional street crime, it can easily be argued that the emotional harms produced by cybercrime victimization rival those of traditional street crime. The emotional harm cybercrime victims experience can range from minor annoyance to life-changing anguish (Langton & Planty, 2010; Symantec, 2010). The Internet security corporation Symantec performed an international study of cybercrime in 2010. They reported that over 50% of surveyed individuals stated they felt angry and/or annoyed as a result of experiencing cybercrime victimization. Further, over 25% of the respondents reported they felt helpless and/or afraid because of their cybercrime victimization experience. (The percentages given by the Symantec report are for multiple forms of cybercrime victimization, including both personal and property cybercrime.) As with traditional street crime, cybercrime victims often blame themselves for their experience. For example, over 40% of victims of online harassment blame themselves for being victimized (Symantec, 2010).

Unfortunately, the emotional distress produced by some types of cybercrime victimization is very extreme. For example, with her study examining youth who were receiving treatment for online sexual exploitation experience, Mitchell (2007) reported that while many showed similar mental health issues as youth who experienced offline sexual abuse, some had a lifetime diagnosis of post-traumatic stress disorder. Further, numerous researchers have begun to examine the link between cyberbullying and suicide (for example, see Hinduja & Patchin, 2010). As portrayed in the news media, the number of victims of cyberbullying who committed or attempted to commit suicide has continued to increase over the last several years. For example, in January 2010, Phoebe Prince (age 15) committed suicide by hanging herself in the stairway of her apartment building after experiencing months of bullying – in person and online – by her classmates. Similarly, in September 2010, Seth Walsh (age 13) committed suicide by hanging himself in his back yard. It is generally agreed that his actions resulted in part from his experiences with cyberbullies questioning his sexual orientation. Finally, in February 2011, Natasha MacBryde (age 15) experienced what can be described as an

onslaught of offensive comments online about herself and her parents from other students. She became so distressed by the constant cyberbullying that she committed suicide by jumping in front of a train.

The impact of personal cybercrime is a topic that has only recently garnered researchers' attention. There is little doubt that the slow progression of such research is the result of the general mentality, discussed previously, that cybercrime is not as harmful as traditional street crime. However, as more researchers are quickly discarding such naïve ideals, our understanding of the implications of online actions, specifically, and cybercrime, generally, will continue to progress.

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Online Harassment

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There has been a great deal of public anxiety around youth "cyberbullying" and online harassment victimization in recent years and schools, law enforcement, parents and policymakers have been trying to figure out the best strategies to protect youth. Because the use of new technology in peer victimization is a relatively new phenomenon, it has a brief scholarly history compared with traditional bullying. Researchers are still collecting information about how online harassment compares to other types of peer victimization, including whether there are unique sets of risk and protective factors, or different emotional effects on youth, when harassment occurs using new technology. Some believe the evidence suggests that online harassment is a new and concerning form of peer victimization (Fredstrom, Adams, & Gilman, 2011; Kowalski & Limber, 2007; Mishna, McLuckie, & Saini, 2009; Tokunaga, 2010), whereas others claim that it is an old problem in a new environment, with few unique features (Olweus, 2012).

Unfortunately, cyberbullying education and prevention messages have been widely disseminated before research has been able to address these gaps in our understanding of the problem. A recent content analysis of four of the leading Internet safety education programs found that the most common anticyberbullying content or messages do not draw adequately from research about online harassment, or even from the extensive body of research on bullying, peer victimization, and youth prevention (Jones et al., 2012). Because the problem of online harassment is new and public anxiety about the issue is high, there is a danger that rapidly designed prevention and intervention approaches to cyberbullying may repeat past prevention failures (e.g., such as when appealing but ultimately ineffective drug abuse education programs like the DARE program were widely disseminated in the 1980s) by relying on assembly-style lectures and scare tactics, and by not incorporating research on risk and protective factors in program design (Jones, 2010).

Clarity about the dynamics and features of online harassment, and consideration of how it may be similar to and different from other peer victimization problems is important for developing effective prevention and intervention goals, policies and programs. We use this chapter to summarize what is currently known about online harassment and its overlap with other forms of peer harassment, and based on this emerging body of research, we offer implications for prevention,

intervention, and future research. Throughout the chapter, we draw substantially on findings from the Youth Internet Safety Surveys (YISS), three separate surveys conducted with nationally representative samples of youth (ages 10–17) in 2000, 2005 and 2010. (See Mitchell, Jones, & Wolak, 2012 for detailed information on YISS methodology.)

How Many Youth are Affected by Online Harassment?

We define online harassment as "threats or other offensive or rude behavior targeted directly to youth through technological channels (e.g., Internet, text messaging) or posted online about victims for others to see." However, definitions across research on online harassment vary widely, and these, along with measurement differences, have led to a range of reported rates (Slonje, Smith, & Frisen, 2013; Tokunaga, 2010). Online harassment rates can be found as low as 10% (Jones, Mitchell, & Finkelhor, 2013; Kowalski & Limber, 2007, 2013; Williams & Guerra, 2007) or as high as 50–75% (Juvonen & Gross, 2008; Li, 2007; Mishna et al., 2010) depending on what behaviors are measured, how they are measured (e.g., multiple item checklists or definition-based questions), the specified timeframe, sampling differences, or whether rates include harassment victimization, perpetration or either. Most studies find online harassment victimization prevalence rates falling between about 20–35% (Dehue, Bolman, & Vollink, 2008; Englander, 2011; Patchin & Hinduja, 2006; Slonje, Smith, & Frisen, 2013; Wang, Iannotti, & Nansel, 2009). However it is important to keep in mind that these percentages do not necessarily represent rates of youth experiencing serious and highly distressing harrassment online. Online harassment incidents often include single events, and many are not experienced as particularly bothersome by youth (Wolak, Mitchell, & Finkelhor, 2007). A survey of youth in Massachusetts found that only about one-half of online "conflicts" rose to a level that they considered "bullying" according to study subjects (Englander, 2011). There are also wide variations in what behaviors were described by youth as online harassment. The 2010 Youth Internet Safety Survey found that when they described online harassment incidents, youth included experiences such as being called mean names (65%), being excluded (50%) (e.g., from a social networking group), having rumors spread about them (49%), and being made fun of or teased (44%) (Mitchell et al., 2012). Having a picture or video sent to other people that showed you being hurt or embarrassed was less common: reported by 6% of harassed youth.

The complexity of measurement issues can be difficult to convey to the public and confusion about the impact of online harrassment on youth is probably increased by the popularity of the term "cyberbullying." The term "cyberbullying" implies behavior that is parallel in dynamics and seriousness with traditional bullying, usually defined as repeated incidents perpetrated by more powerful youth (Olweus, 2007). Data from the 2010 YISS study found that only 7% of identified online harassment episodes included circumstances in which the harasser was perceived as having more power or strength that the victimized youth, and the harassment occurred more than once over the course of the year. Experts in the field are still sorting out how traditional definitions of bullying apply to the online environment (Dooley, Pyzalski, & Cross, 2009; Levy et al., 2012) and media reports on cyberbullying rates often do not specify

whether they refer to more or less serious incidents. For example, one study reported 72% of youth 12–17 years old experienced an incident of cyberbullying in the past year (Juvonen & Gross, 2008). However, a youth was counted as a victim of online bullying if they endorsed even one incident of having been called a name online or someone forwarding a post or text without permission. Those behaviors are potentially negative and bothersome, but do not necessarily indicate a bullying situation, or even one that was upsetting for the youth.

Is Online Harassment Becoming More Prevalent?

Some researchers suggest that the online environment can facilitate hostile interactions among youth in a number of ways, such as by reducing inhibitions through physical distance or anonymity (Fredstrom, Adams, & Gilman, 2011; Juvonen & Gross, 2008; Kowalski & Limber, 2007; Li, 2006; Mishna, Saini, & Solomon, 2009; Tokunaga, 2010) and that this might lead to an increase in youth peer victimization via new technology. There does seem to have an upward trend in online harassment behaviors over the last decade. When we compared data from the three Youth Internet Safety Surveys (YISS), conducted in 2000, 2005, and 2010, the proportion of youth Internet users ages 10–17 who reported being harassed online increased from 6% to 11% between 2000 and 2010. A greater percentage of youth also reported engaging in harassment behaviors over this decade (1% to 10%) and making an increased number of "rude or nasty comments" online (14% to 40%) (Jones, Mitchell, & Finkelhor, 2013).

Although future trend data will be necessary to better understand the trajectory of youth online harassment, the increase in victimization and direct harassment perpetration has been fairly small and is not out of line with what might be expected given the total increase in youth use of new technology for communication. The increase in victimization identified by the YISS studies also appeared to be mostly driven by a rise in "indirect harassment," or comments sent or posted to others in a way that is visible. This suggests the possibility that the trend may be partly due to the increased use of social networking sites by youth, which allow negative peer comments to be more visible. More information on harassing or rude online behaviors is needed to better understand the dynamics and context, and the impact on youth, but there is no evidence we have seen in our research or in other studies that new technology has resulted in an extensive or rapidly expanding group of youth victims or perpetrators of bullying and harassment.

One consistent finding in the research is that, however it is measured, fewer youth report online harassment than traditional harassment and bullying (Robers, Zhang, & Truman, 2010; Wang, Iannotti, & Nansel, 2009; Ybarra, Mitchell, & Espelage, 2012). One study found that in 2007, about 32% of 12 to 18 year-old students reported being bullied at school during the school year compared to 4% being bullied online (Robers, Zhang, & Truman, 2010). Among an online panel of 10 to 15 year olds at the time of recruitment in 2006, 31% reported being bullied at school in the past year, 15% via the Internet, 12% through text messaging, 11% going to or from school and 14% somewhere else (Ybarra, Mitchell, & Espelage, 2012). And among a national sample of youth in grades 6 through 10 in 2005, 41% reported being a victim of relational bullying at school in the past two months, 36.5% of verbal bullying, 12.8% physical bullying, and 9.8% cyberbullying (Wang, Iannotti, & Nansel, 2009).

Who are the Victims and Perpetrators of Online Harassment?

Findings from the most recent YISS, conducted in 2010, found that online harassment is reported by youth of all ages but is somewhat more common for youth ages 13 to 15 (13%) and 16 to 17 (13%), compared to children aged 10 to 12 (7%). This is consistent with previous research on online harassment (Tokunaga, 2010), and is likely due, at least in part, to greater cellphone and online communication by adolescents. The 2010 YISS also found that girls are significantly more likely to report harassment victimization than boys (15 versus 7%); in fact, the increase in online harassment rates we reported above was mostly driven by an increase in victimization experiences by girls (Jones, Mitchell, & Finkelhor, 2013). While girls represented 48% of online harassment victims in 2000, they represented 69% of online harassment victims in 2010. As seen in Table 29.1, there was a statistically significant difference in the percentage of adolescent girls (ages 13–17) reporting online harassment, compared to other groups.

The gender difference in victimization rates may have some implications for those working with youth and for bullying prevention and intervention program developers as we discuss below. However, we caution against an interpretation that new technology is resulting in a vast increase in peer harassment victimization among girls. Peer aggression research has long noted that females tend to predominate in verbal and relational types of aggression (Espelage & Swearer, 2004), and the social networking platforms are clearly more suited to this than physical aggression and intimidation. It may be that the online environments' suitability for female-preferred types of hostility has prompted the gender-skewed increase.

The 2010 YISS also provides information on perpetrators of online harassment (see Table 29.2). Girls and boys were fairly equally represented as perpetrators, and each group tended to target victims of their own gender. Nearly three in four of all harassment episodes were committed by other youth (70%) versus adults. Over half of harassers (66%) were people the youth knew in person, while 31% were people the youth met online. The percentage of perpetrators of online harassment known to victims from their school or neighborhood has increased over the last decade (Jones, Mitchell, & Finkelhor, 2013). About one-quarter of harassment episodes were committed by more than one person and almost half of harassment episodes were committed more than once by the same person or group of people.

Table 29.1   Youth reporting an online harassment.

Ages	*Percentage reporting online harassment victimization*	
	Girls (%)	*Boys (%)*
10–12	9	5
13–15	17	8
16–17	18	7

Source: Mitchell, Jones, Finkelhor, & Wolak (2012).

Table 29.2 Harasser characteristics (YISS-3, 2010).

Incident characteristics	All (n = 176) (%)	Harassed boys (n = 55) (%)	Harassed girls (n = 121) (%)
Gender of harasser[a]			
Male	43	69	31
Female	48	22	59
Don't know	9	9	9
Age of harasser			
Younger than 18 years	71	69	71
18 to 25 years	12	18	9
Older than 25 years	2	0	3
Don't know	16	13	17
Relation to harasser			
Met online	31	33	31
Knew in person before harassment	66	64	67
	(n = 116)	(n = 35)	(n = 81)
Friend/acquaintance from school	88	89	88
Friend/acquaintance from somewhere else	3	0	5
Romantic partner (or ex-partner)	5	6	5
Family member under 18 years old	1	3	0
Neighbor	1	0	1
Someone else	2	3	1
Don't know	3	4	3
Number of people who did this			
1	72	78	69
2–3	19	13	21
4–6	5	4	5
7–10	1	2	0
11 or more	0	0	0
Don't know	4	2	5
Happened series of times (same person/ people did this more than once)	40	38	41

Notes: Some categories do not add to 100% because of rounding and/or missing data.
[a]$p < 0.001$
Source: Mitchell, Jones, Finkelhor, & Wolak (2012).

Harassment among Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) Youth

Because of contextual factors such as prejudice and social isolation, peer victimization is commonly reported by lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender youth (Kosciw & Diaz, 2006). Homophobic teasing is common (American Association of University Women Educational Foundation, 2001; Espelage, Basile, & Hamburger, 2012): LGBT youth are more than two times as likely as non-LGBT youth to say that they have been verbally harassed and called names at school (51% vs. 25%) (Human Rights Campaign, 2012). There is a noted paucity of research looking at the experiences of youth who identify as transgender in particular. Compared to male and female gender LGB youth, transgender youth appear to be even more likely to be victimized and have less social support (Kosciw & Diaz, 2006).

Similar to face-to-face environments, LGBT youth may be more likely to be victimized online than their non-LGBT peers. This hypothesis is supported by the finding that 41% of LGBT youth in the GLSEN school survey report being the victim of Internet harassment in the form of threatening or harassing emails (Kosciw & Diaz, 2006). Further, in an online study of almost 6000 13 to 18 year olds in the United States, more LGBT youth reported online or text messaging-based sexual harassment than non-LGBT youth (Mitchell, Ybarra, & Korchmaros, 2014). For example, 46% of bisexual males reported sexual harassment online in the past year, compared with 12% of heterosexual females and 5% of heterosexual males. At the same time, the Internet may serve as a safe haven for some LGBT youth. One Australian study with over 200 LGBT young Internet users found that young people generally believed that the Internet was a safer place for them to socialize than offline where the rates of discrimination and abuse are high (Hillier & Harrison, 2007).

The Impact of Harassment

Research finds that both online harassment victims and perpetrators are at risk for a wide range of social, emotional and behavioral problems and there is a substantial amount of overlap between victims and perpetrators. Youths who engage in harassing behavior tend to also be targets of such harassment; such youths are almost four times more likely to be victims (Ybarra & Mitchell, 2004b). Online harassment victimization and perpetration involvement has been correlated with poor caregiver-child relationships, problematic school indicators such as detention and suspension, skipping school, carrying a weapon to school (Ybarra, Diener-West, & Leaf, 2007); higher rates of depressive symptomatology (Ybarra, 2004); substance use (Ybarra & Mitchell, 2004a, b; Ybarra, Diener-West, & Leaf, 2007; Ybarra & Mitchell, 2007); and greater rates of suicidal ideation (Hinduja & Patchin, 2010, Patchin & Hinduja, 2010a). Perpetrators of online harassment are also more likely to report higher levels of anger, frustration, aggression and rule-breaking behaviors (Patchin & Hinduja, 2010b; Ybarra & Mitchell, 2007), delinquency (Ybarra & Mitchell, 2004b) and violence (Mishna et al., 2012; Ybarra & Mitchell, 2004b). As has been found in research on traditional bullying (Cook et al., 2010; Glew et al., 2005; Stein, Dukes, & Warren, 2007), youth who are both perpetrators and victims of online harassment appear to represent a particularly high-risk group of youth (Mishna et al., 2012; Ybarra & Mitchell, 2004a).

To fully understand its emotional impact, however, online harassment victimization will need to be better understood in the context of other youth victimization experiences. We know, in general, that victimizations of one kind tend to increase a youth's vulnerability to other kinds, and that multiple types of victimization result in the most serious consequences for youth (Appleyard et al., 2005; Felitti et al., 1998; Finkelhor, Ormrod, & Turner, 2007a, b). Polyvictims (i.e., those experiencing multiple different types of victimization) report extremely high levels of psychological distress and symptoms (Finkelhor, Ormrod, & Turner, 2007a, b). Some initial research suggests that online victimization (in the form of harassment and/or sexual solicitation) is related to trauma symptomatology (i.e., anger, depression, anxiety) and delinquency even after adjusting for offline victimizations (Mitchell et al., 2011). Future research needs to provide more information about which aspects of online harassment victimization, in which conditions or contexts,

result in greater distress and negative consequences for victims; and in what ways online harassment perpetration and victimization interact with other victimization experiences to affect youth.

Understanding Online Harassment in the Context of Other Forms of Peer Victimization

Efforts have increased in recent years to clarify the ways that online harassment is similar to or different from traditional harassment or bullying (Beran & Li, 2007; Juvonen & Gross, 2008; Katzer, Fetchenhauer, & Belschak, 2009; Raskauskas & Stoltz, 2007; Sumter et al., 2012; Wolak, Mitchell, & Finkelhor, 2007; Ybarra, Diener-West, & Leaf, 2007). There does appear to be a significant amount of overlap between the two types of peer victimization. Studies have found reliable correlations between being the victim of online and offline bullying or harassment (Beran & Li, 2007; Katzer, Fetchenhauer, & Belschak, 2009; Raskauskas & Stoltz, 2007; Sumter et al., 2012; Wolak, Mitchell, & Finkelhor, 2007) and given how much youth communication and peer interaction currently (Lenhart et al., 2011), it is likely that a certain amount of peer disagreements or harassment would simply "spill over" into the online environment.

It does appear that at least some youth harassment incidents only happen online or using new technology, although estimates of the percentage of online-only harassment victims vary widely. Studies examining both types of harassment cite varying percentages (e.g., 10%; 15%; and 64%) of online harassment victims that experienced no offline harassment (Juvonen & Gross, 2008; Olweus, 2012; Sumter et al., 2012; Ybarra, Diener-West, & Leaf, 2007). However, no research looking at both online and traditional bullying has yet explored the intersection at the incident level: in other words, how often online harassment events are concurrently happening alongside harassment by the same perpetrators at school, work or other locations.

Some have suggested that the impact of online harassment could be worse than traditional harassment, citing that online harassers have the ability to post, comment or make pictures or videos available to widespread audiences (Dempsey et al., 2009; Kowalski & Limber, 2007), that the aggression can reach targets at any time of the day and night , and in their homes (Dempsey et al., 2009; Kowalski & Limber, 2007). However, alternative hypotheses can also be constructed. For example, new technology may provide a distance that lessens the impact compared to face-to-face verbal or physical aggression, or helplessness might be reduced because youth are able to block or dismiss harassing posts fairly easily. We lack data on how the emotional impact of technology-related harassment compares with in-person peer victimization. There is some evidence that online harassment in itself does result in many of the same types of distress or difficulties associated with in-person bullying. Research has identified that youth who experience online harassment, even with no offline bullying experiences, still have higher rates of difficulties at school and absenteeism (Beran & Li, 2007), social anxiety , internalizing difficulties and negative self-esteem (Fredstrom, Adams, & Gilman, 2011; Juvonen & Gross, 2008; Mitchell, Ybarra, & Finkelhor, 2007; Wolak, Mitchell, & Finkelhor, 2007; Ybarra, Diener-West, & Leaf, 2007) compared with nonvictims.

Finally, there is some initial research to suggest that there may be different dynamics occurring with at least some types of online harassment occur via new technology. Wang and colleagues (2009), for example, found that having more friends was a protective factor for physical, and offline relational and verbal bullying, but not cyberbullying. Furthermore, data from the 2010 YISS found that nearly one in three incidents were perpetrated by people the youth only knew online (Table 29.2), and these incidents might have a different dynamic than offline-only, or mixed online-offline harassment incidents. It is also important to note that, while three in four incidents were committed by other youth, 14% were known to be committed by adults and in 16% of episodes the youth did not know the age of the harasser. Among youth who are harassed online, those who are targeted by adults are significantly more likely to report distress because of the experience (Ybarra et al., 2006). But a great deal more research is needed to better understand the types or features of online harassment that are unique and may require responses that differ from our current arsenal of antibullying prevention and intervention strategies.

Summary

The small but growing body of research on online harassment suggests that while online harassment is experienced by a significant number of youth, and many are negatively affected by the more serious incidents, public anxiety about cyberbullying appears to have outpaced the reality of both the scope and impact of the problem, particularly in comparison to other victimization concerns that youth face (Finkelhor et al., 2009). Youth trend research, in fact, suggests that over the past couple of decades, bullying has been declining (Finkelhor et al., 2010) and youth report feeling safer at school (Robers et al., 2010). While trend data suggests that online harassment has increased slightly over the last 10 years (Jones, Mitchell, & Finkelhor, 2013), the increase is not out of pace with the increase in all youth online behaviors.

There are critical research questions about youth online harassment that remain unanswered. We still do not fully understand how online and offline harassment and bullying overlap, particularly at the incident level. We do not know whether the emotional impact of online harassment is worse than traditional peer victimization, or if so, under what circumstances. And we do not know how causal and protective factors might be the same or different for online harassment versus other types of peer harassment. The latter gap in our knowledge is particularly important if we are going to develop, update, or fine tune prevention peer victimization programs and interventions so that online harassment prevention is accomplished in effective and implementable ways.

Based on the research that has been done however, we can draw some conclusions about the scope and impact of online harassment that can help us in our work with youth now. The studies done so far have been fairly consistent that: (i) online harassment happens less frequently than in-person peer harassment; (ii) more girls appear to be involved in and affected by online harassment than boys; (iii) as with traditional bullying, victims and perpetrators of online harassment are most typically youth who have histories that put them at risk for a range of social, emotional and behavioral problems; and (iv) preliminary data suggest that at least some types of online harassment may have different dynamics from traditional peer harassment. There may, for example, be important distinctions between the characteristics of: (i) harassment perpetrated by known peers (e.g., schoolmates) across both online

and offline environments; and (ii) online harassment that is solely perpetrated through new technology contexts. However, a great deal more research is needed to understand whether and how dynamics differ across types of online harassment.

What are the Implications for Prevention and Intervention based on What We Know?

1 *Although the field is unlikely to reach a consensus on definition and measurement, terminology is important when educating the public and media about online harassment or cyberbullying.*

  The parallel that has been drawn between online harassment and bullying through popular use of the term "cyberbullying," limits public understanding by wrongly implying that: (i) online harassment is always a multi-incident event when this is not always how it is measured or intended; (ii) there is a power imbalance, at least according to the oft-used definition of bullying (Olweus, 2007); and (iii) the victimizations are always serious or upsetting events. But "power imbalance," particularly with online harassment, is difficult to define, and much of online harassment is perceived by youth as minor and not upsetting. Colloquial use of the term "cyberbullying," or even "bullying" for that matter, is often broader than the technical definition that has been traditionally used by researchers (Finkelhor, Turner, & Hamby, 2012; Olweus, 2007). Furthermore, other types of serious peer victimizations like dating violence and sexual harassment are not typically included in the conceptualization of cyberbullying or bullying, even though these elements may be present.

  We recommend that mental health and other professionals help the public and the media recognize that online harassment can take many forms ranging from minor, common experiences of interpersonal conflict (e.g., one time angry remark sent by text) that may not be particularly upsetting to youth to persistent and serious victimization, including threats of violence and stalking. Some harassment episodes may include a sexual component, such as sexual requests, gestures, contact, and/or images. And some harassment takes the form of exclusion whereas other harassment involves making fun of others and teasing, spreading rumors or sharing personal information without permission. All of these types of situations can occur solely through technology, or technology can be used in the context of an ongoing and multifaceted victimization process.

2 *The focus on online versus offline peer harassment may be obscuring the most important factors associated with negative consequences for youth victims.*

  There is no indication, even across the shifting technological developments since 2005, that distressing online harassment is something significantly different from distressing peer victimization problems that have always been, and continue to be, a concern for youth. In fact, whether online or offline, the degree of distress caused by a harassment victimization incident is likely influenced by particular and measureable factors: a believable physical threat, sexual taunts, a sense of powerlessness, or a greater number of perpetrators or witnesses, for example, instead of the form itself (i.e., conventional versus cyber) (Bauman & Newman, 2013). There may be ways that the online environment might increase the rate of certain highly negative features such as more witnesses, or perhaps greater powerlessness under some conditions. Such hypotheses should be the focus of future research efforts.

The focus on online harassment may also mislead the public into unfairly blaming new technology or misperceiving its risks for youth in comparison to its potential benefits. Although our data found that the increase in the use of social networking sites by youth may have been a factor in increased youth experiences of indirect online harassment (Jones, Mitchell, & Finkelhor, 2013), rates of youth experiencing an online sexual solicitation (requests for sexual activity, discussion, or pictures) actually declined substantially between 2000 and 2010 (Jones et al., 2012), a change we think could also be connected to a movement of youth online from anonymous "chat rooms" in the early part of the decade to communication with peers on social networking sites.

3 *There is no compelling evidence in the research so far that the prevention of online harassment should be conducted separately from traditional antibullying or social-emotional learning approaches.*

As research continues to advance our understanding of online harassment, it will provide valuable information about how to update current youth prevention programs that seek to reduce peer victimization (social emotional learning programs and antibullying, date rape, and sexual harassment prevention efforts, for example), but so far the data do not suggest the need for stand-alone cyberbullying prevention programs. Even if the dynamics prove to be different for some kinds of online harassment, it is not clear that there are specific cyberbullying protection skills or information that would not be addressed through standard bullying prevention efforts. Given the much longer track record and research base for bullying in general, it probably makes most sense to integrate the efforts.

Unfortunately, many cyberbullying education programs are being developed and disseminated without attention to what research has taught us about effective prevention. Much of the existing cyberbullying prevention efforts rely on single session lecture-based lessons, when we know from previous research that active, multisession, skills-based programs work best (Bond & Carmol Haul, 2004; Dusenbury & Falco, 1995; Gottfredson & Wilson, 2003; Hahn et al., 2007). And the messages of such programs often fail to reflect research (Jones et al., 2012). Programs do not emphasize, for example, that harassment via technology is highly varied, ranging from single episodes to more serious events. Most programs fail to reassure youth that most of their peers do not engage in online harassment, thus missing an opportunity to promote positive youth norms. Many also use the strategy of promoting simplistic slogans or advice through educational materials. For example, a popular message in current usage is to encourage youth to: "Think before you click." The thought behind it appears to be that impulsivity is causing a lot of online problems for youth, and that if youth would pause and reflect before posting or sending, they might soften an aggressive text. But there is no research that impulsivity is behind online harassment, nor is there good logic to assume that youth will know how to apply such advice based on a slogan.

Even the most common recommendation for youth to "Tell an adult" has questionable protective logic as a directive. Probably most youth in difficult situations consider telling adults but hold off for a variety of understandable reasons. For example, research suggests that most youth are quite skeptical that telling actually helps (Davis & Nixon, 2014) and report that such disclosures often result in no change or can even make things worse. Making the issue of "telling" even more complex, the youth running into particular troubles online are often the very

youth who have communication problems with parents and other adults to begin with. It seems unfair to provide youth with slogans or advice that has unclear or unproven ties to improving their safety and wellbeing.

Yet, even if schools were able to reformulate and improve online harassment prevention interventions, a unique focus on online harassment or cyberbullying may not be advisable, given increasing requirements on schools during an era of decreasing resources. Schools can likely make the biggest difference for youth by implementing evidence-based bullying programs and social emotional learning programs that have incorporated information about online harassment and behavior into their curricula. The most successful prevention efforts focus on teaching youth relational and social skills such as perspective-taking, emotional regulation, communication skills, and effective bystander intervention skills (Durlak et al., 2011). These are skills that would likely translate to any environment or communication modality, including the Internet, and would minimize the concern adults have about predicting the next problematic development in web sites or technologies.

4 *Nonetheless, there are some features of online harassment emerging from the research that suggest attention as schools, mental health professionals, and communities consider the their prevention and intervention efforts.*

First, clinicians and educators should keep in mind that new technologies do appear to provide an environment that is suited to the kinds of harassment behaviors most likely to be used by girls. Bullying and social emotional learning programs should make sure they are targeting skills than can help girls negotiate peer conflict and anger issues that lead to relational and verbal harassment behaviors online and offline. Role playing and discussion exercises should reflect conflict patterns and scenarios that are typical among girls' social networks in order to allow them to identify and practice prosocial skills relevant to their peer culture.

Second, schools will need to make sure that their bullying and harassment policies have incorporated online harassment. Even though some of these behaviors occur away from school, they can result in disruptions in school functioning, safety or security for students. School districts should be clear about their response policies to disclosures or discoveries of online harassment. Legislation is increasingly requiring schools to adopt policies on cyberbullying and consequences for ignoring the impact of this new environment on school bullying policy or dismissing the problem as "not school related" can result in even more complicated legal crises when they occur (Willard, 2007). Policy recommendations are available for school districts seeking to amend policy and for advice on defining how and when off-campus online bullying behaviors come under authority for school (Cross et al., 2011; Hinduja & Patchin, 2009; Willard, 2007).

Finally, youth online activity will probably continue to develop and change in unexpected ways and there will be a sustained need for the technology sector to expand their role as sentinels for youth safety. We have seen engagement by many technology companies in providing safety solutions, monitoring youth safety and behavior, and providing resources to youth such as options for reporting abusive content. It will be important for technology companies to continue such involvement, structuring and engineering their sites that in ways that further improve the online experience for youth and increase their safety in the future.

5   *Future research on online harassment needs to attend to factors most central to improving prevention and response.*

The Role of Bystanders   More and more attention is being placed on the importance of bystanders in peer victimization. Peers are present in as many as 85% of school bullying episodes (Craig, Pepler, & Atlas, 2000), however research has found that few actively reach out to help the victim (10–25%) (Craig & Pepler, 1997; Hawkins, Pepler, & Craig, 2001; O'Connell, Pepler, & Craig, 1999). In one study of playground bullying, peers spent 54% of their time reinforcing bullies by passively watching, 21% of their time actively modeling bullies, and 25% of their time intervening on behalf of victims (O'Connell, Pepler, & Craig, 1999). This lower rate of coming to the aid of victims is discouraging given that when enacted, such interventions tend to be effective. In a naturalistic study, 57% of peer interventions were successful in stopping the bullying episodes within 10 s (Hawkins, Pepler, & Craig, 2001). Findings from the 2010 YISS indicate that 40% of harassment incidents occurred when someone else was online who could see or read what happened (Mitchell et al., 2012). However, of those situations that did involve bystanders, 19% did something to help stop it; a similar percentage occurring in more traditional harassment and bullying incidents. More research is needed on the ways in which intervention by peers is conducted and proving helpful in preventing further harassment in electronic environments in particular. With the increased communication provided by new technology and the lasting nature of electronic evidence, it is possible that bystander opportunities may increase for youth. A number of prevention strategies have begun to work specifically in educating bystanders about how to intervene (Stueve et al., 2006). This broader community approach to preventing peer violence is consistent with a public health model of violence prevention targeting peer and community norms and actions rather than just individual risk and protective factors.

Better Information on How Online Harassment Episodes are Successfully Resolved   Much of the general victimization programming involves getting youth to report victimization to school authorities, parents, or police as a form of resolution. Forty-six percent of children and adolescents who had experienced violence in the past year had at least one of their victimization incidents known to school, police, or medical authorities, although rates varied depending on the type of victimization (Finkelhor et al., 2011). Authority awareness of victimization was low for some forms of victimization, including peer and sibling victimizations (17%). Disclosure of online harassment appears to fall on the low end of the spectrum as well with 12% of incidents disclosed to an authority (police, school personnel) (Ybarra et al., 2006). However, more information about whether and when telling parents, school staff and other adults provide benefits is critical. Educators have long recognized the need to promote disclosure about peer incidents; authorities can provide resources and help prevent retaliation: "Tell an adult" is a common recommendation made by cyberbullying prevention experts. But we need more information about the situations in which this is actually helpful to youth, and the most helpful responses by parents and school personnel. Such information would be very useful for practitioners trying to provide advice to youth and parents.

More Research about the Most Distressing Kinds of Harassment   It appears that relatively few youth suffer repeated, distressing incidents, but the number is still substantial

(see for example, Ybarra et al., 2007). This is the group that needs particular attention from practitioners. More research is needed to help clinicians and schools identify these youth and provide effective services to victims and studies will be needed with large enough samples to fully characterize the dynamics of these episodes.

Conclusion

While public concern and attention around online harassment and cyberbullying is very high right now, there is no indication that new technology has led to a large number of new victims or perpetrators of bullying. Research on online harassment is still preliminary, and likely more questions will be answered as the field advances. Program developers, service providers and policy makers need to not only increase their use of this growing body of research, but also draw upon the decades of research on peer harassment, victimization, and prevention education that has accumulated, which is still very relevant despite the new technological dimension. There appear to be some early indications that some types of online harassment may have unique dynamics, victim and perpetrator characteristics, or emotional outcomes for victims compared to traditional peer harassment; but this research is currently very incomplete. Mental health and youth-serving professionals need to be careful not to make untested assumptions or claims as they work with youth, and help educate families. Most of the research so far suggests a great deal of overlap between online harassment and other bullying and peer harassment behaviors, and the best prevention and education will likely be successful across many different environments and locations, including shifting and even unpredictable online settings.

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Technology and Violence
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Technology and Violence

Computers, cell phones, and the Internet have drastically changed the way that individuals, businesses, and governments communicate around the world (Jewkes & Sharpe, 2003; Wall, 2007). The availability of smartphones, laptops, and portable data-storage devices coupled with the decreasing costs of high-speed wireless connectivity allows individuals to be connected to the Internet 24 hours a day, regardless of their location. In turn, banks and industry have changed the way that consumers can access products and information by developing Web-based resources and applications that provide consumers with desired goods and services, while maintaining sensitive data in large repositories that may be accessed at any time (James, 2005; Newman & Clarke, 2003). Governments and defense agencies also utilize these resources to maintain and manage intellectual property and classified data, but in a way that is firewalled and protected from the larger population of Internet users (Brenner, 2008; Denning, 2011). Even critical services that are vital to daily life such as water, sewer, telecommunications, and power grids are managed through networked computer systems to increase efficiency and reduce costs (Brodsky & Radvanovsky, 2011; Rege-Patwardhan, 2009).

The tremendous societal benefits provided by technology also create substantial opportunities for crime and deviance in virtual and real spaces (Newman & Clarke, 2003; Wall, 2001). A wide body of scholarship has emerged concerning the study of cybercrimes – offenses that are enabled by and through technology and cyberspace (Wall, 2001). For instance, a great deal of research focuses on cybercrimes that generate monetary gain for the offender, such as computer hacking (Bossler & Burruss, 2011; Holt, 2007; Schell & Dodge, 2002) and fraud schemes (Holt & Graves, 2007; Holt & Lampke, 2010; James, 2005). Others have explored the impact of the Internet and computer technology on person-based offenses that produce emotional or physical harm, such as harassment (Finn, 2004; Holt & Bossler, 2009) and child exploitation (Jenkins, 2001; Wolak, Finkelhor, & Mitchell, 2012).

These studies have greatly increased our understanding of the role of technology as a facilitator for *crime*; little research, however, has examined the way that computer technology may affect *violent behavior* online and offline (Denning, 2011; Martin,

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2006; Wall, 2001). Multimedia resources available through YouTube and social networking profiles allow groups to share their position on various events, including violent extremist thought, and find others who may share their point of view (Forest, 2009; Gruen, 2005). For instance, extremists and terrorist groups have begun to utilize the Internet and computers for communications and information exchange due to anonymity, the low cost availability of computers, and the ease of Internet connectivity and cellular telephony (Brenner, 2008; Britz, 2010; Denning, 2011; Wall, 2001, 2007). Similarly, the technologies that support telecommunications, financial institutions, and government agencies can be subverted by hackers to cause harm online and offline (Brodsky & Radvanovski, 2011; Rege, 2009). In fact, such attacks may be planned, performed, and advertised more efficiently and with greater ease than a physical attack due to the ability to conceal the attack from authorities (Brenner, 2008; Denning, 2011).

Thus, this chapter assesses the role of technology as a facilitator for violence in both the virtual and real world. Specifically, we discuss violence in the context of cybercrime and its relationship to other offenses such as terrorism. In addition, we examine the ways that the Internet and computer technology can be used to affect the dissemination of information, intelligence gathering, recruiting, and attacks against infrastructure.

The Intersection of Violence, Cyberspace, and the Real World

There is a wide body of research on the phenomena of cybercrime due to the myriad forms of deviance and offending that are enabled through technology. One of the most widely cited typologies to categorize cybercrimes was proposed by David Wall (2001) based on the offense's impact and effect: cybertrespass; cyber deception/theft; cyberporn/obscenity; and cyberviolence. Cybertrespass recognizes the crossing of invisible, yet salient boundaries of ownership online (Wall, 2001). Computer hackers typically engage in cybertrespass due to their frequent participation in attacks against computer systems and networks that they do not own (Bossler & Burruss, 2011; Holt, 2007). Deception and theft incorporate offenses like fraud and the theft of sensitive financial information and intellectual property, such as music or movies (Wall, 2001). Cyberporn and obscenity encompasses the creation and distribution of sexual content, including pornography featuring adults and children, and services such as prostitution (Wall, 2001).

While these first three categories comprise behaviors that are largely criminalized by industrialized nations, the final category of cyberviolence includes both criminal and noncriminal actions. Specifically, cyberviolence includes person-based offenses such as the use of threatening or harassing messages sent through email, text, or video and social networking sites (Wall, 2001). Individual involvement in cyberstalking or online harassment has been made illegal in most countries with civil or criminal penalties (Bocij, 2004; Marcum, 2010).

At the same time, this category also includes the distribution of injurious, hurtful, or dangerous materials online to cause harm either online or offline. For instance, the Internet has been used as a means to spread bomb-making manuals, guerrilla warfare tactics, weapons and assassination tutorials, and guides to perform hacks, identity

theft, and fraud (Weimann, 2005). Sharing this type of information is generally not an illegal act, but rather illustrates the original purpose of information sharing that the Internet was designed to facilitate (Wall, 2001). In addition, free speech laws in the United States and elsewhere protect the publication or dissemination of radical positions or ideological documents (Ahituv, 2010). Thus, posting information is not necessarily illegal but presents an ethically questionable action due to the way in which information may be used.

The distribution of information that could be used to facilitate or incite violence presents an important threat to individuals on and offline. Tutorials on methods to damage property or persons could be used to cause violent activity in the real world. In much the same way, tutorials on techniques to engage in attacks against financial payment systems or critical infrastructure could be used to facilitate harm against computer systems and in turn produce potential real world harm. Thus, cyberviolence is particularly challenging because its presence affects individuals online and offline, and may encompass other forms of cybercrime as well.

Violence as a Form of Crime, Activism, or Terror

In order to clarify the problem of cyberviolence, it must first be contextualized based on how it may be used by different individuals and to what ends. Both criminal actors and ideologically driven extremist groups may engage in the same behaviors making it difficult to determine if the act is a crime or act of terror (Brenner, 2008). Furthermore, many nations may treat acts of terror as criminal offenses making it difficult to separate these acts (Brenner, 2008). Given that many forms of cyberviolence may be used in furtherance of a political agenda, it is valuable to place its use into the larger spectrum of political actions (Holt & Kilger, 2012a; Schmid, 1988, 2004).

Traditional acts of nonviolent resistance, such as the expression of political opinions or beliefs that may be in opposition to larger social norms, can be easily performed online by posting messages on Facebook, Twitter, and other social media (Martin, 2006; Schmid, 1988, 2004). In fact, individuals now contact politicians using the Internet at the same rate as postal mail and telephone (Best & Krueger, 2005). Messages created in a virtual environment can spread rapidly and allow individuals to identify others who share their opinions or beliefs and promote awareness of social causes (Ayers, 1999; Chadwick, 2007; Jennings & Zeitner, 2003; Stepanova, 2011). Virtual social networks also engender the formation of a collective identity that cuts across digital and real spaces which may affect willingness to engage in nontraditional forms of political expression, like protests and demonstrations (Chadwick, 2007; Earl & Schussman, 2003; Jennings & Zeitner, 2003; Stepanova, 2011; Van Laer, 2010). Thus, traditional forms of nonviolent political actions can be directly affected by the use of CMCs.

Individuals may also engage in more serious forms of political action in physical space that involve minor destruction such as vandalism in order to express their beliefs (Brenner, 2008; Denning, 2011; Holt & Kilger, 2012a, b). In virtual spaces, individuals may engage in similar forms of vandalism to demonstrate political dissent. Some refer to such actions as hacktivism, where hacking techniques are used to promote an activist agenda or express an opinion (Denning, 2011; Jordan & Taylor, 2004; Taylor, 1999). Actors can utilize Web defacements to vandalize web sites and

post messages and beliefs (Denning, 2011; Woo, Kim, & Dominick, 2004). In this sort of attack, an individual replaces the existing html code for a Web page with an image and message that they create. This is an inconvenience and embarrassment to the site owner and may be more malicious if the defacer chooses to delete the original content entirely (Denning, 2011; Woo et al., 2004). Additionally, individuals may infiltrate sensitive government networks to delete important information or reveal it to the general public to embarrass or attack an institution as with the recent release of diplomatic cables through Wikileaks (Holt & Kilger, 2012a; Sifry, 2011). Such actions may also be used by traditional cybercriminals, though it has become a key attack method for those interested in political expression in cyberspace (Denning, 2011; Jordan & Taylor, 2004).

The most extreme forms of political activity in the real world involve planned acts of violence through the use of explosives or assassinations to promote a social agenda (Schmid, 2004). Such acts are often defined as terrorism, especially if the action is intended to cause political change or produce fear or concern among civilian populations (Martin, 2006; Schmid, 2004; Schmid & Jongman, 2005). In much the same way, the term cyberterror has emerged as a means to account for the use of technology to facilitate similar acts of violence (Britz, 2010; Denning, 2011; Foltz, 2004; Martin, 2006; Pollitt, 1998).

There is, however, little agreement over the use of this term, as many argue that that an act of cyberterror must result in a loss of life or physical harm in the real world (see Britz, 2010 for discussion). Traditional definitions of terror often incorporate the concept of physical harm, such as the catastrophic loss of life through suicide bombings to cause fear and confusion in larger populations (Martin, 2006; Schmid & Jongman, 2005). Actual destruction or loss of life is not necessary in online environments due to the fact that attackers can still produce fear in civilian populations. For instance, an attack against the electronic infrastructure supporting financial institutions or power systems could produce a loss of service that results in economic harm or disruption of vital services (Brenner, 2008; Britz, 2010; Brodsky & Radvanovsky, 2011; Denning, 2011). Such an outcome could produce substantive concerns over future attacks that could be the equal to that of physical terror attacks (Britz, 2008; Denning, 2011; Kilger, 2011). In fact, state and local law enforcement agencies have begun to recognize the relationship between cyber and physical terror attacks and are placing increased resources to prepare for incidents in either environment (Holt, Bossler, & Fitzgerald, 2010; Stambaugh et al., 2001). As a result, physical harm may be less pertinent relative to the production of fear in defining an incident as an act of cyberterror.

As a consequence, some definitions of cyberterrorism have begun to include the range of ways that technology may be used to facilitate terror activities in keeping with Wall's (2001) typology of cybercrimes. For instance, Britz (2010, p. 197) provides a very expansive definition of cyberterror that encapsulates the value of the Internet as a communications medium and venue for attacks against various targets:

> The premeditated, methodological, ideologically motivated dissemination of information, facilitation of communication, or, attack against physical targets, digital information, computer systems, and/or computer programs which is intended to cause social, financial, physical, or psychological harm to noncombatant targets and audiences for the purpose of affecting ideological, political, or social change; or any utilization of digital communication or information which facilitates such actions directly or indirectly.

This definition is more comprehensive than others currently in use and recognizes all the various applications of technology in support of extremist ideologies. In turn, we shall use this framework to consider how technology is used to facilitate all matter of violent actions online and offline.

Technology as an Information Source for Violence

The Internet is a key resource for the dissemination of information to facilitate violence online and offline. The decentralized and increasingly user-friendly nature of the World Wide Web allows individuals to create and share content with others around the world. The ability to create and publish blog content, for instance, gives a free mouthpiece to anyone with the time and inclination to make their voice heard. If an individual feels that a certain group or entity should be harmed, they can make videos and post them on YouTube, share content via Twitter or Facebook, and spread their opinion through the blogosphere at virtually no cost.

There are a wide range of repositories to publish potentially harmful guides and tutorials online. For instance, the web site textfiles.com is filled with hundreds of text documents on subjects ranging from bomb making, fraud scheme development, hand-to-hand combat, harassment techniques, incendiary device construction, lock picking, and weapons manufacturing (textfiles.com). This is just one example of the many web sites currently operating; in fact, sites like textfiles.com have been in existence since the emergence of Bulletin Board Systems (BBS) in the early 1980s as noted in the Jason Scott (2002) film *BBS Movie*. Additionally, extremist groups have long published their own manuals in various outlets online, such as the *Mujahadeen poisons handbook* from Hamas and the *Encyclopedia of jihad* published by al Qaeda (Weimann, 2005). The Internet is an invaluable medium for the publication of terror manuals because individuals can easily copy a text file and repost, email, or share this material in some way. The small size of these documents, coupled with the ability to compress them through various formats make it easy to share with others. Thus, this presents a substantive challenge for law enforcement since such content cannot be easily eliminated from online spaces (Wall, 2001).

There are several examples of the publication of information leading to direct instances of harm in the real world. Specifically, the Earth Liberation Front's "Ozymandius" manual is available in various outlets online (Holt, 2012; Taylor, Fritsch, Liederbach, & Holt, 2010). This guide gives tactical and strategic information on methods to destroy or impact heavy machinery and construction equipment used by logging companies. For instance, there is detailed information on tree spiking, whereby a large nail or spike is driven into a tree in a concealed location. When a logging company attempts to use a chainsaw to cut down that tree and hits the spike, it will cause the chain to break. In turn, this could potentially disable the chainsaw, injure the worker, and deliberately slow down deforestation. This manual also contains information on incendiary device construction and has been used by the ELF to engage in bombings and arson in Colorado (Holt, 2012; Taylor et al., 2010).

The dissemination of dangerous or injurious information extends beyond the publication of terror manuals. The massive volume of seemingly innocuous information online can be aggregated by terror or extremist groups to engage in reconnaissance and mission planning (Britz, 2010; Kilger, 2011). For instance, satellite images from

Google Earth and Google Maps generate free, near real-time images of the topography and detail of major cities and venues around the world. Such information could be used to develop tactical entry and exit strategies for attacks and planning, as in the case of the 2008 terror attacks in Mumbai, India (Britz, 2009; Kilger, 2011). In much the same way, information on public utilities, telephony, and certain aspects of critical infrastructure can be found through web sites and government repositories online (Weimann, 2005; Kilger, 2011). This information is often freely accessible due to the public nature of service providers, though it can be used to develop information on the companies that service infrastructure or understand the topography of services in an area (Kilger, 2011). Thus, the open and free exchange of information in virtual environments can be readily subverted by actors to engage in violence.

The Internet as a Communications Vehicle

The Internet has tremendous value for extremists and terror groups as a communications vehicle for various purposes. The accessibility, cost, scale, and anonymity afforded by computers and the Internet make email, forums, instant messaging, and other computer-mediated communications an ideal venue for contact. Most nations have some form of Internet connectivity, whether through cellular connectivity or hard-wired telephony. Multimedia creation software suites allow for the creation of videos, photos, and stylized text with minimal economic investment as these tools can be pirated through various web sites (Holt & Copes, 2010). In addition, cell phone cameras and Web cams allow individuals to create training videos and share these resources to others through video sharing sites at no cost (Gruen, 2005).

One of the greatest strengths of the Internet lies in its ability to allow groups to directly control the delivery of their message to the media and the public at large, which is critical to any terrorist organization (Forest, 2009). Whereas traditional news outlets may focus on certain aspects of an event, web sites, blogs, and social media allow groups to spread their message directly to interested parties. Posting videos and news stories through social media also provide a mechanism to publicly refute claims made from media and governments to ensure the group is presented in a positive light (Forest, 2009; Gruen, 2005). For instance, participants in the recent Arab Spring created videos on camera phones to show violent repression by government and police agencies as they happened to news agencies around the world (Stepanova, 2011).

The ability to directly connect with others through virtual communications, including social networking sites, regardless of geographic location is extremely useful for extremist groups to promote violence online and offline (Castle, 2011; Gruen, 2005; Weimann, 2005). The ability to find others who share similar points of view is invaluable in the indoctrination and facilitation of extreme beliefs. For instance, the web site newsaxon.org is a social networking site that is dubbed "An Online Community for Whites by Whites" (Newsaxon.org). The site is run by a neo-Nazi group, the National Socialist Movement, and features banner ads for various white power and neo-Nazi record labels. Individuals can create profiles on this site to blog and share photos, videos, and music with other members. The site serves as a venue for individuals to engage in conversations and connect with others virtually and through the real world via an active events calendar that is updated by site participants.

Web forums and social media are also practical because they allow active exchanges in near real time with others. The ability to regularly communicate with others from diverse backgrounds ensures that individuals can be slowly, but steadily introduced to the core principles of a movement (Gerstenfeld, Grant, & Chiang, 2003; Gruen, 2005; Weimann, 2005). In turn, the participants may be more willing to share a collective identity and join larger social movements which could lead to involvement in violence online or offline (Gerstenfeld et al., 2003; Perry, 2000). For example, the Web forum Stormfront.org is extremely popular among the neo-Nazi movement and provides a resource for discussions on all facets of this movement (Castle, 2011; Gerstenfeld et al., 2003; Weimann, 2005). The global jihad movement has also leveraged a range of forums across the globe written in multiple languages to discuss justifications for the resistance of Western occupation of Iraq and the general lack of respect Western nations show to the Islamic value systems (Britz, 2009; Weimann, 2005).

Extremist groups can also utilize the multimedia capabilities of the Web to promote their ideas and images to a larger audience in a subtle and convincing way which may help to foster long-term rage and frustration toward perceived oppressive or hostile regimes (Forest, 2009; Gruen, 2005). For example, the extremist group Stormwatch operates a web site about Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., the Civil Rights leader, which appears to be legitimate on the surface (martinlutherking.org). The content of the site, however, decries his role in the pursuit of equality and suggests he was actually a mouthpiece for Jews and communists, in keeping with the perceptions of the White supremacist movement generally (Weimann, 2005). The low cost of technology also allows individuals to create high quality music and videos that can be uploaded and spread through YouTube and other social networking sites (Britz, 2009; Weimann, 2005). For instance, the group Prussian Blue was a white nationalist pop group featuring two blond teen girls who used pop and folk rock styling to promote a white supremacist agenda including Holocaust denial messages (Jipson, 2007). The group maintained a MySpace page and gained nationwide notoriety through the release of their first CD in 2004. Their music was sold online through Resistance Records, a record label run by the National Alliance (Jipson, 2007). Their youthful appearance and popular sound made their music more accessible to the general public in a way that spoke directly to a younger generation.

Similarly, some extremist groups have begun to develop video games in order to promote their beliefs in a socially acceptable, and approachable, way to younger audiences. One of the most well known of these games is called "Ethnic Cleansing" and was developed and released through Resistance Records using no-cost open-source software. This a so-called "first-person shooter," wherein the game is played from the point of view of a skinhead or Klansman who kills blacks, Jews, and Latinos in various urban ghetto and subway environments (Anti-Defamation League, 2002). This game, and its sequel "White Law," cost $14.99 and can be downloaded directly through the Resistance Records web site (Anti-Defamation League, 2002).

There are similar games available at low or no cost online, and are not solely used by the white supremacist movement. In fact, Islamic extremists have released several video games that place the player in the role of a jihadist fighting against Jews, Westerners, and the US military (Gruen, 2005). The content utilizes pro-Islamic imagery, rap and popular music, as well as various images of and messages from Osama Bin Laden and the 9/11 terror attacks. The game has been posted and reposted across various web

sites online ensuring its spread to various interested groups (Weimann, 2005). Thus, video games are an excellent mechanism for the indoctrination of new generations of extremists and violent groups in an appealing way (Gruen, 2005).

Technology as a Facilitator For Violence Against Virtual Targets

Computer technology and the Internet are key resources for cyber attacks against both civilian and government targets that may cause fear or physical harm in the real world as well. The range of interconnected systems currently online utilizing various security protocols provides a medium for extremist groups to identify high-value targets (Britz, 2008; Denning, 2011; Holt, 2012; Kilger, 2011). These may include repositories of intellectual property, sensitive military data, and electronic systems that maintain or support critical infrastructure and finance. An attack that affects these systems in a substantive way can produce economic and/or physical harm in the real world, as well as produce fear over future attacks and general insecurity (Brenner, 2008; Denning, 2011).

Though there have been few instances of successful known cyber attacks from terrorists and extremist groups (Britz, 2010; Denning, 2011), it is critical to understand how they are facilitated in part by the computer hacker subculture The hacker community has developed in tandem with technology since the 1950s and 1960s when these resources were largely available in university and government settings only (Levy, 1984). The technicians and programmers who maintained the then slow-functioning systems were viewed as highly intelligent specialists whose efforts were highly valued (Levy, 1984). Their use of creative "work arounds" and solutions to speed up processing were referred to as "hacks" and were meant as a sign of respect for their creativity and skill (Levy, 1984). As a consequence, the individuals who were viewed as hackers began to develop ideas about how technology could and should be used to benefit others. The "Hacker Ethic" that emerged from the programmers of the 1950s and 1960s encouraged left-leaning ideals that information should be free and that government and industry stymie creativity and may not be worthy of trust (Levy, 1984; Taylor, 1999). This antiauthority perspective persisted throughout the hacker community of the 1970s and 1980s when computer technology became affordable for businesses and the common man (Holt & Kilger, 2012b). As technology became increasingly accessible, young people began to explore these systems and engage in mischievous or outright malicious acts against other systems, which led to the criminalization of hacking (Taylor, 1999). This reinforced the strong undercurrent of mistrust for government officials within the hacker community and a desire to pursue and expose secrets and sensitive information of businesses and governments worldwide (Holt & Kilger, 2012b).

The desire for transparency is perhaps most evident in the open disclosure of vulnerabilities, or weaknesses in operating systems and software which can be attacked and exploited (Holt & Kilger, 2012b; Taylor, 1999). The open disclosure of vulnerabilities through public email listservs like Bugtraq give the hacker community time to engage in attacks before organizations can secure their systems (Taylor, 1999). As a result, open disclosure may do more to facilitate attacks than to provide public awareness of weaknesses.

The distribution of skill within the hacker community has a pyramidal shape, consisting of three tiers, and affects the way in which hackers generally engage in attacks (Holt & Kilger, 2012b). The first tier, consisting of a small proportion of highly skilled elite hackers, has the ability to identify new vulnerabilities and create original attack tools (Holt & Kilger, 2012b). They can apply their knowledge to craft innovative tools that have not been seen before by security professionals against targets that have either been previously ignored or were perceived as being too secure to compromise (Furnell, 2002; Taylor, 1999). The second tier, composed of a larger population of hackers with a good degree of technical skill, have the capacity to utilize and adjust various tools and exploits already in existence to suit their own needs (Holt & Kilger, 2012b). For example, moderately skilled hackers can develop attack infrastructures such as botnets, which are networks of compromised computer systems that can receive and execute commands through remote management (Brenner, 2008). Botnets can be used to send spam, infect other systems, and engage in Distributed Denial of Service attacks which knock other systems offline (Brenner, 2008; Chu et al., 2010; Denning, 2011; Franklin, Paxson, Perrig, & Savage, 2007). The bottom tier of hackers, who are referred to as script kiddies or noobs by others within the subculture (Furnell, 2002; Holt & Kilger, 2012b; Jordan & Taylor, 1998), generally has little skill and knowledge about computer technology and mechanics, making it more difficult for them to effectively employ tools created by more skilled hackers (Bossler & Burruss, 2011). Although a low skilled hacker can acquire attack tools or recognize a certain exploit, they have been generally unable to fully or effectively utilize it in the course of an attack. Thus, many in both the hacker subculture and computer security community have historically not considered this tier of hackers to pose a substantive threat.

The capacity of low-skilled hackers has, however, changed with the emergence and improvement of the online market for hacker tools and attack platforms (Holt & Kilger, 2012b). Moderate and high-skill actors have begun to sell their skills and services to others through forums and Internet Relay Chat channels (Chu et al., 2010; Franklin et al., 2007; Holt & Kilger, 2012b; Holt & Lampke, 2010). For example, a botnet created by a mid-tier hacker can be leased out to low-skilled hackers to send spam emails for approximately 0.001 cent per message, or for approximately $10 per hour for DDoS attacks (Chu et al., 2010). This service allows those at the bottom of the hacker community to effectively engage in attacks at a low cost, while providing income to the operator for services they would otherwise use on their own. Thus, the top two tiers of the hacker community are now utilizing a lucrative business model to generate a profit from those with less skill, while at the same time ensuring more attacks are effective (Chu et al., 2010; Holt & Kilger, 2012b).

The hacker community also openly shares, in addition to selling, attack tools and data acquired from compromises (Chu et al., 2010; Holt, 2007; Taylor, 1999). In particular, individuals can freely download older variants of malicious software, or malware, including Trojans, viruses, and worms. These programs are traded openly at no cost in order to gain status for the providers and increase hackers' knowledge of different attack techniques (Chu et al., 2010). At the same time, these programs may be secondarily infected with malware, allowing the individual who posted the tool to compromise other hackers without their knowledge (Chu et al., 2010). These tools may not enable a hacker to engage in an attack as they may contain incomplete code or are well known by antivirus vendors thereby increasing the likelihood

a compromise is detected. Their availability does, however, allow hackers to use the tools to their advantage and attempt to engage in attacks.

As a consequence of this easily obtainable free and purchased information, individuals can readily cause harm or fear among broad populations online and offline. In fact, attacker communities in Turkey and the Middle East who engage in attacks against Western targets regularly post videos and tutorials on hacking techniques through social media sites like YouTube and Facebook (Denning, 2011; Holt, 2009). Similarly, hackers in support of Al Qaeda have posted various resources to facilitate cyberattacks, such as Younis Tsoulis who published a hacker tutorial titled "The Encyclopedia of Hacking the Zionist and Crusader Websites" (Denning, 2011). This guide provided detailed information on vulnerabilities in US cyber infrastructure, as well as techniques to engage in data theft and malware infections.

Beyond information, the resources and tools made available online clearly engender multiple forms of attack against various targets as well. This is best exemplified through one of the most common forms of cyber attack: Denial of Service Attacks. Hackers, activists, and extremist groups have utilized DDoS tools since the mid-1990s due to their ease of use and relatively substantial impact for a target (Denning, 2011; Kilger, 2011). In fact, recent estimates indicate that the average cost to defend a company against DDoS attacks that result in site downtime is $2.5 million (Kerner, 2011). For instance, a tool called "Electronic Jihad" was released through the Arabic language forum "al-Jinan" for use against various Western targets (Denning, 2011). The group Anonymous has gained attention for their use of a similar DDoS tool called the "Low Orbit Ion Cannon." This program has been used in attacks against personal, industrial, and government targets around the world in furtherance of their beliefs of transparency, anarchy, freedom of information, and the removal of intellectual property laws (Correll, 2011).

Another useful tool in the arsenal of hackers seeking to express their opinion are Web defacements, where the normal html code of a Web page is replaced by images, text, and content of the attacker's choosing (Denning, 2011; Woo et al., 2004). Web defacements began as a vehicle for hackers to call out system administrators who used poor security protocols and gain attention for themselves through self-promotion (Woo et al., 2004). Though this sort of attack does not necessarily produce a violent outcome, it provides an opportunity to express dissent or attribute the attack to a specific social cause or ideology. Some attackers may also delete the original Web content entirely which may cause more harm than simply redirecting the site to a separate page (Denning, 2011; Woo et al., 2004).

The nature of the defacement community, however, has changed with the increasingly global reach of the Internet and the identification of vulnerabilities and techniques that allow for mass defacements of thousands of pages at a time. For example, the Turkish hacker community engaged in a long-term campaign of defacements targeting any web site that published or supported the publication of a cartoon featuring an image of the prophet Mohammed with a bomb in his turban (Holt, 2009; Ward, 2006). Since Turkey is a Muslim-majority nation, the hacker community banded together to deface web sites owned by the Danish newspaper who originally published the cartoon along with any other site that reposted the image (Denning, 2011; Holt, 2009). The hacker community coordinated their attacks through MSN messenger and forums and then posted videos on YouTube featuring screenshots of the defacements coupled with patriotic music and images of the Turkish flag and

military (Holt, 2009). Thus, Web defacements are a critical tool of the hacker community to engage in attacks that are politically or ideologically driven.

Finally, skilled attackers may attempt to use malware as an attack tool against various computer systems. There has been generally little evidence of successful attacks by extremist groups, such as the failed attempt by jihadist hackers to compromise the US stock exchange and financial institutions (Denning, 2011). The recent emergence of a serious form of malware called Stuxnet, however, has provided a unique attack tool for the hacker community. This malware, identified in 2010, was designed to compromise a specific Siemens brand control system used in the Natanz nuclear enrichment plant in Iran (Clayton, 2010; Kerr, Rollins, & Theohary, 2010; Sanger, 2012). The program degraded the functionality of the controller, while at the same time shielding its actions from monitoring systems, enabling it to disrupt the plant's ability to process uranium. The code also utilized several previously unidentified exploits in various computer programs to spread across protected networks without identification from antivirus systems (Clayton, 2010; Kerr et al., 2010). As a consequence, this cyberattack caused real world harm and delayed the overall functionality of the nuclear plant by months or years depending on estimates (Kerr et al., 2010; Sanger, 2012).

While Stuxnet was devised and implemented by the US government under Presidents Bush and Obama (Sanger, 2012), its release in the wild has enabled both the computer security professionals and hackers access to this extremely sophisticated malware. Individuals could utilize the code as a framework or model to develop attack tools to exploit critical infrastructure across the globe (Clayton, 2010). Furthermore, there are a wide range of known vulnerabilities in critical infrastructure systems currently online that have not been patched or could be readily exploited by attackers (Brodsky & Radvanovsky, 2011; Rege, 2009). As a consequence, the US Department of Homeland Security expressed substantial concerns over the use of similar code in attacks against US power installations (Zetter, 2011). Thus, Stuxnet serves as a model for cyber attackers to cause serious and direct physical harm in the real world.

Discussion and Conclusions

The range of violent actions that can occur either online or offline as a result of technology and the Internet requires substantive changes to public policy and international relations. In particular, there has been an increase in the militarization of cyberspace across industrialized nations around the world. For instance, the US Department of Defense detailed their new policies treating cyberspace as a protected domain in the same ways as physical environments (Department of Defense, 2011). In addition, this document places a specific emphasis on the need for careful responses to theft of data, destructive attacks to degrade network functionality, and denial of service attacks (Department of Defense, 2011). This is due to the direct threat these forms of hacking attacks can cause to the communications capabilities of the nation and the maintenance of secrecy and intellectual property. Similar policies and strategic plans are emerging in developed nations around the world, from Canada to the United Kingdom.

As more nations determine the way in which their military will respond to cyberattacks, there will be a substantive increase in the policy implications this has for hackers and for the way that combatants engage one another (Brenner, 2008). For instance, the use of Stuxnet by the United States government could be viewed as an act of war

as it directly attempted to cause physical harm in much the same way as a bomb or physical incursion. The small size of the Iranian military and their distance relative to the United States does not, however, allow for a measured physical response. Thus, it is possible that Iranian actors may engage in cyberattacks out of revenge or spite. It is unclear how these policies may play out over time in the real world in the event of actual attacks, though it is critical to recognize that the involvement of military response capabilities will dramatically affect cyberspace and the actions of hackers generally.

In addition, there is a need for substantial collaborative efforts between governmental agencies, public and private companies, and law enforcement in order to secure critical infrastructure from attacks. This is particularly difficult as much of the telephony, financial, and power system equipment in the United States is owned by private industry, but regulated in part by government entities. As a consequence, any attempt to standardize security protocols or response/incident management between industry and government may be met with resistance, or may not be completely adopted across an industry (Brodsky & Radvanovsky, 2011; Kilger, 2011). Similarly, it is not clear how state and local law enforcement agencies may be incorporated into the response to a cyberterror attack (Brenner, 2008; Holt, Burruss, & Bossler, 2010). Local agencies have been given substantially increased powers to respond to physical terror incidents, though their jurisdictional duties are not clear in virtual environments where federal agencies may claim it is their responsibility. Thus, there is a need for increased mandates, training, and resources, to more fully integrate all facets of industry and government into the overall response to cyberterror attacks, violent incidents, and cyber security strategies generally (Brenner, 2008; Department of Defense, 2011; Stambaugh et al., 2001).

At the international level, there is also a need for clearly defined, strategic policy initiatives that recognize variations in law enforcement and governmental policies toward cyberattacks and reduce gaps between countries. For example, most developed nations have legislation against certain forms of cybercrime though there are substantive variations in the way in which they may sanction criminal actors (Brenner, 2008; Chu et al., 2010). Certain nations, such as Russia and China, tend to pursue and arrest attackers who compromise systems within their national borders, though they may ignore targeted attacks against foreign businesses and governments. As a consequence, this creates tacit approval for cyber attacks in certain nations and hinders the overall response capability and investigation of offenses. Thus the development of international policies that help to improve the capacity of all nations to respond to cyber threats could reduce the risks posed by violent actors online and offline (Brenner, 2008).

Finally, there is a need for substantive research by criminologists and sociologists to better understand the behaviors, attitudes, and tactics of extremist and terror groups who utilize technology. The increased use of forums, blogs and computer-mediated communications by terrorist groups provide myriad opportunities for the investigation of these entities in their own words (Forrest, 2009; Holt, 2012). In addition, there is a need to understand how individuals may be indoctrinated into extremist groups through the use of technology and how this may affect their willingness to engage in virtual and real attack behaviors (Holt & Kilger, 2012b; Rege, 2009). For example, individuals may not need to be radicalized in order to engage in attacks, particularly in online environments, because they do not face the same risk of detection

or loss of life in support of a cause as in the real world (Holt & Kilger, 2012b; Martin, 2006). Research utilizing demographically diverse samples can help to determine the influence of various attitudinal and behavioral factors on the willingness to engage in virtual and real acts of violence (Holt & Kilger, 2012b; Rege, 2009). Such research would dramatically increase our knowledge of offender behavior and the nature of extremist behaviors online and offline.

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31

Interventions, Policies, and Future Research Directions in Cybercrime

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Introduction

The emergence and exponential rise of computer mediated communication and the World Wide Web has brought with it entire new worlds to explore, offered new channels of communication and information exchange and generated new environments within which predigital age norms, values and behaviors have morphed from their original form. Not only is digital technology changing the way that individuals interact with each other, but it is also changing the way in which people view and interact with digital technology. As global digital networks continue to expand our social realms in terms of who we communicate with, how we communicate with them and how we experience the world, we can expect even more rapid change to occur.

While some of the consequences of this socio-digital revolution are positive, there are indeed some negative aspects that have emerged during the past few years. For example, a significant amount of attention from both the research community and the media has been paid to the phenomenon of cyberbullying. The use of digital communications to bully, harass, embarrass and attack individuals and groups has become a much more common event in recent years, causing significant psychological damage to its victims and even resulting in the deaths of individuals in some cases.

However, cyberbullying is only one specific and somewhat isolated instance of the much larger and more widespread phenomenon of digital violence. Indeed digital violence is a multidimensional phenomenon that whose victims may encompass both humans and machines. Additionally, these events are occurring on multiple structural levels – at the individual, group, organization and nation-state levels. There are also multiple motivations involved in determining who and at what level digital violence is directed. Given the recent emergence of digital violence, there has been much less effort to date to develop an organized schema of how these different forms are related to each other and share common theoretical threads.

In this chapter we first turn to defining digital violence and then proceed to develop an analytical framework for better understanding its different forms so that each particular phenotype of this phenomena examined can be placed in perspective. Next we examine motivations for digital violence and provide examples to see how each of them fits within the larger schema.

Definition of Digital Violence and its Characteristics

One of the more difficult tasks in understanding digital violence is arriving at a theoretically useful definition of the concept. While there are some similar issues in defining violence in the nondigital, physical world, these issues are confounded when shifted to the digital realm. Indeed, while the physical world offers a very large number of types and variations of physical violence, the much more limited opportunities for digital actions leading directly to traditional physical violence suggest that the definition for violence in the digital world may benefit from a widening of its traditional scope. The World Health Organization (1996) defines violence as "the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment or deprivation." Note here that in this report they specifically call out power as a violent act that takes the form of intimidation, threats and psychological abuse. We will utilize this broadened definition of violence as part of our expanded definition of digital violence.

A second important potential expansion of the scope of the definition of digital violence involves the classification of the type of victims involved. Traditional definitions of violence have relegated victims of violence for the most part to individuals, groups of individuals or organizations that ultimately are composed of human beings. When we take a closer look at digital violence, it turns out that it may be useful to expand the traditional scope of a victim of violence.

There are several reasons why the expansion of the scope of victim may be justified. The first involves the evolving relationship between people and machines. Historically there has always been some presence in the human world that regards machines as something more than inanimate objects. It has been suggested that this kind anthropomorphism develops when "the individual cannot generate a workable explanation, then he or she is likely to generate an apparently nonadaptive social explanation (i.e. some personality characteristics or emotions) for observed machine behavior" (Caporeal, 1986).

In particular, there has been considerable interest in how humans may anthropomorphize a particular type of machine – robots. Fussell et al. (2008) found that humans were much more likely to anthropomorphize robots when interacting with them than when describing more general traits of robots. Kuchenbrandt et al. (2011) found evidence that people attribute more positive evaluations and more anthropomorphism for robots who were assigned to an "ingroup" rather than an "outgroup" in relation to their human interactants. As technology advances there are efforts to build social robots that are able to read human social cues and provide social cues in return that humans are able to correctly interpret.[1] This evidence points more and more towards treating machines or virtual representations by machines as social or quasi-social actors and therefore it may be useful to consider machines as contained within the class of potential victims of digital violence in the overall analytical framework.

Conversely, it may be useful to also consider machines or virtual representations by machines as perpetrators of digital violence as well. When we speak of virtual representations by machines, we refer to virtual objects that may or may not represent authentic animate objects in the real world. For example, there are any number of virtual worlds in existence online today and these worlds contain human, animal, plant or other life form avatars that are representations of the individuals directing them. As will be seen

in the following section on virtual worlds, there are a number of instances of violence against these virtual representations within the confines of a virtual world and so there is some empirical evidence that considering virtual representations as victims or perpetrators may be useful.

Finally, it is useful to consider the structural level at which victims and perpetrators exist as one of the elements of our analytical schema. That is, a victim or perpetrator may consist of a single unit such as an individual person, machine or virtual representation. Alternatively they may consist of a group of individuals, machines, an organization in the physical world or even virtual representations of groups of avatars such as a specific MMPG clan. At the highest level of aggregation, a victim or perpetrator may consist of a nation state. For example, in the STUXNET incident the victim was the Iranian government – more specifically the centrifuges at Nantaz that were producing enriched uranium. A specific set of the malware code that infected the Siemens S7 controllers targeted them by instructing the centrifuge motors to operate at excessive speeds while another segment of the code operated the isolation and exhaust valves to create a destructive overpressure within the system.[2] For some time, there was quite a debate about the identity and authors of the STUXNET malware, although most smart money was on a nation state such as Israel or the United States, given the complexity of the code. Although there was never an official admission of responsibility, extensive investigative journalism efforts pinpointed the likely perpetrators as nation states – the United States and Israel specifically (Sanger, 2012).

Having examined some of the key elements surrounding the concept, it is now possible to proffer a definition for digital violence to be utilized in this discussion. While certainly not a fully formed definition, it should nevertheless serve as a useful guide in the dialogues that follow.

> **Digital Violence** – the use of words, pictures, computer code or instructions within a digital realm to cause psychological or physical harm to a human, group of humans, organization or nation state or to otherwise cause a machine or virtual representation to function or malfunction in a manner that has negative consequences.

Note that this definition of digital violence is a significant departure from historical definitions of violence, necessitated by the addition of digital technology into traditional scenarios of violence. In particular, the definition specifically mentions negative consequences to digital entities such as machines as well as virtual representations. This substantially widens the class of victims, perpetrators and events that would be classified as digital violence than might otherwise be the case. While this scope enlargement likely and hopefully spurs debate around the concept of digital violence, these definitional departures are useful in providing a better understanding of digital violence in the course of this discussion.

Challenges in the Structural Linkage of Digital Violence

Having provided a basic definition of digital violence and outlined the nature of potential victims and perpetrators of digital violence as belonging to one of three basic classes – human, virtual representation or machine – it is useful to consider where these classes may come into play in the world of digital violence. When technology is

interjected into the causal chain of violence, there is almost always additional complexity in analyzing the structural progression of the violent event. For example, while traditional face-to-face violence in the physical world often has fairly clear identifications of perpetrator, victim and violent act, the same may not be true of digital violence. The presence of multiple layers of technology between the perpetrator and the ultimate victim often confounds who or what is the victim or perpetrator.

In decomposing instances of digital violence, there often emerge different structures from various scenarios of digital violence. For example, in the more straightforward cases of cyberstalking or cyberbullying, the perpetrator is usually human and the victim is usually human as well. In instances of digital violence in online virtual worlds, often it may be the case both the immediate perpetrator and victims are avatars – that is, virtual representations that are guided either directly or indirectly by humans to commit violent acts in a virtual world. In this case, the question becomes who is the true victim and who is the true perpetrator? Can the avatar be considered a victim in this case? If so, then how does one define the role of the human behind the victimized avatar?

These kinds of issues are ones that are not easily resolved, especially in light of the fact that digital technology continues to embed itself more deeply into the identities and lives of individuals, groups, organizations and nation states. Attempting to ignore all of the technology components between the originating source of the digital violence and the ultimate victim may in the end significantly inhibit the understanding of the components of digital violence and the effects of these intermediate elements have on the consequences of digital violence. Therefore, as an initial formulation of the chain of digital violence we will propose that the victim/perpetrator elements of the chain can be represented by a quadruplet of terms:

{Initial perpetrator, intermediate perpetrator, intermediate victim, terminal victim}

Each of these terms may be filled by one of the classes previously mentioned – human, virtual representation or machine. In some instances of digital violence, it may be the case that some of the four terms in the quadruplet may be null, as will be seen later in several of the discussions of some of the types of digital violence currently in existence. There are likely also instances that exist today where there may be multiple intermediate victims or perpetrators, but for the sake of simplicity and initial analytical exploration we will limit the expressions of these cases to the quadruplet suggested above. It should be clear that some of the classes may have subclasses – for example, the class human may contain the subclass group, organization or nation state, given that each of those elements consists of one or more humans. Similarly, it may be the case for virtual representations such as the case where the class virtual representation may be made up of subclasses such as a clan in World of a Warcraft virtual world. It may also be the case that the class of machine may be made up of multiple computers that constitute a computer network for example.

The Digital Environment

There are a number of key characteristics in the digital environment that generate some significant differences in how we view violence within that milieu. It should also be recognized that there are a number of different kinds of digital environments that

run a range of complexity and richness from simple, abbreviated forms of communication such as twitter and instant messaging, to more verbose forms of digital environments such as email and graphically rich environments such as pinterest and Instagram. Near the current apex of this taxonomy of communicative complexity are the various forms of virtual worlds, the most well known of which is Second Life. A reasonable definition of a virtual world comes from Dunnet et al. (1991):

> Virtual reality applications, often called artificial realities or virtual worlds, are entirely computer generated environments. These environments attempt to model the behaviour and effects of a real world by employing realistic computer-generated images and animation techniques, for interaction with a human operator, or operators. Interaction devices allow 3D manipulation of the environment, and feedback where appropriate.

Digital environments near the bottom of the complexity hierarchy are typically low information bandwidth communication channels often utilizing text only communication modes. This means that verbal cues normally available in audio communications and additional visual cues available in video or virtual world communications are not available. It should be noted here that the complexity of the digital environment may also play a role in the impact of a violent act performed there. For example, a rape of one avatar in a virtual world by another avatar is likely not to have as much impact for the victim when that virtual world is text based – as was the Mr. Bungle incident[3] for LambdaMOO, an early MOO, as would be the case now in a more complex, visual virtual world such as Second Life.

It would seem perhaps that the more complex the communication in the digital environment, the more opportunity for violence as well as the potentially larger magnitude of impact on the victim. In addition to the impact on the victim, it would seem a fair assumption that the higher the complexity the more rewarding the effects of the crime would be for the perpetrator as well. These particular observations fit in well with routine activity theory (Cohen & Felson, 1979). Virtual worlds can bring together a large number of individuals – some of whom might be potential perpetrators and some who might be potential victims. In addition, in virtual worlds the presence of guardians is often absent – often the only official agents of social control are individuals or organizations that run the virtual world and they cannot be everywhere at once. Thus virtual worlds like Second Life provide complex interactions, innumerable resources and rich settings that are a fertile environment with abundant opportunities where people seeking to commit crimes can come in contact with individuals who may become victims of those crimes. For a good discussion of crimes typical to Second Life see Rakitianskaia et al. (2011).

Digital environments also expand the possibilities when it comes to violence, particularly in higher complexity environments such as virtual worlds. In virtual worlds there are acts of digital violence that can be committed that have no physical world equivalent. For example, a perpetrator might slice up a victim into tiny small pieces and the pieces then take on a life of their own in the virtual world and hop around like disembodied souls. Another perpetrator might rain penises down on a victim from the sky. The opportunities for digital violence seem almost endless in complexity-rich virtual environments. It should be clear that digital environments – especially complex ones – have a multitude of additional dimensions and factors that need to be taken into account when examining violence committed within their frameworks.

Motivations for Digital Violence

One of the more useful exercises in gaining a better understanding of phenomenon such as digital violence is to develop a set of motivations that are likely to prompt the perpetrator to initiate an act of digital violence. This tactic has also proven useful in the field of information security and we will borrow some of those motivations for this discussion. Kilger (2010) has outlined six motivations for malicious actors in the online world (MEECES), which we will modify slightly for our purposes. These adapted motivations are (i) money, (ii) ego, (iii) entertainment, (iv) cause, (v) embarrassment and (vi) control.[4]

The definition of digital violence outlined in the previous section brings up an important issue about the intersection of these two fields – the psychology of digital behavior and information security. If one strictly follows the definition of digital violence, then many of the malicious online acts observed and discussed in the information security world such as denial of service attacks, Web page defacements and other acts would be defined as acts of digital violence. If this is the case then it likely to be useful to consider these motivations in the discussion of the motivations for digital violence.

However, it is also likely to be the case that a number of these information security oriented scenarios that may nominally fit the definition of digital violence are not of relevant interest in this discussion. For example, while a very large proportion of money-motivated malicious online acts consist of activities such as phishing or financial credential collecting through malware avenues such as Zeus and may nominally fit the definition of digital violence, for the most part they are not critically or theoretically relevant to discussions here at hand. However, other information security related malicious acts such as web site defacement for a specific ethnic or nationalistic purpose that are classified under "cause" in the MEECES taxonomy are more relevant to the discussion of the psychology of digital violence. Thus we will be a bit selective in our examination of digital violence where it touches the field of information security.

Money

Money is the first motivation for digital violence that we examine. Money is a transformative social element and anthropologists have spent a considerable amount of time exploring the social meanings of money and how it shapes interaction among different peoples.[5] Importantly, there are additional dimensions to the construct of money in the digital world that are not present in the physical world. More specifically, in the online digital world there are digital currencies such as Bitcoin that allow for pseudo-anonymous transactions to be conducted on the Internet. Bitcoin and its completely anonymous offshoot Zerocoin are entirely digital currencies that can be acquired either through the exchange of traditional currencies, material goods or can even be digitally "mined."[6]

The property of these digital currencies is the ability to transfer something of value – a digital currency that is transmutable into traditional currencies – anonymously. Anonymity is the key property here in its relationship to digital violence. As will be seen with other forms and motivations for digital violence, anonymity is often a crucial component in the process chain. If individual, group, organization or nation state can sponsor or hire someone to commit an act of violence with the method of payment being virtually untraceable, this significantly lessens the deterrence factor that comes from the chance of getting caught.

One of the results of this is likely to be the rise of linkage of digital violence to more traditional physical violence. Kilger (2010) suggests that in the near future some criminal cybergangs will opt to loosely couple with more traditional street gangs for the purposes of extortion and protection schemes. In this scenario the cybergang takes advantage of the proliferation of personal information available on the Internet to identify a target for the crime. They then contact the target, provide them with some personal information about the target such as home address, workplace, names of family members, familiar habits and then suggest that unless a modest payment is forthcoming that some act of physical violence will be perpetrated on them.

The payment is requested in a pseudo-anonymous or anonymous form such as the Bitcoin or Zerocoin currencies so that the funds cannot be traced back to the cybergang. If the person complies, the cybergang warns the victim not to report the crime and then moves on to the next target. If the target does not comply, then the cybergang contacts a more traditional gang geographically near the intended victim and again applies an anonymous payment with information about the target and the desired act of physical violence. Once the more traditional gang has carried out the act, they collect their payment and await their next customer. In terms of the chain of digital violence this can be represented by {**human**,-----,-----**human**) where the origin of the chain is human and the primary victim is also human with no intermediate entities between.

Another case involving Bitcoins involves the takedown of the illegal black market web site SilkRoad. This web site was allegedly run by 29-year-old Ross William Ulbricht, a.k.a "Dread Pirate Roberts" and was available only within the Tor anonymous network. There were at one time more than 13,000 listings for controlled substances, 169 listings for forged or fake documents such as drivers' licenses and 159 listings for various illegal digital services such as buying and selling malware (Krebs, 2013). More seriously, the alleged perpetrator was said to have initiated a contract to murder an individual who was attempting to extort him and there are additional rumors that this individual could be linked to as many as six murders.

The glue holding this criminal enterprise and associated criminal acts together was Bitcoin. The transactions within the Silk Road bourse were conducted almost entirely with Bitcoins with some modifications that made the exchanges a bit more covert and anonymous than a straightforward Bitcoin transaction. The owner of Silk Road made his money in the form of commissions in Bitcoins for transactions that were completed within his digital marketplace. Federal agents seized approximately 33.6 million dollars in Bitcoins from the online marketplace – a significantly motivator for almost any kind of digital violence.

Ego

Ego is the next motivation in the heuristic schema. Here we apply the term ego in a very specific sense – that is, the reward one gets from defeating a complex set of technological hurdles to damage or control digital assets that are owned by or associated with an individual, group, organization or nation state with the intent to embarrass those entities and/or deny them access and benefits that would normally accrue from those digital assets. This type of digital violence is actually rather common historically in the computer hacking community. One of the most common acts of digital violence within this community motivated by ego is "pwning" machines or networks that belong to the victim. "Pwn" is a hacking community term for owning and refers to act

of gaining root access (e.g. complete control) to a machine one does not own.[7] There are two likely outcomes to this particular act of digital violence. One may be to damage the machines or network that has been pwned in some particular manner through the deletion of selected files or data. Another outcome would be the destruction of operating system files that render the machine inoperable or in some cases the complete destruction of the contents of the storage systems and hard drives.

More commonly, this act of digital violence resembles something much more like that of the act of "counting coup" practiced by some Native American tribes during the nineteenth century. In this act, Native Americans in battle would take a coup stick – often a long stick with feathers attached to the end – and touch one of their enemies with the stick thus counting coup. The idea was to enhance the image of bravery of the person while shaming the victim who was touched with the stick.[8] It was done at significant risk of personal injury or death to the coup counter.

In the online world pwning someone's machine is the digital analogy to counting coup. Often the machine was pwned by the perpetrator and that fact was broadcast to the victim and his friends. It was usually up to the victim of this type of digital violence to wrestle control and digital ownership of the machine back from the perpetrator and failure to be able to do this without serious consequences often exacerbated the embarrassment and shame on the part of the victim. In this case we might diagram the chain of digital violence out in the form of {**human**,—,**machine**,**human**} where the victim's machine becomes the intermediate victim in the chain.

Entertainment

The next motivation under discussion is entertainment. A seemingly unlikely motivation, much of its origin in the digital world can be traced back to the earlier days of the computer hacking community. In those formative years back in the 1960s and early 1970s, computer programmers and system administrators would sometimes entertain themselves by getting machines to do things that they were not originally meant to do. For example, running a particular set of instructions on an early computer such as the PDP8-I and holding a conventional portable radio next to the machine would result in the playing of a traditional Christmas carol for example over the radio courtesy of the radio emissions emanating from the computer.

Another example would be system programmers would late at night write a small program that would move the disk heads of mainframe disk drives back and forth in rapid succession to make the dishwasher-sized device "walk" across the floor of the computer room as a result of the movement of the disk drive heads. A mischievous systems programmer might program the punch card reader to read in a programmer's deck and randomly shuffle the deck into various output bins in the reader, thereby destroying the sequence of the program instructions.[9]

While some of those acts perhaps met the definition of digital violence, for the most part the damage, if any, was modest and the victims nonexistent or usually close friends. Now it appears that acts of entertainment in the online world have taken a more serious bent and more appropriately fit the definition of digital violence. A good example of this are the actions exhibited by a class of online actors who are labeled "griefers." "Griefing is used to describe when a player within a multiplayer online environment intentionally disrupts another player's game experience for his/her own personal enjoyment or material gain" (Achterbosch et al., 2013).

A good example of griefing was the attack on the avatar for virtual real estate tycoon Anshe Chung in the online virtual world Second Life. In this attack, griefers launched what was called a "phalanx of flying penises" whose target was Anshe's Second Life avatar in order to annoy her and drive her at least temporarily from the virtual world (Hutcheon, 2006; Jardin, 2006). This attack could be characterized by the digital violence chain {**human**, **virtual representation**, **virtual representation**, **human**}, where the perpetrator was a group of individuals, the intermediate perpetrator was an avatar (e.g. virtual representation), the intermediate victim was also an avatar (virtual representation) and the ultimate victim was human (e.g. Anshe).

Another interesting example of the role of entertainment as a motivation in digital violence is the case of the Lulzsec group. Lulzsec was an informal group of ultimately seven individuals who at times were antagonist towards and other times cooperative with the more established and well known hacking group Anonymous. They emerged in 2011 and proceeded to attack a number of web sites and compromise a number of corporate, media and government servers, often acquiring and releasing tens of thousands of user passwords, transaction logs and in general defacing web sites.

One of the notable things about Lulzsec was that the primary motivation for most of their attacks was in fact entertainment – the creation of what they called lulz. Lulz, according to Schwartz (2008) is defined as a variation of "LOL" or "laugh out loud," where individuals find joy in disrupting another's emotional equilibrium. The "Sec" component of their name referred to their interest in information security and the lack thereof that was present among the tens of thousands of web sites of large corporations and government entities. A significant portion of the entertainment value for this group was perpetrating acts of digital violence on these groups to point out their lack of security for their computer networks and servers.

While the group often selected targets that had some mission or political agenda they were opposed to – among the targets were Sony Pictures, Fox News, the Public Broadcasting System (PBS), Nintendo, as well as government targets including web sites for the US Senate, the Central Intelligence Agency and the British National Health Service among others – they were not strictly motivated by cause but rather their *raison d'être* was the consumption of the entertainment value generated by their activities. They often publically mocked their victims and their public statements often assumed an air of sarcasm and occasional mirth. The group adopted a picture of a monocle wearing man wearing a tuxedo with a mustache, a top hat and a glass of what is likely wine or champagne. This mocking caricature was often present in web site defacements as well as "press releases" announcing their actions and intentions.[10]

While they were quite active deploying a number of attacks on a variety of targets until they were eventually caught by federal law enforcement officials in the United States, the majority of their attacks would likely fall into the {**human**,-----, **machine**,**human**} classification as far as the digital violence chain is concerned. That is, they initiated an attack usually on some sort of machine resources that belonged to the target of their current campaign and through the theft of information and/or the defacement of the web site for the organization attempted to embarrass or mock their ultimate victim through digital means.

One final note relevant to the role of entertainment as a motivation for digital violence needs to be made here. There has been extensive research into the role that violent video games may play in increasing aggressive behavior and we could consider this as an example of entertainment as motivation for digital violence. Anderson and

his colleagues (2010) conducted a meta-analysis of 130 research reports examining the link between video games and violence. Their results revealed the "the evidence strongly suggests that exposure to violent video games is a causal risk factor for increased aggressive behavior, aggressive cognition, and aggressive affect and for decreased empathy and prosocial behavior." While this area of research is important and there are very apparent links between violent video games and aggression, we will leave this area for others to explore for the simple reason that we wish to limit the scope of our discussion to situations where violence is not an inherent component of the native environment. That is, we are most interested in situations where violence arises sui generis in the digital environment.

Cause

Cause is by far the most complicated of the motivations associated with digital violence. Digital violence motivated by cause can be defined as using digital technology to promote a specific economic, political, social or ethnic cause by attacking and damaging web sites or national critical infrastructure systems.

Web site defacement is the most common instance of this type of activity. Web sites authored by various government entities both here in the United States and abroad have for a number of years been subject to attack by various individuals and groups promoting various political and economic causes. One early example is the 2001 Hainan incident, where a US reconnaissance aircraft collided with a Chinese fighter aircraft, and the US aircraft was forced to land in Chinese territory. Chinese hackers over the years have attacked a number of US government web sites, including that of the White House (Geers, 2011). The defacement of government-sponsored web sites around the world has grown exponentially and has become a somewhat ubiquitous phenomenon. Some of the most recent examples include government web site defacements for the Prime Minister of Singapore (CNBC, 2013) and a number of official Philippine government sites (Reuters, 2013).

One of the most prolific defacers of government web sites is the online hacktivism group Anonymous. This group of loosely associated hacktivists emerged somewhere around the year 2008 and has grown enormously over the past number of years and now likely number in the many thousands of individuals. In addition to attacking numerous government web sites as well as the web sites of other organizations such as the Church of Scientology (Hopkins, 2013), the group has compromised the servers of private businesses most notably HB Gary where they broke into email servers, published private emails, stole passwords and computer accounts among other things (Anderson, 2011).

The emergence and growth of hacktivism groups such as Anonymous is very likely to continue. Although not specific to the group Anonymous, these newly emerging groups are able to collect resources through activities such as the online theft of financial credentials. They are also able to accumulate legitimacy when these groups act on behalf of government or quasi-government authorities. There are a large number of documented cases where these groups become associated with government entities or are coopted by governments into committing acts of digital violence. China is one country where this phenomenon of emerging groups that are likely to commit digital violence is growing exponentially. The alleged cooptation of some of these groups by governmental departments suggests that this trend is likely to continue.[11]

While web site defacement and other activities discussed are nominally covered by the definition of digital violence, there is a more serious phenomenon that is more relevant to our discussion and is linked to psychological shifts in the power relationships between individuals and nation states. These shifts are associated with the fact that nation states have for a number of years built a number of critical infrastructure systems such as electrical power grids, key industrial systems as well as military and government systems that either directly or indirectly have connections to the Internet at large. While there are a number of remedial initiatives underway across the globe, the fact remains that many of these systems are vulnerable to digital attack.

Given this environment, according to Kilger (2012) it is likely the first time in history that an individual or group of individuals can mount an effective attack on a nation state. By effective we mean "that there is a reasonably high probability of success, the level of damage that is inflicted is orders of magnitude larger than might otherwise be the case for a physical attack, and the attacker has a reasonably small probability of being apprehended" (Kilger, 2012). The ability by an individual to effectively attack a nation state is a huge shift in traditional power relationships between some individuals and certain nation states.

Given this serious form of digital violence, with its large scale consequences, the traditional notions of the power relations between individuals and nation states (see Foucault, 1977) may begin to erode as the emergence of civilian cyberwarriors occurs and their incidence around the globe builds. This chain of digital violence can be represented in our nomenclature by {**human**,—,**machine**,**human**}, where civilian cyberwarriors are the originating perpetrators, the intermediate target(s) are machines that operate within national critical infrastructure systems and the final target is the collection of humans that forms a nation state.

Embarrassment

The prevalence of malicious online behavior that intentionally demeans or embarrasses a specific individual is significant. These malicious online acts may take on the form of statements whose purpose is denigration, degradation or disclosing truthful or fictional negative information about someone as well as more complex malicious activities such as exclusion from online social groups, online impersonation of the victim (Hanewald, 2009).

One of the most prevalent and investigated forms of this kind of behavior is cyberbullying. There have been a number of definitions of cyberbullying in the research literature over the years – not all of them consistent – and Tokunaga (2010) has attempted to consolidate them into a definition that covers the previous research with the following:

> Cyberbullying is any behavior performed through electronic or digital media by individuals or groups that repeatedly communicates hostile or aggressive messages intended to inflict harm or discomfort on others.

There is a large range in the estimates of the incidence of cyberbullying for individuals in specific populations such as school-aged children, depending upon the study and the populations under review. Given the pace at which individuals – especially children – adopt digital technology, these incidence estimates are likely to

vary significantly. This is especially true in light of the different definitions of cyberbullying that have been applied over the years. As a simple referential statistical foundation for the purposes of this discussion, The National Center for Educational Statistics estimated that 9% of school-aged children were cyberbullied in the last year (Robers et al., 2013) while Tokunaga (2010) in a meta-analysis of the available cyberbullying research estimated that the average prevalence of having been a victim of cyberbullying at some time in the past averaged about 40% of the research populations under investigation across a number of studies.

Tokunaga (2010) also points out that there is a significant paucity of the development of theory concerning cyberbullying behavior. Relational aggression has been suggested as a strong motivational factor (Jackson et al., 2009). Relational aggression involves "behaviors that harm others through damage (or threat of damage) to relationships or feelings or acceptance, friendship, or group inclusion." (Crick et al., 1999). This need to disrupt social relationships or to embarrass or demean individuals plays an important role in cyberbullying specifically and digital violence more generally.

There has also been some research making comparisons between traditional bullying versus cyberbullying. There is some suggestion that some of the characteristics of the online environment contribute to a higher incidence of cyberbullying. Smith notes that cyberbullying differs from physical bullying in a number of different ways including the fact that it may be anonymous, the perpetrator may not see the victims reaction, the audience for the violent act is often much larger than in traditional bullying, it is often more difficult to avoid cyberbullying and the traditional bullying motive of status enhancement is posited to be missing for cyberbullying (Smith, 2012).

The historical predecessor to cyberbullying may be found in the behaviors of individuals belonging to the computer-hacking community, especially during the early, formative years. Here again the construct of status plays a part in the process. Kilger (2010) describes how computer mediated communication through digital formats such as email, tends to remove verbal and nonverbal cues that help individuals negotiate the status hierarchy between individuals.

Status cues such as speech rate, looking while speaking and looking while listening, gestures and number of nonfluencies, which are present in face-to-face interaction are missing in most computer mediated communications. Even when computer mediated communications involve live video communications or virtual world environments, constraints in audio frequencies, video resolution and the two dimensional perspective of the communication medium may reduce the ability of individuals to perceive and interpret these verbal and nonverbal cues.

The result is that individuals are often unable to negotiate status hierarchies across computer mediated communications. In this case individuals tend to reject claims of competence and the reactions to that are usually exchanges of demeaning and embarrassing statements, often referred to as "flaming" in the hacking community. The conflict in fact escalates to the point where individuals may pwn the victim's computer, smartphone or other digital assets.

Kilger (2012) points out that these status conflicts are often resolved when victims and perpetrators both attend in-person a large function such as a hacker's conference. These conferences offer the opportunity for these individuals to work out the status hierarchy between them during face-to-face interaction where verbal and nonverbal cues can be exchanged. Often the end result after several days is the establishment of friendship bonds between these former antagonists.

Control

A key characteristic of digital communications is its ability to efficiently search for and deliver information on just about any topic or more importantly, any individual. That information can be used for many purposes and one of those purposes is the manipulation of power relationships between individuals. Information about an individual that might be embarrassing or damaging to their reputation, employment or relationship, for example, can be used to exert "control at a distance" over an individual. Rather than simply disclose the information to cause embarrassment, as might be the case in the previous discussion, the ability of the perpetrator to choose whether or not to disclose or not disclose this information becomes a form of control over the victim. This in turn alters the previous state of the power relationship in place between the perpetrator and the prospective victim.

Communication technologies such as the Internet significantly enhance the facilitation of the distribution of this kind of damaging information and creates a much wider audience for it than would have previously been the case, even when the perpetrator is geographically separated from the victim by large distances. It also provides a rich media environment where graphical information such as pictures or animated media such as video can be acquired that may prove even more embarrassing than simple text. These richer media tend to be more widely accepted as stronger "proof" of some embarrassing act, even in light of the fact that images and even video can be digitally manipulated to portray something that is not factual.

In addition, the Internet provides a publication forum that is not easily censored. While traditional media such as a newspaper might not publish damaging information about an individual unless there is a news story to be garnered, the Internet has significantly less external censorship. That is, while there are some basic censorship controls in social media environments such as Facebook and moderated chat rooms, there are very few controls over content in digital media vehicles such as web sites. One can post most anything that is not blatantly criminal (and even that sometimes is not a prohibitive criteria) on a personally owned web site and there is virtually no recourse by the victim other than to refute it online or in other communications channels.

All of these factors contribute to the ability of an individual to exert control over another individual. The fear of embarrassment or worse is often enough to provide the perpetrator with a significant amount of control over the victim. The perpetrator may in turn utilize this control for their own benefit or gain by extracting money, material goods or personal services from the victim upon threat of disclosure.

Recently there have been some initial forays into the area of online information censorship – for example there is the newly enacted law in California concerning "revenge porn." This law is intended to stop individuals, such as ex-lovers, ex-wives or ex-husbands or other individuals from publishing sexually explicit images of their partners on the Internet (Kelly, 2013). Unfortunately this law has a number of large loopholes that make it rather ineffective and it is only enforceable in California. Thus it appears that the Internet is likely to remain as a communications channel where digital violence in the form of control or extortion-like behavior can be carried out by anyone with access to the Internet.

Another way in which information held about an individual can be utilized in control processes involves situations where possession of personal information or details implies the threat of violence. Information regarding a person's home address, workplace, family

details such as names and ages of close family members, personal habits, places frequented by the victim and other pieces personal data when held by another individual can constitute an implied personal or physical threat to the victim or to family members as well as close or intimate friends. Often social media networks or email messages may be used to convey the fact that the perpetrator holds this kind of information about the victim and this set of communications may be considered digital violence.

While this seems to be an entirely negative phenomenon, in fact it may be a bit more complex than when seen as first glance. A good recent example of the complexity of this type of digital violence used for control over an individual comes from an anecdotal story later widely publicized on the Internet in an information security forum. In this story, an individual traveled to Ireland to conduct business and while there one evening relaxing with some others at a Dublin pub, the person had his iPhone stolen. He messaged the iPhone with his name and address and upon returning to the United States purchased a new one.

Some weeks later he received a twitter message from an individual who claimed to work in Dublin for a repair shop, asking for login credentials to confirm that the phone was his so that he could return it. It was in fact a scam and the victim, being an experienced professional in the information security field, accumulated a large number of pieces of personal information including the perpetrator's real name, home address, name of his girlfriend, mother, and brother along with other detailed personal information. He then disclosed this information to the perpetrator and demanded that he return the phone, which the perpetrator ultimately did (Higgins, 2013). Here is a case where digital violence in the form of holding personal information was used to undo the results of a criminal act. Was the digital violence in this case justified? There may not be an easy answer to this question.

Perhaps one of the most ubiquitous forms of control-motivated digital violence that involves the possession of personal information is cyberstalking. As was the case for cyberbullying, a universally accepted definition of cyberstalking has yet to be formulated. According to the US Department of Justice (1999), cyberstalking refers to

> the use of the Internet, email or other electronic communications devices to stalk another person. Stalking generally involves harassing or threatening behavior that an individual engages in repeatedly, such as following a person, appearing at a person's home or place of business, making harassing phone calls, leaving written messages or objects, or vandalizing a person's property.

While this definition of cyberstalking presented emphasizes some of the physical acts of traditional stalking, it may be argued that the digital collection and disclosure to the victim of the possession of personal information may be almost as or even more effective in terms of exerting fear and control over the victim by the perpetrator as traditional stalking and thus an effective form of digital violence.

What kind of information resources about their intended victims are available to cyberstalkers? According to Logan (2010) these resources may include web sites, social media networks, emails, public record databases such as court records, hidden cameras, spyware installed on the victim's computer or smartphone and the deployment of portable Global Positioning System devices on modes of transportation such as personal vehicles. The amount of personal information that can be gathered about an individual in a short period of time is sizable.

As was the case with cyberbullying, there has not been a lot of application of theory specific to the phenomenon of cyberstalking. Holt and Bossler (2009) suggest that routine activities theory may be applied to situations of cyberdevice or cyberstalking. Researchers have also attempted to develop typologies of different types of stalkers in general to better understand the process and relationship between the stalker and the victim. Probably one of the more promising typologies for stalking in general is put forth by Mullen et al. (1999) where there are five distinct classes of stalkers: (i) rejected stalker motivated by revenge and the desire to rekindle a relationship, (ii) intimacy-based stalker who has erotomanic thoughts about the victim, (iii) incompetent stalker who may substitute stalking as a relationship for a lack of social skills, (iv) resentful stalker looking simply to frighten the victim and (v) predatory stalker who is stalking for the purposes of a sexual attack.

All of these classes within the typology are associated with control issues to one degree or another. Rejected stalkers want to control the behavior of the person rejecting them in order to get them to rebuild the broken relationship. Intimacy stalkers want control over the victim in order to force the victim to constrain their love relationship solely to the perpetrator. Incompetent stalkers may have difficulties in starting and competently maintaining social relationships, so they may substitute personal data collected through stalking behaviors for a more normal relationship with the victim. Resentful stalkers are looking to produce fear in the victim and to make them realize that it is the perpetrator and not themselves that controls their lives. Finally, predatory stalkers wish to observe their victim and collect data in order to facilitate a sexual attack. Sexual attacks can be thought of as the ultimate control over another individual.

While this typology was primarily aimed at traditional stalking behaviors, it likely applies to cyberstalking as well. Some researchers maintain that cyberstalking is for the most part an extension of traditional stalking (Holt & Bossler, 2009). It is suggested here that for the most part, control is a primary motivation for stalking both in the real world and the virtual world and so these two types of criminal behavior – while occurring in different environments – likely share many similar aspects.

In a similar manner, the recent revelations about the extent to which intelligence agencies – the National Security Agency in particular – have been accumulating information about individuals residing both within the United States as well as individuals residing abroad also may be relevant to the discussion of embarrassment and control as motivations and these activities might qualify as forms of digital violence. The agency, in the course of collecting metadata about telephone calls such as number called, duration of call and other details, could hold details that might be embarrassing to the individuals involved. Because it is a relatively simple task to identify the parties involved in a telephone call, it might come to light for a specific individual that they have spent a considerable amount of time connected to a phone number associated with a phone sex operation.

Similarly, the agency also collected data on which web sites individuals visited when they were online. If the disclosure of some of these web sites – such as pornographic web sites – visited by an individual would cause embarrassment and the potential victim were to become aware of this data collection, then it would probably fit our definition of digital violence with the motive of embarrassment. If this sounds far fetched one may wish to think again, as the NSA did in fact target the web-site visitation behavior of radical Muslims with the intent to use that information to embarrass or exert control over them (Greenwald, Grim, & Gallagher, 2013).

Additionally, the disclosure of the extent to which the NSA was collecting information on Americans as well as foreign citizens may also qualify as a form of digital violence. The fact that a federal agency has accumulated a significant amount of personally identifiable information about you, collected from a variety of sources that included social networking sites and that information includes very specific details about your family, friends, activities, personal and political opinions and more, suggests that they now have sufficient information to exert control over your actions, as was discussed previously. While it is unlikely that this threat would actually materialize, just the knowing that this is the case may cause psychological trauma to some individuals. It remains to be seen what remedial actions – if any – the federal government takes in this situation. What is fairly clear is that this is a candidate for consideration as digital violence, this time with the federal government as the perpetrator. We could diagram this scenario (as well as the previous ones discussed under the embarrassment and control motivations) as {**human**,-----,-----,**human**}, where the initiating human class has a subclass of nation state and the final victim is an individual person.

Summary

In this chapter we investigated the nature of digital violence and attempted to construct a simple analytical schema that could be used to better understand different classes of digital violence. During the course of crafting a definition of digital violence the scope of traditional definitions of violence was widened so that that victims or perpetrators could, in addition to humans, be virtual representations such as avatars or even machines such as computers or other digitally enabled devices. Further, it was proposed that the chain of digital violence might involve more than just the traditional notion of a perpetrator and a victim but that there are also in many cases intermediate victims and perpetrators involved in the chain. The nature of the virtual environment in which digital violence also most often occurs also was discussed, with emphasis on how characteristics of the virtual environment change the nature of violence that occurs within its confines.

Finally, we turned to the second half of the discussion that examined the motivations for different forms of digital violence. In part borrowing research and theory from work in the field of information security, a number of motivations for digital violence including money, ego, entertainment and cause were examined and examples of each were provided. Additionally, the motive of embarrassment was associated with the form of digital violence traditionally labeled cyberbullying and the digital violence motive of control was associated with cyberstalking.

It is hoped that this discussion will encourage further efforts and thought into developing theoretical arguments and heuristic devices that will allow researchers to better define the phenomenon of digital violence as well as better understand how its different forms are related to each other. As digital technology continues to change the way in which people, groups, organizations and nation states interact with each other, it is important to develop a knowledge base that will help researchers build a comprehensive understanding of how digital violence may evolve as well as assist policymakers in developing policies and legal foundations that will help minimize the impact of digital violence on society.

Notes

1   For a more comprehensive analysis of the interaction between humans and social robots see Hegel et al. (2009).
2   For a more comprehensive look at STUXNET see Langer (2013).
3   See Dibbell (1993) for a description of probably one of the first if not the first virtual rapes.
4   The MEECES acronym is based on the original acronym MICE used by the FBI for the reasons individuals would betray their country: money, ideology, compromise, and ego.
5   For a relevant discussion of some of the anthropological views on money see Maurer (2006).
6   In order for a form of money to be valuable, one of its properties is that some quantifiable effort must be expended in order to generate some units of a currency. In the case of Bitcoins, they can be created or "mined" through a complex interaction where Bitcoins can be earned by validating other Bitcoin transactions. For a more technical explanation of Bitcoin and Zerocoin see Miers et al. (2013).
7   The term pwn or pwning is said to originate from the frequent mistyping of the word "own" by computer hackers when bragging about the takeover of digital assets they did not own or have authorized access to.
8   For a more detailed discussion of the act of counting coup see Linderman (2002).
9   All instances cited were either personally witnessed or perpetrated by the author.
10 Because the group was hiding from law enforcement as well as likely some government agencies, it is often very difficult in cases like this to vet or verify the sources and veracity of information concerning their activities. The information here was accumulated and compared to a number of online sources as well as traditional news articles to produce what is likely a factual representation of events.
11 See Kilger (2012) for a wider discussion of this and Wu (2007) for a broader discussion of the link between Chinese nationalism, hacking groups and malicious online acts.

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Part Eight

Violence in Underserved and Understudied Populations

32

Intimate Partner Violence among Latinos

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Intimate partner violence (IPV) is not solely an interpersonal phenomenon. A thorough understanding of IPV requires a contextual examination beyond the perpetrator and survivor to include cultural norms and values. The context can alter nearly all aspects of IPV from motivations to tactics of violence, to the recognition and labeling of violence, to alternatives for help sources and responses of others. It is this contextual analysis that makes the specific study of violence among Latinos necessary. A thorough understanding of the social life of Latinos in the United States is needed in order to understand IPV among this group and is offered in the first section of this chapter. It is against this backdrop that Latino families function and potentially experience violence in their lives. Next, a survey of the current research on IPV among Latinos is presented.

Social Life of Latinos in the United States

Latino demography, cultural values, and macro-level treatment of Latinos influence IPV through shaping the composition, strengths, and strains of the Latino family, their values and attitudes, and the interactions between Latinos and society at large. The family and person are continuously situated within this milieu.

Latino Demography

The Latino population has grown rapidly from 1910 when they were estimated to represent 0.4% of the population (Gibson & Jung, 2002) to 2010 when they constituted 16.3% of the US population, numbering 50.5 million people (Ennis, Rios-Vargas, & Albert, 2011). According to the Census "'Hispanic or Latino' refers to a person of Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, South or Central American, or other Spanish culture or origin regardless of race" (Ennis, Rios-Vargas, & Albert, 2011, p. 2). The term "Hispanic" was applied as a label by the government in 1976 (Casillas & Ferrada, 2011), but about half of Latinos do not identify with either term, preferring identification with their family's country of origin[1] (Taylor et al., 2012).

As a group, Latinos have a labor force participation rate above the national norm and they represent the second largest group of workers in the United States (Pew Research Center, 2005). Yet, about one in four Latinos lived in poverty in 2010 (US Census Bureau, 2010). Despite work efforts, Latino median personal income was $20 000 in 2010 – lower than Whites ($31 000) African-Americans ($24 700), and Asians ($34 000) (Dockterman, 2011). Latinos were also less likely to divorce (8.9%) than the general population (11.5%) (Dockterman, 2011). Access to services like health insurance is limited as 34% of Latino adults do not have insurance even after the passage of the Affordable Care Act (Finegold & Gunja, 2014). Although historically and presently Latinos have lower levels of education attainment than the general population, the number of high school dropouts has halved over the last decade and in 2011 Latinos represented the largest minority group on college campuses (Fry & Hugo Lopez, 2012).

In 2010, 37% of Latinos were foreign-born and about a third of the foreign-born population were naturalized citizens (Dockterman, 2011). Notwithstanding the challenges of adjusting to a new country, immigrants are found to exhibit better adjustment than their ethnic counterparts born in the United States; the so-called *immigrant paradox*. These findings surface from Asian and Latino groups on domains of psychiatric disorders, substance abuse, delinquency, early sexuality, and depressive symptoms (Fuligni & Perreira, 2009). Potential reasons for these unexpected beneficial outcomes include social capital and social cohesion especially in ethnic neighborhoods, retention of cultural values such as familism and *respeto*, an emphasis on education, ethnic identification, and spending formative years in home countries (Fuligni & Perreira, 2009).

Cultural Context

Latinos are often characterized by unique cultural values and spiritual beliefs. Descriptions of these characteristics should recognize the constant change in values and beliefs as shifts and adaptation to American society continues. Also one must be critical of sweeping statements of Latinos and realize that the extent to which Latinos adhere to or exhibit these values is widely variable.

Acculturation is the "dynamic and multidimensional process of adaptation that occurs when distinct cultures comes into sustained contact" (Balls Organista, Marín, & Chun, 2010). Cultural contact results in behavioral and attitudinal shifts, and sometimes, problematic acculturative stress including marital stress, parental stress, economic stress, and family conflict stress (Berry, 2003; Umaña-Taylor & Alfaro, 2009). Although earlier studies of acculturation focused only on the unidirectional changes in ethnocultural groups (assimilation), retention of ethnocultural values is also possible (Berry, 2003). Acculturation of ethnocultural groups is contingent not only on the individual group members, but also the larger society which can range from receptive to discriminatory (Berry, 2003).

The concepts of machismo and marianismo are used to explain traditional Latino gender roles and are often invoked in discussions of patriarchy and IPV. Machismo refers to the socially constructed male gender role reflected by authoritarianism, a strong emphasis on respect and dignity, sexism, and bravado (De La Cancela, 1986; Torres, 1998; Torres, Solberg, & Carlstrom, 2002). The cultural ideal of marianismo stresses self-sacrifice, repression of sexual desires, a view of sex as obligatory in

marriage, chastity until marriage, and acceptance of men's behavior (Torres, 1998). Family honor is often tied with the sexual behavior of Latina women and sexual expression not in line with the gendered script may result in Latinas being labeled permissive – a label especially used for American-oriented Latinas (Espin, 2003; Faulkner, 2003). These presumptions about Latino gender roles tend to reflect dominant racial ideology, but largely have not been critically examined and leave out positive attributes. Terms such as *trabajador* (hard worker), *noble* (honorable) and *un hombre de su palabra* (a man of his word) could also be used to describe machismo (Delgado, 2007), but such an acknowledgement runs counter to the unidimensional negative portrayal of Latino men. Positive aspects of marianismo include familism, generosity, and communication that stresses harmony (Delgado, 2007).

Familism refers to the identification and attachment with family members marked by loyalty, reciprocity, and solidarity (Vasquez, 1998). Familism is associated with greater academic effort (Esparza & Sánchez, 2008), decreased drug use for some Latinos (Ramirez, 2004), and an absence of child maltreatment (Coohey, 2001). Familial attitudes were not found to vary by country of origin and language use, pointing to the robustness of this construct for many Latinos (Villarreal, Blozis, & Widaman, 2005).

Religion among Latinos is said to affect all aspects of community life (Delgado, 2007). While 60% of adult Latinos identified as Catholic in 2008, a growing number of Latinos identify with Protestant Sects or have no religious affiliation (Navarro-Rivera, Kosmin, & Keysar, 2010). Acculturation tends to be related to religious identification as shown by associations between immigrant status and language use (two proxies for acculturation) and religious identification. For example, Latinos who speak English were more likely to identify with conservative Christian traditions than Latinos who speak Spanish (26% and 18%, respectively) (Navarro-Rivera, Kosmin, & Keysar, 2010) and the religious group with the largest number of immigrants is Catholicism (Pew Research Center, 2007). While affiliation may change with higher levels of acculturation, religiosity remains a cornerstone of the Latino community. Regardless of tradition, most Latinos believe that God is an active force in daily life, affirm that religion is very important, and pray daily (Pew Research Center, 2007).

Macro-Level Context

Exploitation of Latinos by the United States began in the 1800s as Americans appropriated Mexican lands and subjected Mexicans to social, but not legal, segregation (Marger, 2012; Rumbaut, 2009). Rooted in the conquest of Mexican lands, stereotypes that suggest that Latinos are lazy, unclean, villains, romantic, irresponsible, and welfare dependent continue into today's society. English-only provisions, anti-immigrant legislation, and guest-worker programs are all current examples of discrimination and exploitation (Bauer, 2007; García, 2009; Marger, 2012). In 2012, the US Supreme Court upheld the Arizona Senate Bill 1070 that requires police to determine a person's immigration status, although other parts of the act were struck down. Amidst this anti-immigrant backlash, attempts were also made to strip protections for immigrant victims of domestic violence during the reauthorization of the Violence Against Women Act (VAWA) in 2012. This included attempts to notify the abuser if a woman self-petitions for legal status, place limitation on the U-visa (a visa for victims of violent crime), and allow evidence other than conviction records in deportation

hearings (Krishnaswami, 2012). VAWA reauthorization, which worked to maintain and strengthen protections for immigrant victims of violence, was not passed until 2013.

The history of US Latinos is very much alive. As a nation, the "Latino issue" is not settled and is largely played out on the fields of language and citizenship status. What is clear is that Latinos are not a monolithic people – from history, language, generation, legal status, country of origin, level of assimilation, to SES, we are a varied people. The strengths inherent in that diversity are neglected when xenophobia and ethnocentrism become the price of admittance to the United States.

Review of the IPV Literature

Research on Latinos remains underrepresented in the IPV field, but several inroads have been made in understanding this group over the past few decades. This review will focus on the current research examining the extent of IPV, associations with IPV including gender, physical and mental health factors, formal and informal help-seeking, available services, and populations for special consideration.

Rates and Patterns of Violence

There is variation in the exposure to IPV by ethnic/racial group. For example, the National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey (NISVS) places the IPV lifetime prevalence among Latinas (37.1%) in-between that of White (34.6%) and African-American women (43.7%) (Black et al., 2011). The National Violence Against Women (NVAW) Study showed that while the overall lifetime prevalence of IPV against women did not significantly differ between Latinas (23.4%) and non-Latinas (25.6%), Latinas were more likely to report rape by an intimate partner (7.9% among Latinas and 5.7% among non-Latinas) (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000). Data from a large nationally representative sample showed the past-year involvement in IPV, as either a victim or perpetrator, was 6% for Whites, 11% for Latinos and 14% for African-Americans (Reingle et al., 2014). Another nationally representative study, the National Study of Couples, found substantially higher past-year incidence levels of Latino male-to-female IPV than White male-to-female IPV in 1995 (17% Latino, 11% White) and 2000 (21% Latino, 8% White) (Field & Caetano, 2003). Klevens (2007) provided a brief overview of the literature on IPV specific to Latinas and reported lifetime prevalence rates to be between 19.5% and 50% and past-year incidence rates to vary from 0.7% to 20% across studies. Wide variation among estimates likely stems from sampling strategies, sample characteristics, inclusion or exclusion of various forms of IPV, and demographic differences. This review will focus on recent research and studies not included in Klevens' review.

Recent prevalence and incidence estimates generally concur with previous research. Healthcare clients reported lifetime prevalence IPV rates of 44.6% (physical and psychological) (Bonomi et al., 2009), 33.9% (physical), 20.9% (sexual), and 82.5% (psychological) (Hazen & Soriano, 2007). Recent past year incidence rates included 7.8% (physical or threat) (Cunradi, 2009), 13% (sexual) (Ramisetty-Mikler, Caetano, & McGrath, 2007), 18.5% (physical), 14.5% (sexual) and 72.6% (psychological) (Hazen & Soriano, 2007). Among pregnant Latinas, 11–29% reported IPV in the past year (Martin & Garcia, 2011). Furthermore, a quarter of Latina mothers reported current

IPV, predominately coercion (e.g., kept from seeing friends, going to work, or keeping own money) (Golden, Perreira, & Durrance, 2013). Most of the recent incidence rates thus fall closer to the upper limit of the incidence range cited in Klevens and when psychological abuse is included or the sample focuses on pregnant women or mothers, often fall above the previous upper limit. These studies underscore that IPV remains a pervasive issue in the Latino community, as in other communities. However, given that several researchers derived their samples from the healthcare system, these numbers are likely to overestimate the extent of IPV among Latinas.

The Sexual Assault among Latinas (SALAS) study sampled Latinas ($N = 2000$) living in high-density Latino neighborhoods throughout the United States. The lifetime rate of IPV was 15.6% based on threats (8.6%), physical (7.9%), sexual (6.0%), and stalking IPV (5.8%) (Sabina, Cuevas, & Zadnik, 2015). SALAS is markedly lower than other studies while accounting for a wider range of IPV. SALAS overcame several of the limitations of previous studies by querying a large national sample of Latinas from the general population in their language of choice. Moreover, the sample included a large number of immigrants (71.5%) and immigrant status is an established correlate of victimization rates (Hazen & Soriano, 2007; Klevens, 2007).

Women commonly experience multiple forms of abuse in their relationships simultaneously. Sexual aggression among Latino couples was associated with other forms of IPV such as psychological aggression and physical assault. Interestingly, these associations were not apparent in the same ways for African-American and Whites couples, with Latinos more consistently reporting an overlap in IPV types (Ramisetty-Mikler, Caetano, & McGrath, 2007). Similarly, clusters of abusive behaviors significantly differed across Latina and White women with the combination of forced sex and controlling IPV being the most common type of IPV among Latinas (Glass et al., 2009). In a domestic violence shelter not one resident reported physical abuse alone (Kelly, 2010). Even in samples of the general population, slightly over 50% of the IPV survivors experienced some combination of physical, sexual, stalking, and threatened violence (Sabina, Cuevas, & Zadnik, 2015). Additionally, a study focused exclusively on immigrants found that women who experienced psychological and physical or sexual were significantly more likely to experience additional abuses such as economic abuse, isolation, employment-related abuse, immigration-related abuse, and threats to children, family members or self, than those who were psychologically abused alone (Hass, Dutton, & Orloff, 2000). Together, the studies underscore the overlap of various forms of IPV and indicate that multiple forms of abuse may be more pronounced among Latinas, especially in regard to sexual abuse.

One of the possible explanations is that Latinas tend to view rape differently than other ethnic groups. An often-cited study of 50 shelter residents found that Mexican-American women were more tolerant of abuse and were less likely to label acts as abusive compared to White women, although only one item assessed forced sex (Torres, 1991). More recently, Latinas rated "the woman feels stigmatized," "rape in the context of an established relationship," and "hook-up or date rape," as significantly less typical of a rape than Whites, and Spanish-speaking Latinas rated the first two of those significantly less typical of rape than English-speaking or bilingual Latinas (Littleton, Breitkopf, & Berenson, 2007). The findings point to Latinas, especially Spanish-speaking Latinas, minimizing the commonality of rape within dating and established relationships. Sexual taboos and traditional beliefs about marriage may also work to obscure identification of sexual abuse (Ahrens et al., 2010).

Latinas may underreport IPV relative to White and African-American women according to recent work by Caetano and colleagues focusing on the agreement of partners on IPV. Both partners in 38% of Latino couples admitted male-to-female partner violence (MFPV) occurred. However, 37% of MFPV was identified by men only and 25% by women only (Caetano et al., 2002). Multivariate models confirmed that agreement was less likely among Latino couples than among White couples. Latinas appear to be more likely than women of other racial/ethnic groups to either not identify acts as abusive or to not report such acts to others.

Additional forms of control, beyond the commonly researched tactics, are often used in abusive relationships. Spanish-speaking men in batterer intervention programs and their facilitators discussed work-related IPV. Abusers used tactics such as work-related stalking (e.g., on-the-job surveillance and on-the-job harassment) and work disruption tactics (e.g., not allowing or strongly dissuading women from working, stressing caretaking of children and family members, sending women to Mexico, not allowing women to drive) (Galvez et al., 2011). These abusive tactics are often excluded from traditional measures of IPV, but are very important to Latinas as reported by them in a qualitative study (Bloom et al., 2009). Future research on violence among Latinos may do well to explore the realm of employment as a mechanism of control and abuse and how it relates to other forms of IPV.

In summary, a number of Latinas are victimized by their intimate partners in a variety of ways that commonly co-occur and extend beyond what is traditionally defined as IPV. Studies have not included the full range of IPV and have largely not examined the ways in which abuse co-occurs. For example, more work is needed to understand how IPV is related to other forms of victimization (e.g., stranger assault, community violence). Moreover, economic abuse and sexual abuse are in need of research attention. Cultural clashes with regard to sexuality are likely to influence sexual violence among this population. Qualitative research should work to understand the nuances of sexual abuse among Latinos while quantitative studies can work to verify and expand previous findings on various aspects of sexual abuse.

Associations with IPV

Two reviews have summarized research on factors associated with IPV among Latinos, covering individual, community, and relationship level variables (Cummings, Gonzalez-Guarda, & Sandoval, 2013; Klevens, 2007). Individual factors associated with IPV among Latinos are demographics (i.e., being female, young age, low income, lower levels of education, unemployment), previous trauma (i.e., witnessing IPV as a child; history of physical or sexual abuse, violent behavior), psychological functioning (i.e., psychological stress, mental disorders; low self-esteem), personality characteristics (i.e., impulsivity), risky sexual behavior, traditional gender roles, immigrant status, and acculturation level (Cummings, Gonzalez-Guarda, & Sandoval, 2013; Klevens, 2007). Pregnancy does not appear to be related to IPV among Latinas, especially when other variables are taken into account (Jasinski & Kantor, 2001; Stampfel, Chapman, & Alvarez, 2010).

Relationship variables include power, possessiveness, jealously, social isolation, lack of social support, relationship conflict, and infidelity (Cummings, Gonzalez-Guarda, & Sandoval, 2013; Klevens, 2007). Recent work on the ethnic composition of couples shows interethnic couples reported a rate of IPV 1.48 times higher than intraethnic

Latino couples (Chartier & Caetano, 2012). Lastly, community level risk factors include living in an impoverished, violent, or disorganized neighborhood (Cummings, Gonzalez-Guarda, & Sandoval, 2013). Given that many of these variables are associated with IPV for the general population, variables that have received considerable attention among Latinos, including acculturation, immigrant status, and alcohol use, are reviewed here.

Generally, Latinas who are more acculturated or US-born report IPV more often than those who are less acculturated or immigrants (Klevens, 2007). Compared to immigrant Latinas, the physical and sexual IPV rate among US-born Latinas was twice as high and the sexual coercion rate over the past year was five times higher (Hazen & Soriano, 2007). Multivariate models showed being US-born significantly increased the risk for sexual coercion and psychological aggression. In SALAS, immigrants reported a significantly lower rate of each form of IPV with the most pronounced difference reflected in sexual IPV – US-born Latinas reported a lifetime rate of 10.8% and immigrants reported a rate of 3.0% (Sabina, Cuevas, & Zadnik, 2015). However, other studies have found no significant differences between foreign and US-born Latinos with regards to physical IPV (Cho, Velez-Ortiz, & Parra-Cardona, 2014; Cunradi, 2009). Generally, immigrants report a lower rate of IPV than US-born Latinas and the difference tends to be most pronounced for sexual IPV.

Notwithstanding the lower rates of IPV found among immigrants, the violence that immigrant women experience includes a wide variety of tactics. Women described tactics to include social isolation especially from family, economic abuse, sex trafficking, stalking or monitoring, and extended family abuse in a qualitative study (Kyriakakis, Dawson, & Edmond, 2012). Acts such as harming children, disrespecting parents, and infidelity were labeled as the most hurtful by immigrant Mexican survivors of IPV (Kyriakakis et al., 2012). Immigrants receive strong messages about the importance of sexual purity at the time of marriage and the importance of keeping the family together (Marrs Fuchsel, Murphy, & Dufresne, 2012) that may complicate the identification of abuse and help-seeking.

The acculturation process may serve to increase conflict in relationships and thus increase the possibility of resorting to violence. For example, physical IPV was more likely among highly acculturated Latinas as opposed to those who were Mexican-oriented (Martin & Garcia, 2011). Adjustment to life in the United States may involve discrimination, exposure to new values, learning a new language, having to navigate new systems, and being relegated to low-paying jobs. Against this backdrop, the roles of each partner are changing and women's acculturation, in the form of work for example, may threaten men. Kleven's (2007) overview stated that gender roles per se were not associated with IPV among Latinos, but rather role change appeared to have more of an influence. Current work shows that intracouple conflict arose when women sought employment following migration. Tensions related to Latinas work included the redistribution of the division of labor, women's inclusion in financial decision making, and a sense of women's empowerment (Grzywacz et al., 2009). While employment afforded women a sense of empowerment, more say in decisions and the ability to make independent choices, men felt women's employment caused them to lose respect. A man in a treatment program shared in a qualitative interview, "I've heard a lot of men in the class say, 'Ever since I brought my wife here [the United States], my wife totally changed. She was no longer the woman I knew when we lived in Mexico … She used to do whatever I said, we had no problems. Now that she's here, I don't know what to do'" (Welland & Ribner, 2010, p. 809).

Country of origin is also an important factor to consider among Latinos. For example, several studies have found lower rates of IPV among Cubans (Cho et al., 2014; Gonzalez-Guarda et al., 2013), elevated rates among Mexicans (Aldarondo, Kantor, & Jasinski, 2002; Cho et al., 2014), and both lower (Cho et al., 2014) and elevated rates (Aldarondo et al., 2002) among Puerto Ricans compared to Latinos of other origins. Latino subgroups vary with regard to demographic factors, levels of violence in home countries, institutional protections for violence in home countries, and experiences upon entering the United States. All of these factors likely contribute to the varying IPV levels among Latino subgroups.

Klevens (2007) noted that alcohol appeared to not be a strong predictor of IPV for Latinos. Current research shows that while Latino male-to-female IPV is associated with male binge drinking, male alcohol problems, and alcohol dependence at the bivariate level (Ramisetty-Mikler et al., 2007; Caetano, Nelson, & Cunradi, 2001), associations with male drinking were not found in multivariate models (Caetano et al., 2007; Caetano, Nelson, & Cunradi, 2001; Caetano, Schafer, & Cunradi, 2001; Cunradi, 2009; Field & Caetano, 2003). In multivariate models of male-to female IPV, female impulsivity, acculturation stress, less female alcohol consumption, male unemployment, and lower incomes were associated with IPV (Caetano, Nelson, & Cunradi, 2001; Caetano et al., 2007). Nonetheless, at least two studies found a relationship between high levels of alcohol use (i.e., number of drinks, alcohol problems) and IPV perpetration among Latino men in complex models (Bell et al., 2006; Schafer, Caetano, & Cunradi, 2004).

For women, age, unemployment, neighborhood disorder and alcohol abuse were associated with victimization in multivariate models (Cunradi, 2009). Female-to-male sexual abuse was also associated with male drinking and alcohol problems in bivariate analyses (Ramisetty-Mikler et al., 2007), and results showed that the likelihood of IPV increased sixfold if women drank or had partners that drank (Fife et al., 2008), but again multivariate examinations showed no associations with alcohol use (Caetano et al., 2007; Caetano, Nelson, & Cunradi, 2001). Of note in these results is that the influence of alcohol abuse on IPV for Latinos may be overstated. A precursory examination of studies may allude to a strong association, but by and large, associations disappeared when other variables were entered in analyses.

Across the studies, the consistent predictors of income, employment, education, immigrant status, and acculturation calls into attention the stress theory explanation of partner violence (Farrington, 1986). I posit that stress for Latino families includes meeting economic needs, functioning in a society that may be unfriendly or hostile, handling minority stress, changing gender roles, and facing cultural clash and adaptation. It may be that for immigrant families traditional values and ethnic cohesion buffer the impact of stress. Immigrants, who currently come to the United States to partake in the opportunity for economic advancement, may not experience the same impact as Latinos born in the United States who experience a lifetime of relative deprivation.

Gender

The unidimensional portrayal of women as victims and men as perpetrators is inaccurate – the same holds for Latinos (Black et al., 2011). The NVAW Study found 7.4% of Latino men experienced IPV (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000) while the NISVS found

26.6% of men experienced IPV in their lifetime (Black et al., 2011). What is unclear from the very limited number of studies that examine these issues, however, is the context of the violence, how men who were victimized respond or are impacted by the violence, and the motivations of women's use of violence. Latino male victimization was associated with younger age, lower levels of education, full-time employment, lower incomes, and neighborhood disorder (Cunradi, 2009), while female perpetration was associated with younger age, income, acculturation, acculturation stress, women's education, male impulsivity, and higher incomes (Caetano et al., 2007; Caetano, Nelson, & Cunradi, 2001; Cunradi, 2009). One cross-sectional study performed path analyses of IPV among college students (half of whom were Latino) and showed that women's victimization predicted women's perpetration and men's perpetration predicted their victimization such that violence used by women appeared to be in reaction to men's violence (Allen, Swan, & Raghavan, 2009). A qualitative study also points to Latinas use of violence as retaliatory. One participant explained, "Because he was aggressive and I became aggressive, and one day he went to hit me and I got a knife and I told him, 'Leave, leave, that I am going to kill you.' And I was going to kill him. I was going to kill him. I was crazed" (Gonzalez-Guarda et al., 2011, p. 51). Studies have not examined the implications of Latina perpetrated violence on men and have not queried men's reactions.

Mental Health and Physical Health

The impairment in mental health functioning associated with IPV appears to vary by ethnicity. Bonomi et al. (2009) found that Latina survivors were more negatively impacted than non-Latina survivors on overall mental health functioning, vitality, and role emotional functioning. Estimates of major depressive disorder (MDD) among Latina survivors range from 45.7% to 71% (Fedovskiy, 2008; Kelly, 2010; Rodríguez et al., 2010). Post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) estimates range from 19% of clinic users (Fedovskiy, 2008) to 70% of shelter residents (Kelly, 2010). IPV survivors in the SALAS study had clinical levels of psychological distress including depression (17.2%), anger (14.4%), dissociation (23.3%), and anxiety (19.8%) (Sabina & Cuevas, 2012) showing the significant impact of IPV across a variety of psychological domains.

Physical violence has been associated with MDD and hostility (Hazen et al., 2008; Kelly, 2010). Psychological abuse has been related to MDD, hostility, somatization, and comorbid PTSD (Hazen et al., 2008; Kelly, 2010). Coercive control was strongly related to depressive and PTSD symptoms among Latinas (Bubriski-McKenzie & Jasinski, 2014). While each form of IPV in the SALAS study (physical, sexual, threats, and stalking) significantly predicted each form of psychological distress, their unique influence became nonsignificant when counts of IPV types was included in analyses (Sabina & Cuevas, 2012) showing that the psychological impairment apparent with IPV is due to the compacted effect of various forms of IPV, not one individual type. Results from a sample of pregnant Latinas indicated that depression was related to a lack of mastery over life forces, low levels of social support, history of trauma, perceived stress, avoidant coping style, and IPV while PTSD was related to perceived stress, history of trauma, and poverty (Rodríguez et al., 2008, 2010). In fact, IPV predicted post-partum depression, even after controlling for prenatal depression (Jackson et al., 2015) and was a stronger predictor of postpartum depression than prenatal depression (Valentine et al., 2011). Correspondingly, IPV predicted PTSD at

7 months postpartum and 13 months postpartum, and depression predicted PTSD over all time points (Sumner et al., 2012). Thus the extant research shows a consistent link between IPV and poor mental health outcomes as well as a link between depression and PTSD.

Qualitative work highlighted the ways in which Latinas conceive of depression. When depressed women who were survivors of IPV talked about depression, they often mentioned the harmful effects of keeping things inside. "When you shake a bottle – a soda, for example – it has gas, so shaking the bottle will make it explode. It is the same. When you are holding up all the things inside – in your heart – it damages people – like me personally …" (Nicolaidis et al., 2011, p. 1133).

In order to understand some of these interrelationships, researchers tested the Vulnerable Populations Conceptual model (Gonzalez-Guarda et al., 2009). According to the model, a lack of resources (e.g., income, education, self-esteem) increases the risk for IPV, IPV in turn is hypothesized to decrease health status (i.e., increased depressive symptoms), and simultaneously depressive symptoms also exacerbate IPV. Lastly, depression is thought to further diminish resources. The four-component model, tested on a community sample supported most of the hypotheses. First, resources (e.g., self-esteem) were associated with lower odds of IPV; second, those who reported IPV were more likely to have higher depression scores; third, depression also predicted IPV (relationship became marginally significant with controls); and fourth, depression in turn related to less education (Gonzalez-Guarda et al., 2009).

Women who experience IPV are also at risk of HIV and risky sexual behavior. Survivors of IPV were more likely to report several risk factors such as multiple sexual partners, sexually transmitted infections (STIs), inconsistent or nonuse of condoms, a partner with known HIV risk factors, less relationship power, and being HIV+ than nonvictims (Raj, Silverman, & Amaro, 2004; Ulibarri et al., 2010; Wu et al., 2003). A study of Puerto Rican women born on the island and in the continental United States found that place of birth and language preference moderated IPV and HIV risk. Those born in the continental United States were more likely to have more sexual partners and have a history of STI than those born on the island. Those who responded in English were additionally less likely to use a condom every time and were more likely to have a partner with risk factors than those who responded in Spanish (Moreno, Morrill, & El-Bassel, 2011).

Place of birth differences are also of concern to Latinas. In discussing substance abuse, violence, and risky sexual behavior, Latinas revealed that they were concerned that children raised in the United States were going to be more liberal as displayed by leaving home, getting pregnant, having sex, smoking, and doing drugs (Gonzalez-Guarda et al., 2011). They also explained that machismo can lead to more risky sexual behaviors (e.g., sex without condoms, sex with multiple partners) (Gonzalez-Guarda et al., 2011). Gender roles were also a risk factor according to sample participants who said that Latinas inability to talk about sex increased risk for STIs and HIV and blunted women's discussions with their partners about possible STIs and risky sexual behavior (Moreno, 2007).

In sum, the risk associated with IPV for severe mental and physical health consequences is well established in the literature. Reasons for Latinas potentially exacerbated mental health consequences and their qualitative experience of mental health conditions demands further research. HIV risk signals an important issue for Latina survivors, who as indicated above, may be at heighted risk for sexual violence. Acculturation appears to heighten the risk for both HIV and IPV, forming a web of vulnerability.

Help-Seeking

Survivors tend to use multiple strategies over multiple times to confront violence including private strategies, informal support, and formal support. Informal supports tend to be used more often than formal supports and include immediate family, friends, the perpetrator's family, clergy, coworkers, extended family, and neighbors. Rizo and Macy (2011) conducted a systematic review of the help-seeking literature published through 2009 as it pertains to Latina survivors of IPV. This section will review their work and supplement findings.

Latinas face many barriers to help-seeking including some common to women of all ethnic/racial backgrounds such as shame, embarrassment, stigma, and concern for safety of self and children. Barriers specific to Latinas include financial vulnerability, belief in family sanctity supported by religious beliefs, fear of being alone and thus, living in isolation from family and support networks, distrust of police, an emphasis on familism and traditional gender-role expectations, and at times a normalization of violence (Rizo & Macy, 2011). Recent quantitative research indicated that familism may actually increase the likelihood of informal help (Brabeck & Guzmán, 2009). Recent qualitative work corroborated the limitations placed on Latinas by familism, language, privacy, religious convictions, gender roles, respect for authority and sexual taboos (Ahrens et al., 2010; Vidales, 2010). Women stated that the value on privacy restricts disclosing family violence with others. Participants expressed that if Latinas do not adhere to the strict gender roles, they may be blamed for their own victimization. Sexual taboos further severely limited Latinas ability and willingness to talk about sexual assault with family members. These taboos were stronger in home countries than in the US (Ahrens et al., 2010).

Other barriers to help-seeking include lack of documentation, language, lack of appropriate services, and lack of knowledge about services (Rizo & Macy, 2011). Undocumented women were shown to be less likely than documented women to utilize police, domestic violence shelters, and medical assistance (Brabeck & Guzmán, 2009). It is imperative that service providers understand and allay the fears of women who are undocumented or unsure of their rights. A participant explained, "And when I went to a place, they told me, because I was scared. At that moment I was illegal and was scared. And people told me, 'don't be afraid because the women that shut their mouths are the women who die.'" (p. 52). Latinas also encounter a lack of services that are culturally sensitive and linguistically appropriate and previous negative help-seeking experiences may deter future help-seeking. For example, in roughly a third of calls to the police from immigrant woman, the police officer never spoke to the immigrant woman, and abusive partners were arrested in only 29.6% of the cases that would constitute a criminal offense (Ammar et al., 2005). Survivors in a recent study stated they need more knowledge about services in the community as well as rights within the United States (Gonzalez-Guarda et al., 2011).

While immigrant Latinas are less likely to seek help than US-born Latinas, it is unclear whether Latino survivors are equally or less likely to seek services compared to other racial/ethnic groups. Some studies found nonsignificant differences and others found significant differences (Rizo & Macy, 2011). The extent to which Latina women seek formal services has not been resolved in the literature although police, counselors, and medical services appear to be most often sought. Recent research pertinent to Latina help-seeking examined the reporting of crimes including assault,

robbery, sexual assault and rape among various racial/ethnic groups using 11 years of National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) data (Rennison, 2007). Overall, violence against Latinos was more likely to be reported to police than violence against Whites, but when broken down by type of violence, rape/sexual assault and completed robbery – the two most severe forms of violence measured – were less likely to be reported to the police when the victim was Latino compared to White. Another analysis of the NCVS data showed that Latinos were more likely to report IPV to the police than Whites and that low socio-economic status was a substantial contributor to this pattern (Ackerman & Love, 2014). However, data from a domestic violence agency sample revealed that Latinos were significantly less likely to seek health care for IPV than Whites, even after controlling for socioeconomic class, types of abuse, and severity of abuse (Lawson, Laughon, & Gonzalez-Guarda, 2012).

Other related work that includes victimization by all perpetrators showed that Latinas were significantly less likely to seek formal help if they experienced child sexual abuse or stalking compared to other types of victimizations (Sabina, Cuevas, & Schally, 2012). In other studies, psychological abuse was linked with contacting the police (Davies, Block, & Campbell, 2007) and not staying in a violent relationship (Lacey, 2010). Calling the police was associated with the severity of abuse, presence of children, depression and having personal income to control (Ammar et al., 2005; Davies, Block et al., 2007). Of note, some predictors of help-seeking such as personal income, presence of children, and depression were unique to Latinas compared to African-American women (Davies et al., 2007). Findings across studies were not consistent on the helpfulness of support networks and lawyers, police, and clergy tended to be perceived as unsupportive (Rizo & Macy, 2011).

While Rizo and Macy (2011) posit that differences in acculturation, immigrant status, years in the United States, documentation, country of birth, and English language proficiency are likely to affect help-seeking behavior, few of the studies examined help-seeking according to these variables. One exception is Lipsky, Caetano, Field and Larkin (2006) who found that among Latinas, those with low levels of acculturation were significantly less likely to use social services or any health care service than those with high levels of acculturation. Ammar, Orloff, Dutton, and Aguilar Hass (2005) found that a stable immigration status and having children who witnessed the abuse were associated most strongly with reporting to the police among immigrant Latinas. Also, a qualitative study highlighted the importance of informal support from family and friends, particularly mothers, sisters and female friends, among Mexican immigrant survivors of IPV. Family members did not support the abuse in the relationship and found ways to provide emotional and tangible support despite the strains put on family ties by migration (Kyriakakis, 2014).

Several limitations are noted in the literature, including inconsistencies in what constitutes help-seeking and little systematic attention to acculturation (Rizo & Macy, 2011). Further limiting the extant research, only four of the studies reviewed used national samples and these studies sampled women with phone lines, which may have missed the most vulnerable Latinas. The remaining samples included community programs, domestic violence organizations, domestic violence shelters, community members, service providers, hospital and shelter databases and archival data. This reliance on nonrepresentative samples and inconsistent measurement detracts from the usefulness of the research (Rizo & Macy, 2011).

While Rizo and Macy (2011) provided an excellent review of the literature and studies over the last few years have added to our understanding of help-seeking patterns, much remains to be learned. Studies have not disentangled the relationship between types of abuse and help-seeking for Latinas. Sexual abuse is inextricably tied with cultural understandings of womanhood and marriage and it is probable that this form of IPV is especially likely to not be reported to formal help sources and perhaps informal sources. Future studies could test whether Latinas are less likely to talk about sexual violence in comparison to other forms of IPV as NCVS data indicates (Rennison, 2007) and suggested by findings from SALAS (Sabina, Cuevas, & Schally, 2012). Improvement of services with regard to language access and cultural competence, and increasing awareness of services is imperative for this population. Instead of viewing Latinas help-seeking patterns to indicate an acceptance of abuse or reluctance to seek help due to cultural barriers, it is important to question the infrastructure of services. Are quality services available in large measure in Latino communities? Are providers Spanish-speaking, culturally aware, informed about the immigration process, and willing to take the time to develop trust in Latino communities? Are women asked to leave their families at the door or break their values and traditions in other ways?

Services

Given the rates of IPV and low levels of help-seeking, there is clearly a large service gap for Latino IPV survivors including mental health services and IPV screenings. For example, 18% of Latina survivors of IPV reported unmet needs for mental health (i.e., participant needed mental health treatment or counseling, but did not get it). Latinas who experienced IPV were four times as likely to have unmet mental health needs than Latinas who did not experience IPV. The same odds ratio for African-American and White women were 1.7 and 2.1 respectively, showing that IPV hampers mental health utilization more for Latinas than other groups (Lipsky & Caetano, 2007).

Screening for Latinas is also lacking in healthcare settings. Thirty-seven percent of pregnant Latinas in OB/GYN clinics were not screened for IPV (Rodríguez, Shoultz, & Richardson, 2009). Given that the American Congress of Obstetricians and Gynecologists recommends that all women get screened for IPV, these numbers show many missed opportunities to aid women in dealing with IPV. Few screening instruments are available in Spanish. Furthermore, instruments constructed on White samples may not be sensitive to Latinas. One study showed the two best items for Latinas are "Have you even been in a relationship where you have felt controlled by your partner?" and "Have you ever been in a relationship where you have felt lonely?" (Wrangle, Fisher, & Paranjape, 2008). The English language items did not assess these psychological aspects of IPV.

Latinas desire a program to address mental health concerns, provide childcare, address violence, educate the community, and give them information and practical skills (Falconier et al., 2013; Nicolaidis et al., 2011). They also report the need to include work-related IPV into intervention programs (Bloom et al., 2009). Study participants who were asked about programs needed to confront Latino IPV gave excellent recommendations including providing accessible information in places frequented by Latinos, increasing understanding of domestic violence services, inclusion of nonprofessional volunteers, having people formerly involved with IPV lead

support groups, involving family and friends in programs, and respecting Latino culture and faith traditions (Falconier et al., 2013; Gonzalez-Guarda, Diaz, & Cummings, 2012).

Potential mechanisms to meet some of needs of Latina survivors include support groups, church programs, home visit interventions, and *promotoras*. Support groups were reported as helpful and informative in understanding domestic violence, providing emotional support, dealing with children and childhood abuse, revealing practical steps to cope with their partners' arrest, and making friends (Molina et al., 2009). One support and reflection group, Caminar Latino, flattens hierarchies between facilitators and participants, grounding itself in feminist and Freirean theory with an overall goal of affecting change (Perilla et al., 2012). Change is further possible in church communities as Latino pastors who were trained on family violence reported being more willing to prevent and respond to family violence after the program (Hancock, Ames, & Behnke, 2014). Another form of support was offered when officers and domestic violence advocates returned to survivors' homes after a call to the police. The team worked together to address safety concerns, provide information, and make families aware of community resources. An advocate-survivor ethnic match was most important for Latinas. When Latinas were matched with a Latino advocate more time was spent on the case and more services were discussed than when Latinas were not matched on ethnicity with the advocate (Stover et al., 2008). Similarly, Latina-focused IPV and sexual assault organizations such as the National Latin@ Network and Arte Sana support the use of *promotoras* – laypersons trained to deal with IPV and engage community members in a holistic, culturally appropriate way (National Latin@ Network, n.d.; Zárate, 2003). An evaluation of *promotoras* with a community sample shows promise in reducing depressive symptoms and acculturative stress while increasing social support and positive coping responses (Tran et al., 2014). Further, engagement in a sexual health group intervention program was more common among those who experienced IPV, showing that these types of programs may attract participation among IPV victims although the program was not specific to IPV (Mitrani et al., 2013).

Agencies have also worked together to enhance services for Latinas. Using a network model in Massachusetts, several different agencies that serve Latinas affected by violence worked together to build a coordinated effort against violence and increase cultural competence and language capacity (Whitaker et al., 2007), resulting in concrete changes that improved service utilization and cultural proficiency. For example, more materials are available in Spanish and the batterer intervention program program now has a Spanish curriculum. Families can now accompany victims to initial DV shelter visits and residents can inform family about safety. In order to accommodate women with immigration issues, stays in shelters have been extended. Lessons learned include integrating the entire family into service delivery, addressing violence against women in tandem with other services, outreach, or education, and integrating services to make navigating services easier for Latino families.

There have also been developments in services for Latino men underscoring the advantages of a culturally grounded approach. A Spanish language program incorporated suggestions from Mexican men and included parent education, gender roles, machismo, sexual force, discrimination, pressures due to immigration, and reclaiming Mexican-based spirituality in their treatment (Welland & Ribner, 2010). The attrition rate in this program was about a third of the English language programs in the same

agency (Welland & Ribner, 2010). Men were determined to change their *machista* behavior, expressed compassion, began to understand discrimination against women, and improved their communication.

In sum, it is clear that there continues to be unmet needs for Latina survivors of IPV. Preliminary issues such as competently providing established services to Latinas in Spanish are unresolved. Help-seeking of Latinas is shaped not only by their own beliefs, but by structural and institutional barriers (Vidales, 2010). In addition to addressing barriers, service providers can work to enhance services to Latinos by capitalizing on cultural strengths, including a strong adherence to the family, spirituality, and personalism. Further gains can be made when conceptualizing services that would be most appropriate for this population – such as family-based interventions, extended programs for immigrants, and inclusion of work-related and psychological IPV into the discourse and provision of services. Additionally, services need to be extended to include elder Latinos, men as survivors of IPV, LGBT Latinos, migrant Latinos, and Latinos with disabilities.

Special Populations

Farmworkers and migrants experience high to moderate levels of IPV (Duke & Cunradi, 2011; Hazen & Soriano, 2007; Kim-Godwin & Fox, 2009). Unfortunately, the majority of farmworkers (73.2%) reported not having a support system and this was more typical among women (Kim-Godwin & Fox, 2009). The stressful work conditions of farmworkers have been shown to influence IPV perpetration (Duke & Cunradi, 2011).

The limited research on LGBT Latinos finds that Latino gay and bisexual men report high rates of IPV (Feldman et al., 2007). Work specific to Latino men with varying sexual orientations, shows that bisexuality was significantly associated with IPV perpetration, but not victimization (Gonzalez-Guarda, De Santis, & Vasquez, 2013). Myths concerning the LGBT community, such as a lesbian utopia devoid of violence, foster an environment in which abuse in LGBT relationships is not taken seriously and services are severely limited (Duke & Davidson, 2009). Barriers such as outing, homophobia, and internalized oppression further hinder help-seeking (Duke & Davidson, 2009).

Intimate partner violence is not limited to young women; older women also report violence by their intimate partners (Jasinski & Dietz, 2003). Generational beliefs can hinder women's recognition and disclosure of abuse (Zink et al., 2004). The emphasis that Latino culture places on the elderly, extended family living, and caretaking may decrease the risk of IPV for this population. At the same time, the pronounced poverty of Latino elders and restricted access to healthcare or healthcare in Spanish (Valdez & Arce, 2010) may increase the risk of IPV.

Women with disabilities are significantly more likely to experience IPV than women without a disability (Barrett et al., 2009). Issues such as dependency, social isolation, cultural devaluation of persons with disabilities, difficulty being believed, lack of resources, and little education on separating appropriate from inappropriate touch may serve to increase IPV among persons with disabilities (Smith, 2008). The ways in which minority status, immigrant status, Spanish language use, and Latino cultural values play into these dynamics is not yet known, obscuring the lived experiences of Latinos with disabilities.

Future Directions

Research, services, and policy should work to fully understand and incorporate the intersectionality in the lives of Latino families. Research can and should extend beyond categorical comparisons of Whites, African-Americans, and Latinos, to examine how contextual factors such as country of origin, immigration status, language, cultural beliefs, acculturation, socio-economic status, discrimination, former trauma history, concurrent victimization, mental health, HIV risk, and physical health concurrently position Latinos. Work in this area is lacking a theoretical model of IPV specific to Latinos that includes contextual factors as well as shifts over time. Processes such as acculturation, inclusive of changes in cultural values, gender roles, and religion, need to be understood in relationship to IPV, help-seeking, and mental health impacts. More emphasis should be placed on the couple as these processes are largely played out in family relationships. Importance should also be placed on neighborhood-level variables such as available resources, the concentration of immigrants, residential turnover, and Latino density as these are also likely linked to IPV. The macro-level context, which can work to discriminate against Latinos and immigrants, needs to be included in research endeavors that seek to understand the experience of IPV and responses to it. How do macro-level variables such as political history, distribution of wealth, educational access, racial diversity, access to jobs and services, and war affect IPV in the United States and across Latin America? Are policymakers assuring the necessary protections for Latino / Latina survivors of IPV?

While research to date has delineated risk factors for violence, a strength-based view of Latinos and their resilience is lacking. A participatory approach that allows Latino/ Latina survivors to speak for themselves, could greatly enrich research and improve service provision by eliminating some of the ethnic and class biases in research and services. Furthermore, quantitative and qualitative studies have focused on violence within couples and related risk factors, thus ignoring the other side of the coin; namely, what protective factors are present in Latino families that do not experience IPV? And most importantly, by which mechanisms do these protective factors work? For example, immigrant status and low levels of acculturation seem to be protective for this population, but the processes are not yet understood. Relatedly, what promotes resilience among individuals and couples that have experienced IPV? Here, again, a contextual understanding of Latinos is needed in that it is likely that values such as familism, *respeto*, and religiosity, play into processes of protection and resilience. We can work to further support these processes at the macro level through laws and policies that promote recovery from abuse.

A substantial amount of progress has been made in understanding IPV among Latinos and addressing their needs. However, a holistic understanding of IPV and hence a holistic response to IPV, requires more critical questions that extend beyond the traditional boundaries of the IPV field to include cultural adaptation, shifts in family life, the view of sexuality across cultures, the effects of discrimination, and advocacy to address the economic and social position of minorities.

Note

1   In this chapter, I will use the term "Latino" for referring to Hispanics/Latinos for consistency.

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Living in a Web of Trauma

An Ecological Examination of Violence among African Americans

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> *We cannot eradicate racism by rejecting the use of racial statistics, but we can perpetuate racism by abstracting statistics from their historical and social context and by treating race as a coherent, homogenous, causal variable.*
>
> T. Zuberi, *Thicker than blood*

According to the 2010 US Census Bureau, 42 million people self-identify as Black or African American, either alone or in combination with one or more races[1] (DeNavas-Walt & Proctor, 2014). This richly diverse, resilient population is overrepresented among victims and perpetrators of nonfatal and fatal community, family, and intimate partner violence. For example, in the National Crime Victimization Survey, the rate of violent victimization for Blacks was 25.1 per 1000 in 2013. Rape, robbery, and physical assaults were perpetrated by intimate partners, family members, and strangers (Truman & Langton, 2014). Moreover, African Americans, whether as individuals or couples, consistently reported higher rates of overall, severe, mutual, and recurrent past year and lifetime intimate partner violence (IPV) victimization and perpetration than their White and Hispanic counterparts in general population, community, and university samples[2] (West, 2012). Although they were 13.6% of the population, African Americans accounted for one-half of the nation's homicide victims in 2005 (Harrell, 2007).

However, Black Americans are not inherently more violent than other ethnic groups. In fact, many of the racial differences disappear, or become less significant, when researchers control for socioeconomic status (West, 2012). The purpose of this chapter is to review the literature to explore reasons why African Americans are overrepresented among victims and perpetrators of interpersonal violence. In the first section, I will define historical trauma and discuss gender differences in prevalence rates of fatal and nonfatal violent criminal victimization and prevalence rates of physical, sexual, and psychological intimate partner violence. In the next section, I will describe the ecological model and discuss risk factors for interpersonal violence at the individual, relationship, community, and societal levels. To conclude,

I will offer suggestions for intervention and prevention strategies to address risk factors at every level of the ecological model.

Prevalence Rates and Types of Violence

Historical Trauma

During 250 years of slavery, followed by 90 years of *de facto* and *de jure* segregation in the form of Jim Crow laws, and the shameful incompletion of the modern civil rights movement, one thing remained constant in the lives of African Americans: high levels of interpersonal and institutional violence in the form of beatings, rapes and reproductive coercion, and lynchings (for a review see Williams-Washington, 2010). This has contributed to historical trauma, which has been defined as "the collective spiritual, psychological, emotional and cognitive distress perpetuated intergenerationally deriving from multiple denigrating experiences originating with slavery and continuing with pattern forms of racism and discrimination to the present day" (Williams-Washington, 2010, p. 32).

Although exposure to racism, quality of their social support system, and knowledge of these historical events can determine how contemporary African Americans process historical trauma, slavery has left an indelibly mark on the Black psyche and consciousness. This is not to suggest that every destructive act, including the perpetration of interpersonal violence, is the direct result of slavery. Yet, some Blacks have "internalized beliefs and practices that have become self-annihilating. We cannot uncouple such beliefs and practices from the legacy of slavery and Jim Crow" (Robinson, 2012, p. 397). Beyond the psychological consequences of historical trauma, racial discrimination has created structural inequalities, in the form of higher rates of poverty, unemployment, and residential segregation that have increased the probability that Black Americans will experience all forms of violence in their families and communities (West, in press). This reality should be considered when reviewing the research on criminal victimization and intimate partner violence discussed below.

Criminal Victimization

There is an alarmingly high rate of homicides in the African American community (see Table 33.1). According to the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS), Blacks accounted for nearly one-half of the 16 000 homicides that occurred in 2005 (Harrell, 2007). It is important that these numbers have a human face. For example, in Chicago, the third largest US city, 82 citizens were shot, five of them by police officers, and 14 people were killed. Most of the victims were in their late teens and twenties, but the victims ranged from a 14-year-old boy to a 66-year-old woman. All of this violence occurred in three days during the July 4, 2014 holiday weekend (Nickeas, 2014).

In addition, there were an estimated 805 000 nonfatal violent crimes involving Blacks Americans. About one-half were categorized as serious violent crime: rape/sexual assault, robbery, or aggravated assault. In fact, one-third of violent crime against Blacks involved offenders who were armed with weapons (gun or knife). As further evidence of severity, one-third of Black crime victims sustained an injury. On a more positive note, the rate of violent victimization among Blacks has declined between 2012 and 2013 (Truman & Langton, 2014).

Table 33.1 National Studies on Criminal Victimization and Intimate Partner Violence Among African Americans.

Study	Number of Blacks	Methods and design	Rates of violence
		Criminal victimization	
National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) (Truman & Langton, 2014)	475 090 in 2004 598 100 in 2012 430 380 in 2013	Collects information on nonfatal crimes reported and not reported to police against persons age 12 or older from a nationally representative sample of US households (in 2012: 92 390 households and 162 940 persons interviewed). Face-to-face interviews with subsequent interviews conducted either in person or by phone. In 2012, 3 575 900 were victims.	The rate of violent victimization for blacks declined between 2012 to 2013 (34.2 versus 25.1 per 1000).
National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) (Harrell 2007)	In 2005, estimated 805 000 Black nonfatal violent crime victims and 8000 homicides.	Collects information on nonfatal crimes reported and not reported to police against persons age 12 or older from a nationally representative sample of US households (in 2012: 92 390 households and 162 940 persons interviewed). Face-to-face interviews with subsequent interviews conducted either in person or by phone.	Between 2001 and 2005, about half of nonfatal violence against blacks was characterized as a serious violent crime (rape/sexual assault, robbery, aggravated assault). Black males accounted for about 52% (or 6800) of the nearly 13 000 male homicide victims. Black females made up 35% (or 1200) of the nearly 3500 female homicide victims.
Couple surveys		*Intimate partner violence*	
1975 First National Family Violence Survey (NFVS) (Hampton Gelles, & Harrop 1989)	146 Black current married or cohabitating couple households.	Cross-sectional, retrospective data. Face-to-face interviews with national probability sample of 2143 families. One member of the couple interviewed.	As measured CTS[a] Overall Black husband-to-wife past year physical aggression (169 per 1000) was higher than overall Black wife-to-husband past-year physical aggression (153 per 1000). Severe Black husband-to-wife past-year physical aggression (113 per 1000) was higher than severe Black wife-to-husband past-year physical aggression (76 per 1000).

(Continued)

Table 33.1 (Continued)

Study	Number of Blacks	Methods and design	Rates of violence
1985 National Family Violence Resurvey (NFVR) (Hampton Gelles, & Harrop 1989)	576 Black current married or cohabitating couple households.	Cross-sectional, retrospective data. Telephone interviews with national probability sample of 6002 families. One member of the couple interviewed.	As measured by the CTS, overall Black wife-to-husband past-year physical aggression was higher (204 per 1000) than overall husband-to-wife past-year physical aggression (169 per 1000). Severe wife-to-husband past-year physical aggression was higher (108 per 1000) than husband-to-wife past-year physical aggression (64 per 1000) (not significant).
1995 National Longitudinal Couple Survey (NLCS) (Caetano, Cunradi, Clark, & Schafer 2000).	358 Black current married or cohabitating couples.	First wave of longitudinal survey data. Face-to-face interviews conducted separately with each member of 1440 currently married or cohabitating couples in the 1995 National Alcohol Survey.	As measured by the CTS, overall past-year physical aggression: Black FMPV[b] was higher than Black MFPV[c] (30% versus 23%). Among couples who reported violence, overall past-year physical partner violence: Black MPV[d] (61%) was higher than unidirectional FMPV (31%) and unidirectional FMPV (8%).
2000 National Longitudinal Couple Survey (NLCS) (Caetano, Field, Ramisetty-Mikler, & Lipsky 2009).	232 Black married and cohabitating couples who were interviewed in the 1995 NLCS.	Second wave of longitudinal survey data. Face-to-face interviews conducted separately with each member of intact 1025 currently married or cohabitating couples in the 1995 NLCS.	As measured by the CTS-2, minor (15%) and severe (4%) MFPV past-year physical aggression was comparable to minor (16%) and severe (4%) past-year FMPV physical aggression. Minor (53%) and severe (28%) past year MFPV psychological aggression was comparable to minor (51%) and severe (30%) FMPV past-year psychological aggression. Past-year minor MFSA[e] (19%) was higher than past year minor FMSA[f] (13%).

Public health victimization surveys			
National Violence Against Women Survey (NVAWS) (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000).	780 Black women and 659 Black men.	Cross-sectional retrospective data. Telephone interviews with nationally represented sample of 8000 US women and 8000 US men.	Lifetime rates: Black women: 26.3% physical assault (items from the CTS) 7.4% rape 4.2% stalking Black men: 10.8% physical assault 0.9% rape 1.1% stalking
National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey (NISVS) (Black, Basile, Breiding, Smith, Walters, Merrick, Chen, & Stevens, 2011).	Not reported	Cross-sectional retrospective data. Telephone interviews conducted from January–December 2011 with 12 727 (6879 women and 5848 men) noninstitutionalized English- and Spanish-speaking US population aged 18 or older.	Lifetime rates: Black women: 41.2% physical violence (items from the CTS) 53.8% psychological aggression 8.8% rape 9.5% stalking Black men: 36.3% physical violence 56.1% psychological aggression Not-reported rape Not-reported stalking
Crime surveys			
National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) (Truman & Morgan, 2014)	598 100 Black victims in 2012	Collects information on nonfatal crimes reported and not reported to police against persons age 12 or older from a nationally representative sample of US households (in 2012: 92 390 households and 162 940 persons interviewed). Face-to-face interviews with subsequent interviews conducted either in person or by phone. In 2012, 3 575 900 were victims.	Between 2003–2012, the Black intimate partner violence rate was 4.7 per 1000.

Table 33.1 (Continued)

Study	Number of Blacks	Methods and design	Rates of violence
Supplementary Homicide Report (SHR) (Violence Policy Center 2014)	Race was identified in 1688 homicides (468 Black females).	Provide detailed information on criminal homicides reported to the police. These homicides consist of murders; non-negligent killings also called non-negligent manslaughter; and justifiable homicides. Homicides in which females murdered by males in a single victim / single offender incident.	Black females were murdered by males at a rate of 2.46 per 100 000.

Notes:
[a]CTS = Conflict Tactics Scale;
[b]FMPV = female-to-male partner violence;
[c]MFPV = male-to-female partner violence;
[d]MPV = mutual partner violence;
[e]MFSA = male-to-female sexual assault;
[f]FMSA = female-to-male sexual assault.

Intimate Partner Violence

African Americans experience family violence that is committed by immediate family members, including parents, children, siblings, and other relatives (Truman & Morgan, 2014). However, the focus of this chapter is violence that is committed by intimate partners, broadly defined as married, cohabiting, or common-law spouses; boyfriends/girlfriends, dating partners, and ongoing sexual partners. A comprehensive definition includes *physical aggression*, ranging from less injurious violence, such as slapping or shoving, to more lethal forms of violence, including beatings and assaults with weapons. *Rape* can take the form of completed or attempted alcohol- or drug-facilitated or forced anal, oral, or digital penetration. Other forms of *sexual violence* include *reproductive coercion* (e.g., pressuring a woman to become pregnant), *sexual coercion* (nonphysically pressured unwanted penetration), and *unwanted sexual contact* (e.g., kissing or fondling). *Psychological aggression* includes *expressive aggression*, in the form of name calling, insulting, or humiliating an intimate partner and *coercive control*, which includes behaviors that are intended to monitor, control, or threaten an intimate partner. Finally, *stalking* encompasses receiving unwanted communication via email or through social media; being watched or followed at home, work, or school (Black et al., 2011).

Before discussing the research in Table 33.1, I will pause to mention several methodological limitations of these national studies (for a review see Mechanic & Pole, 2013). First, few scholars have investigated ethnic differences in rates of violence among Blacks (US-born African Americans versus immigrant and second-generation Caribbeans). The practice of "ethnic lumping" has obscured important ethnic differences in prevalence rates and risk factors (e.g. Lacey, West, Matusko and Jackson, in press). Second, most researchers have used the original Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS) and the Revised Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS-2) to measure overall, minor, and severe physical aggression (Straus, Hamby, Boney-McCoy, & Sugarman, 1996). Finally, it is difficult to make comparisons across studies because researchers have used different methodologies: interviews conducted face-to-face versus telephone interviews (Hampton, Gelles, & Harrop, 1989). With these caveats in mind, I will explore Black gender differences in IPV in national couple surveys, public health victimization surveys, and crime surveys.

Couple Surveys   In couple surveys either the wife, husband, or both were interviewed either face-to-face or by telephone. In the 1975 National Family Violence Survey (NFVS) both overall and severe Black husband-to-wife past-year physical aggression was higher than overall and severe Black wife-to-husband physical aggression. A decade later, the 1985 National Family Violence Resurvey (NFVR) discovered that Black wives used more overall and severe violence against their husbands than husbands used against their wives. These changes could be attributed to changes in respondents' willingness to report violence, actual changes in gender patterns of IPV, or methodological differences between the studies (Hampton, Gelles, & Harrop, 1989).

Ideally, both IPV victimization and perpetration should be measured in couples over time. This was accomplished in the National Longitudinal Couples Survey (NLCS) by interviewing both members of the couple in 1995 and 2000. Almost one-quarter of Black couples reported minor or moderate violence, much of it took the form of pushing, slapping, and hitting with an object. Mutual, also referred to

as bidirectional violence, was the most frequently reported pattern of relationship violence. That is, 61% of couples reported that both partners had used physical aggression. One-third of Black couples who reported bidirectional partner violence described it as severe, defined as beat up, choked, raped or threatened with a weapon. Five years later, 17% of Black couples continued to engage in mutual violence and 11% of these couples progressed into severe IPV (Caetano, Raimisetty-Mikler, & Field, 2005). These relationships may be better characterized as *bidirectional asymmetrical violence*[3] (Temple, Weston, & Marshall, 2005). Alternatively stated, mutuality of violence does not mean that women's and men's violent acts are equivalent. When motives, frequency, and severity of violence are considered the physical and mental health consequences associated with IPV are often greater for women (West, 2007).

Public Health Victimization Surveys   Two victimization studies used a public health perspective to assess the physical and mental health consequences of IPV. In the National Violence Against Women Survey (NVAWS), Black women reported higher lifetime rates of physical assault, rape, and stalking than their male counterparts (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000). More recently, the National Intimate Partner Sexual Violence Survey (NISVS), which assessed a broad range of IPV, discovered comparable rates of physical and psychological aggression between Black women and men (Black et al., 2011).

Crime Surveys   According to the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS), the Black intimate partner violence rate was 4.7 per 1000 between 2003 and 2012 (Truman & Morgan, 2014). In 2012, Black females also were murdered at the rate of 2.4 per 100 000 (Violence Policy Center, 2014). Regarding gender differences, Black males were more likely to be victimized by strangers; whereas, Black females were more frequently attacked or murdered by intimate partners (Harrell, 2007; Violence Policy Center, 2014).

   To conclude, African Americans experienced high rates of fatal and nonfatal violence in their communities, families, and intimate relationships. Exposure to interpersonal violence has been associated with more and severe physical and mental health problems. For example, slightly more than one-half (58%) of Blacks crime victims experienced socio-emotional problems, which have been defined as the experience of moderate to severe distress, problems at work or school, problems in relationships with family or friends, or a combination of the three (Langton & Truman, 2014).

Ecological Model: Risk and Protective Factors

Risk factors increase the probability that a person will become the victim or perpetrator of violence; whereas, protective factors buffer individuals against these risks. The premise of the ecological model is that no single factor can explain why some people or groups are at higher risk for interpersonal violence, while others are protected from it. More specifically, this model views interpersonal violence as the outcome of a complex interaction among many factors at four levels. For example, at the *individual level* we consider how a person's sociodemographic characteristics, formative history,

such as exposure to child abuse, and substance use increase their risk of interpersonal violence. The *relationship level* considers interactions between the person and their partner, family members, and peers. Whereas, the community level considers the environment in which the person lives; for example, exposure to neighborhood crime. Finally, the ecological model includes larger societal factors, such as norms, policies, and inequalities, which can create an environment where violence can flourish (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention [CDC], 2009).

The purpose of this section is to discuss risk factors at every level of the ecological model: individual level (age, gender, income, alcohol use/abuse, childhood victimization, normative approval of violence, and impulsivity); relationship level (relationship conflict, quality of peer and social networks); community level (neighborhood poverty and violence); and societal level (discrimination) (see Table 33.2). Throughout, I will weave information about how historical trauma and structural inequalities, such as poverty and discrimination, influence risk factors at each of these levels (for a review see West, in press).

Individual Level

Age Victimization occurs most frequently among younger people. For example, Blacks age 24 and younger had higher rates of violent victimization than Blacks who were age 25 or older (Harrell, 2007). Regarding IPV, when compared to couples who were 40 years or older, the rates of severe violence were more than three times greater among Black couples under age 30 (Hampton & Gelles, 1994).

Gender When compared to male-perpetrated IPV, female-perpetrated minor and moderate physical aggression was more common among African American couples in the 1985 NFVR (Hampton, Gelles, & Harrop, 1989) and the 1995 NCLS (Caetano, Cunradi, Clark, & Schafer, 2000). Interestingly, some Black women did not deny their use of violence. In fact, they were more willing to identify themselves as perpetrators than Black men were willing to identify themselves as victims (Caetano, Schafer, Field, & Nelson, 2002). However, since Black women's use of physical violence often occurs in context of their victimization, it should not be concluded that they are primary aggressors (see West, 2007 for a review). Furthermore, Black women also experienced high rates of severe gender-based violence. More specifically, when compared to Black men or women of other ethnic groups, African American women reported higher rates of nonfatal strangulation (Glass, Laughon, Campbell, Block, Hanson, Sharps, & Taliaferro, 2008), domestic violence (femicide) (Violence Policy Center, 2014), rape/sexual assault, and stalking (Black et al., 2011).

Income In 2013, the poverty rate among Black Americans was 27.2%, which represents 11 million people (DeNavas-Walt & Proctor, 2014). Annual household income had the greatest relative influence on the probably of partner violence, with lower incomes being associated with higher rates of IPV. Specifically, Black couples who reported either MFPV or FMPV had significantly lower mean annual incomes than nonviolent couples (Cunradi, Caetano, & Schafer, 2002). Relatedly, households with unemployed Black husbands reported the highest rates of husband-to-wife abuse (Hampton & Gelles, 1994). In fact, Black women were more likely to be murdered by unemployed partners (Campbell, Webster, Koziol-McLain, Block, Campbell, & Curry, 2003).

Table 33.2   Summary of risk factors associated with violence among African Americans by ecological level.

Risk factors	Research findings
	Individual level
Age	• Blacks age 24 and under had higher rates of violent victimization than Blacks age 25 or older (Harrell, 2007). • Rates of severe violence were more than three times greater among Black couples under age 30 (Hampton & Gelles, 1994).
Gender	• Black men at greater risk for stranger and community violence (Truman and Langton, 2014). • Black women are at greater risk for intimate partner violence (Harrell, 2007).
Income	• Black couples with household incomes between $30 000 and $40 000 were more likely to report MFPV than those with household incomes greater than $40 000 (Cunradi, Caetano, Clark, & Schafer, 1999). • Black couples who reported MFPV ($22 838) had lower mean annual incomes than those couples who did not report MFPV ($32 685) (Cunradi, Caetano, & Schafer, 2002). • Black couples who reported lower mean annual incomes than couples who did not report FMPV ($33 541) (Cunradi, Caetano, & Schafer 2002). • Households with unemployed Black husbands reported the highest rates of husband-to-wife abuse (Hampton & Gelles, 1994). • Lower income Black families had higher rates of wife-beating than upper income Black families (144 versus 58 per 1000) (Hampton & Gelles, 1994).
Alcohol use/abuse	• Mean male and female alcohol consumption was significantly higher for Black couples who reported partner violence compared to those not reporting partner abuse (Cunradi, Caetano, Clark, & Schafer, 1999). • Black couples with male alcohol problems are at a sevenfold risk for MFPV compared to those without male alcohol problems (Cunradi, Caetano, Clark, & Schafer 1999). • Black couples reporting female alcohol problems have a fivefold risk for MFPV compared to those without female alcohol problems (Cunradi, Caetano, Clark, & Schafer 1999). • Black women in the heaviest drinking category were twice as likely to report FMPV than abstainers and infrequent drinkers (Caetano, Cunradi, Clark, & Schafer 2000).
Childhood victimization	• Black couples in which the female reported childhood violence victimization were more likely to report MFPV than couples in which the female did not report victimization (Cunradi, Caetano, Clark, & Schafer 1999). • Blacks who were hit as a teen by their mother or observed parental violence had higher rates of husband-to-wife violence (Hampton & Gelles, 1994). • Blacks who were hit as a teen by either parent were twice as likely to be in households with severe partner violence (Hampton & Gelles, 1994).

Table 33.2   (Continued)

Risk factors	Research findings
Normative approval of violence	• Black couples in which male endorsed approving attitudes of marital violence reported a fivefold and twofold risk of MFPV and FMPV, respectively (Cunradi, Caetano, Clark, & Schafer 2000). • Association between attitudes supporting IPV and IPV perpetration (Raiford, Seth, Braxton, & DiClemente 2013).
Impulsivity	• Acting on the spur of the moment and making hasty decision risk for both Black MFPV and FMPV (Field & Caetano, 2003).
Relationship level	
Relationship conflict	• High ineffective couple conflict resolution skills associated with IPV perpetration (Raiford, Seth, Braxton, & DiClemente, 2013).
Peer and social networks	• Black couples who had been in the community less than two years reported twice the rate of minor violence (Hampton & Gelles, 1994). • Longer residence in the neighborhood and presence of children and non-nuclear family members associated with lower levels of spouse slapping (Cazenave & Straus, 1979). • Perpetration of IPV was associated with gang involvement (Reed, Silverman, Welles, Santana, Missmer, & Raj, 2009).
Community level	
Neighborhood poverty	• The risk for MFPV was threefold higher among Black couples who lived in impoverished neighborhoods compared to those not living in poor areas (Cunradi, Caetano, Clark, & Schafer, 2000). • The risk for FMPV was twofold higher among Black couples who lived in impoverished neighborhoods compared to those not living in poor areas (Cunradi, Caetano, Clark, & Schafer, 2000).
Neighborhood violence	• Community violence was correlated with emotional dating victimization among young Black urban women (Stueve & O'Donnell, 2008). • Perception that violence occurs in one's neighborhood associated with IPV perpetration among urban Black men (Reed, Silverman, Welles, Santana, Missmer, & Raj, 2009).
Societal level	
Discrimination	• Black men who reported higher levels of discrimination reported more IPV perpetration (Reed, Silverman, Ickovies, Gupta, Welles, Santana, & Raj, 2010). • Exposure to discrimination was associated with higher levels of IPV victimization and perpetration (Stueve and O'Donnell, 2008).

Alcohol Use and Abuse   Approximately one-quarter of Black violent crime victims perceived their perpetrator to be under the influence of alcohol or drugs (Harrell, 2007). Furthermore, when faced with extreme, persistent, economic and social inequalities, individuals are more likely to use and abuse drugs or alcohol. There is substantial evidence that alcohol-related dependence indicators (e.g., withdrawal symptoms and alcohol tolerance), alcohol-related social problems (e.g., job loss, legal problems), and greater mean male and female alcohol consumption were especially

strong predictors of IPV among African American couples, independent of who in the couple reports the problem (Cunradi, Caetano, Clark, & Schafer, 1999). Moreover, the risk of MFPV increased, particularly among Black couples who had alcohol problems, as the density of alcohol outlets in their community increased (McKinney, Caetano, Harris, & Ebama, 2009).

Exposure to Childhood Victimization According to the 2012 National Child Abuse and Neglect Data System (NCANDS), a federally sponsored effort that collects and analyzes annual data on child abuse and neglect, 140 079 Black children were identified as victims of physical abuse or neglect (US Department of Health and Human Services, 2013). In both scholarly research (Robinson, 2012) and memoirs (Patton, 2007) strict obedience training and physical violence during slavery has been linked to high rates of child abuse in contemporary Black families.

This behavior has been sanctioned by biblical teaching, such as spare the rod and spoil the child, and has been characterized as an act of love by Black parents who seek to protect their children. However, this harsh parenting style can hinder children's ability to establish healthy adult relationships. To illustrate, Black children who experienced serious childhood or adolescent victimization in the form of beatings and threats with weapons were more likely to engage in both male- and female-perpetrated intimate partner abuse (Caetano, Cunradi, Clark, & Schafer, 2000). In addition, observing parental violence has been associated with future husband-to-wife battering among Black couples (Hampton & Gelles, 1994).

Relationship Level

Gender Ratio Imbalance High rates of homicide (Harrell, 2007) and mass incarceration have removed large number of Black men and boys from the community. As a result, there are more single Black women and fewer marriageable Black men. In response to this gender ratio imbalance, some Black women stay with abusive partners to avoid loneliness. Other Black women stay in abusive relationships because they feel a cultural or religious mandate to emotionally support men who are "endangered" by structural challenges: "He's just upset because he doesn't have a job and he's doing drugs and that's very stressful on him … Soon as he cleans himself up and get a job, everything will be fine" (Potter, 2008, p. 108).

Gender Role Conflict In addition, poverty can contribute to conflicts around gender roles norms. Black women have historically made substantial contributions to the economic wellbeing of their households. Consequently, they may be less likely to tolerate IPV without retaliating or engaging in defensive violence, thereby increasing rates of mutual violence (Caetano, Ramisetty-Mikler, & Field, 2005). In contrast, many Black men have been unable to fulfill their traditional gender role of family provider, primarily due to discrimination in the labor market. As a result, "interpersonal conflicts arise between black males and black females because many black males are aware of their role failures and are inclined to counterattack any perceived challenge to their manhood with violence" (Hampton & Gelles, 1994: 115). Lack of conflict resolution skills, coupled with easy access to guns, can facilitate, escalate, and amplify anger, conflicts and arguments. The result can be higher rates

of both IPV and femicide (Raiford, Seth, Braxton ,& DiClemente, 2013; Violence Policy Center, 2012).

Community Level

Neighborhood Poverty   Approximately one-half of the Black couples in the NCLS resided in impoverished neighborhoods. Compared to Black couples who lived in more middle-class communities, those who lived in economically distressed communities were at a threefold risk for MFPV and twofold increase for FMPV (Cunradi, Caetano, Clark, & Schafer, 2000). Thus, it appears that individual economic distress, in the form of low household income, and residence in poor neighborhoods worked in tandem to increase the risk of inflicting and sustaining IPV.

Community Violence   Exposure to community violence in any role (witness, victim, or perpetrator) has been associated with higher rates of intimate partner abuse. For example, community violence was correlated with emotional dating victimization among young Black urban women (Stueve & O'Donnell, 2008). Black men were more likely to batter their girlfriends if they had been involved in street violence, had a history of gang involvement, or perceived that there was a "great deal" of violence in their neighborhood (Reed, Silverman, Welles, Santana, Missmer, & Raj, 2009). Taken together, social disorganization theory provides a foundation for understanding the complex association between residence in disadvantaged neighborhoods and higher rates of interpersonal violence (see Pinchevsky & Wright, 2012 for a review).

Societal

Experience with Discrimination   Empirical research is limited in this area. However, among low-income Black women (Stueve & O'Donnell, 2008) and Black men (Reed, Silverman, Ickovics, Gupta, Welles, Santana, & Raj, 2010), IPV perpetration and victimization have been linked to microaggressions in the form of perceived racial discrimination in their community (e.g., being unfairly stopped and frisked by police or followed by store clerks, called insulting names or physically attacked because of skin color or race).

   To conclude, it is difficult to detangle the individual, relationship, community, and societal level correlates and risk factors associate with violence among African Americans because the pathways between economic marginalization and higher rates of partner violence is complex. According to social structural theory "those from lower SES strata may have had greater exposure to childhood violence, have higher rates of depression, experience more alcohol-related problems, have poorer coping mechanisms, and more commonly endorse the use of physical aggression as a tactic in marital disputes" (Cunradi, Caetano, & Schafer, 2002).

Prevention/Prevention Strategies

Intervention and prevention strategies need to be implemented to address risk factors at every level of the ecological model. For example,

Individual Level

Income Inequalities   In 2013, the poverty rate among Black Americans was 27.2%. (DeNavas-Walt & Proctor, 2014). More educational opportunities, in conjunction with job training and the availability of living wage jobs, could lift more African Americans out of poverty, which ultimately may reduce the rates of all forms of violence (Raiford, Seth, Braxton, & DiClemente, 2013).

Alcohol Use and Abuse   Alcohol and drug treatment should be widely available. In addition to addressing substance abuse, treatment programs should provide assistance to deal with alcohol-related social problems (e.g., job loss, legal problems) (Cunradi, Caetano, Clark, & Schafer, 2000). Policy makers may wish to consider the potential benefits of limiting alcohol outlet density in communities of color and economically distressed areas (McKinney, Caetano, Harris, & Ebama, 2009).

Childhood Victimization   Exposure to family violence and childhood abuse either as a witness, observer, or victim has consistently been linked to adult IPV (Caetano, Cunradi, Clark, & Schafer, 2000). It is recommended that Black parents move beyond unhealthy, child rearing practices that are rooted in slavery. Rather they should utilize a wide range of alternatives to corporal punishment (Patton, 2007, see www.spare-thekids.com).

Relationship Level

Relationship Conflict   Behavior change requires that men and women learn skills for effective communication, conflict resolution, and anger management through modeling, role playing, and rehearsal of skills (Raiford, Jerris, Seth, Braxton, & DiClemente, 2013).

Peer and Social Networks   Greater family-kin-neighborhood social embeddedness in the form of residential stability and presence of family members served as a buffer and protective factor against interpersonal violence (Cazenave & Straus, 1979). Fostering relationships with a positive formal and informal network should be encouraged, while violent peer groups, such as gangs should be avoided (Reed, Silverman, Welles, Santana, Missmer, & Raj, 2009).

Community Level

Neighborhood Poverty and Crime   There needs to be economic development that target disadvantaged communities. This means providing resources: affordable housing and child care, mental and physical health care services, opportunities for economic advancement, and nondiscriminatory police practices (see West, in press).

To conclude, the intervention and prevention strategies, whether at the individual, relationship, community or societal level will have rippling effects across all systems and will ameliorate the risk factors facing African Americans, thus enhancing ability to avoid interpersonal violence. Ultimately, there needs to be sweeping societal changes that address the deeply entrenched structural inequalities that have created the environment that has caused interpersonal violence in African American communities.

Notes

1 The terms "African American" and "Black" will be used interchangeably.
2 More specifically, African Americans consistently reported higher rates of interpersonal violence than their White, Hispanic, and Asian American counterparts, but lower rates of victimization and perpetration than American Indians and multiracial individuals (Black et al., 2011).
3 To illustrate, Janay Palmer and her fiancée, now husband, Ray Rice, a running back for the NFL's Baltimore Ravens, was described as having "little more than a very minor physical altercation." However, in later video footage he could be seen dragging her limp body from an Atlantic City casino elevator after he had allegedly knocked her unconscious (Boylorn, 2014). Although both partners used violence, at least in this case, the woman sustained more serious injuries.

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34

An Interpretation of Invisible Domestic Violence among Asian Americans

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Introduction

The number of Asian Americans has increased continuously throughout the history of the United States. Since 1878, when a law was passed barring Chinese immigrants from acquiring citizenship in the United States essentially because they were not Caucasian (*In re* Ah Yup Court decision, 1878),[1] the ethnic composition of the Asian American community has changed greatly. According to 2011 US Census data, the number of Asians who resided in the United States was 32,836,023, which corresponds to more than 5% of the total US population (Hoeffel et al., 2012). It does not look like the criminal justice system considers them a dangerous offender group. Catalano (2012) published information on arrest trends in the United States (1999–2010), which provides the total number of arrestees in the United States separated by race in 2010. According to the data, which were based on Uniform Crime Reports (UCR) data, a total of 9,122,010 offenders were arrested in 2010, of which there were only 158,360 Asians (including Native Hawaiians), accounting for just 1.2% of the arrestees. Moreover, the number of offenders who committed crimes against family and children was only 760.[2]

Based on this data, it is easy to conclude that Asians are less likely to commit a violent crime than other racial groups. The domestic violence data from UCR give the illusion that the Asian group is not as dangerous as indicated, with a very low number of arrests. However, other research using the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) data, which concentrated on intimate partner violence, indicated that victimization rate of Asians (including Pacific Islanders) was similar to that of Hispanics. The rate of intimate partner violence against Asians was 3.8 victimizations per 1,000, and the rate of the intimate partner violence against Hispanics/Latinos was 4.1 per 1,000 (Catalano, 2012). Upon examination of this data, two conclusions can be drawn. First, domestic violence offenses committed by Asian Americans tend to be underestimated. Second, Asian American victims of domestic violence are less likely to report victimizations than other racial groups.

The purpose of this chapter is to find the reasons for the underestimation of domestic violence committed by Asian Americans and the underreporting of domestic violence by Asian American victims in the United States. There is a lot of research available exploring the reason for perpetration and victimization of domestic violence, and some studies have even found a need for different applications of criminological theory according to race (Cho, 2012). Park (2009) stated that social learning theory (intergenerational transmission theory) is more powerful for explaining dating violence among Korean college students and self-control theory is strong in explaining the dating violence of US college students. If the roots of the power difference in the predictions of the different theories can be pinpointed, they will almost certainly be due in part to cultural and ethnic factors. By recognizing the differences among racial groups, the current chapter explores the grounds of domestic violence of Asian Americans using ethnic background information. In this chapter, the concepts of Confucianism, patriarchy, and generation of immigration are keywords for interpretation of invisible domestic violence by Asian Americans as well as the existing theories surrounding these matters.

Theoretical Models of Domestic Violence

Several theories have been applied to the understanding of victimization and perpetration of intimate partner violence. Two of the most commonly invoked theories are self-control theory and social learning theory (Gover et al., 2011).

Both of these theories have been validated in explaining the various properties related to violent tendencies at the individual level. Therefore both theories examine the individual experience of perpetration and victimization of crime. Empirically, these theories were examined and tested for intimate partner violence. However, when they are applied to different countries, the predictive power sometimes becomes relatively low (Gover et al., 2011). It means that sometimes we need to consider the differentiated structural background beyond the individual level. An understanding of the ethnic background would be a good clue to analyze certain racial or ethnic groups using the same theory. For an explanation of the ethnic and cultural characteristics of Asian Americans as related to domestic violence, the current chapter borrows the categorizations of the ecological system analysis by Bronfenbrenner (1979, 1986, 1994).[3] Bronfenbrenner divided social phenomena systems into three levels: micro-, macro-, and chrono-system levels. The following section reviews the theoretical backgrounds and ethnic (cultural) backgrounds in terms of ecological systems (Bronfenbrenner, 1979).

Microsystem Approach to Domestic Violence

The microsystem consists of a pattern of activities, social roles, and interpersonal relations experienced by the individual in a given setting (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 1986, 1994). In terms of microsystem theory, previous criminological theories such as the self-control and intergenerational transmission theories, which examined individual experience, will be applied to explain the occurrence of domestic violence.

Self-Control Theory   Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) argued that someone with low self-control is more likely than someone with high self-control to commit a crime given the opportunity at any point in his or her lifetime. Because the self-control that formed

in childhood is relatively stable throughout the individual's life, appropriate parenting is important in childhood (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990). Since the concept of self-control was introduced in the 1990s, much empirical research proved the significant role of the self-control on domestic violence in Western society (Gover et al., 2011; Payne et al., 2010, 2011; Sellers, 1999). The theory was also useful for explaining victimization. Indeed some studies have taken that approach and found support for hypothesized links between low self-control and an increase in crime victimization (Schreck, 1999; Schreck et al., 2002, 2006; Stewart et al., 2004). Moreover, Kerley et al. (2008) and Gover et al. (2011) provided that the concept of self-control could be applicable concept to understand perpetration and victimization of intimate partner abuse even in Asia. Kerley et al. (2008) examined the link between self-control and intimate partner violence in Thailand, and Gover et al. (2011) proved the predictive power of self-control and dating violence in South Korea.

Intergenerational Transmission Theory (Social Learning Theory)   Researchers have traditionally believed that experiencing physical abuse as a child increases the risk of later aggressive behaviors, based on social learning theory, which proposes that individuals acquire novel behaviors and explains their behavioral repertoires as a result of observing others' behavior (Bandura, 1973). Simply stated, an observer may copy a model's behavior long after he or she saw the action performed and even though no immediate reinforcement was earned by the model or the observer (Lewis & Fremouw, 2001).

Early work by Bernard and Bernard (1983) indicated a direct mirroring, in that the exact type of aggression observed or experienced in the family was perpetrated in intimate relationships.

Several recent studies found that men who observed interparental violence were more likely to behave aggressively toward their girlfriends (Choice, Lamke, & Pittman, 1995; Riggs, O'Leary, & Breslin, 1990; Straus, 1992; Straus & Kaufman Kantor, 1994). Canada research showed both forms of indirect experience of parent's violence including physical and psychological abuse in the family was predictive of relationship abuse later (Kwong et al., 2003).

A father's violence is more likely to be linked with violence in the current relationship than a mother's violence (Avakame, 1998). Abused or neglected males were almost twice as likely to be arrested for rape 20 years later (Alexander et al., 1991). Similarly, victims of physical child abuse had the highest level of arrests for violent criminal behavior (Alexander et al., 1991). Other studies have supported this link between child abuse and violence later in life (Choice, Lamke, & Pittman, 1995; Dodge et al., 1990; Marshall & Rose, 1988; Riggs, O'Leary, & Breslin, 1990; Straus, 1992; Straus et al., 1994). Abuse during childhood also been identified as a factor that increases the risk of domestic violence perpetration in men and victimization in women (Bevan & Higgins, 2002; Edleson, 1999; Herrenkohl et al., 2008).

Social learning theory suggests that one mechanism by which such behaviors may be learned is through observation and imitation of others and vicarious differential reinforcement. A child's early experiences and exposure to models in the family may be a source of learning about gender role expectations, perceptions, and attitudes toward violence. Social learning theory therefore has a potentially significant contribution to make toward an explanation of intimate partner violence (Jackson, 1999). Additionally, this perspective of intergenerational transmission theory is particularly valid for the purposes of this chapter as it has been examined

in Asians. Several Asian studies found a significant relationship between exposure to parental violence during childhood and later domestic violence (Kim, 1998a; Kim & Kim, 2002a, b; Ok & Nam, 2005; Park, 2009; Sohn & Yoo, 1998). According to Park (2009), the intimate partner violence among college students in the United States could be predicted by the self-control theory better, while this offense in Korean college students could be better predicted by social learning (intergenerational transmission theory) than self-control theory. However, they did not explain the origin of the different power of the predictions.

Macrosystem Approaches

Although the two theories mentioned above are available for the analysis of the relationships of domestic violence offenders, they have limitations in assessing the fundamental grounds of power differences, which remain unexplained by the current theories. One possible way to find the answer is to depend on the macrosystem. The macrosystem level is referred to as a cultural blueprint that may determine the social structure and activities in the immediate system level (Bronfenbrenner, 1994). This level includes organizational, social, cultural, and political contexts (Hong, Kim, Yoshihama, & Byoun, 2010). However, previous literature only tried to cover the phenomena of intimate partner violence throughout the theoretical perspectives assuming the homogeneity of the participants. Therefore previous research failed to incorporate these social, cultural and political contexts in the research even though crosscultural research was performed. Through the lens of the macrosystem, the difference in Asian American domestic violence would be found in terms of culture and ethnic background including social philosophy and values. More specifically, patriarchy and Confucianism would be used mainly as the ethnic and cultural background of Asian Americans to explain their domestic violence.

Patriarchy   Patriarchy is about the social relationships based on power between men and women, women and women, and men and men. It is a system for maintaining class, gender, racial, and heterosexual privilege and the status quo in terms of power. Patriarchal beliefs of male, heterosexual dominance lie at the root of gender-based violence. Patriarchy is a structural force that influences power relationships, whether they are abusive or not (Belknap, 2007). Under the system of patriarchy, females are rewarded for passivity and "feminine" behavior whereas males are rewarded for aggressiveness and masculine behavior (Belknap, 2007). Patriarchal cultures therefore perpetuate the societal image of women as weaker, less intelligent, and less valued, strengthening the likelihood of victimization by imposing the justification of male violence as a tool of control (Belknap, 2007; Tracy, 2007).

Feminist theories have long asserted that wife abuse is one of many forms of violence against women rooted in male domination and patriarchy (Bogard, 1988; Shin, 2002; Yilo & Straus, 1980). In agricultural societies, in which sons were the social security system for elderly parents (Watson & Ebrey, 1991), women were humiliated for not bearing sons. Husbands could easily divorce their wives for not producing a son, and justified wife abuse using that reason (Tran & Des Jardins, 2000).

Kim and Sung (2000) speculated that the traditional patriarchal power structure and ideologies espoused in Korean culture influence the use of violence. Their research on 245 Korean American households found that 18.8% of couples experienced at least

one incident of physical violence during the year. After categorizing types of marriages, they reported that male-dominant marriages had higher levels of violence with 33% experiencing at least one type of physical violence during the year compared to more egalitarian marriages at 12% (Kim & Sung, 2000; Yick, 2007). Other research has examined attitudes toward abuse of wives and how Asian patriarchal beliefs influence domestic violence. Yoshioka et al. (2001) examined interethnic differences in wife-abuse attitudes among 50 Chinese, Korean, Vietnamese, and Cambodian adults in the northeastern region of the United States. In general, wife abuse was not sanctioned, and the use of violence was perceived as justified in certain situations such as a wife's unfaithfulness, nagging, refusal to cook or keep the house clean, or making fun of her partner (Yoshioka et al., 2001). Among the four groups, Vietnamese and Cambodians were more likely to endorse male privilege and also more likely to justify the use of wife abuse. Interestingly, among Korean Americans, the generation of immigration correlated with agreement with the use of marital violence: older Koreans were more likely to condone the use of violence (Yoshioka et al., 2001).

Confucianism   When these patriarchy codes are linked with Confucianism, the image of violent men and submissive women in Asian cultures is further exaggerated (see Table 34.1). Confucianism is a Chinese ethical and philosophical system developed from the teachings of the Chinese philosopher Confucius (Master Kong). It focuses on the cultivation of virtue and the maintenance of ethics in China. However, the philosophy has spread to other East Asian countries such as Taiwan, Korea, Japan, Vietnam, and Singapore (Le & Stockdale, 2005; Son, 2006).

Generally speaking, Confucianism not only forms the fundamental framework of East Asian philosophy, but it is the cornerstone of the basic principles in life. Although it dominates many of the ideas of Asian society and affects every aspect of life, the basic concepts of Confucianism are not as complicated as what it has come to represent. The basic concepts are called the three fundamental principles and five moral disciplines. The fundamental principles of human relations consist of three bonds are father and son, master and servant, and husband and wife. The five moral codes include the type of relationship, such as closeness of father and son, the master's regard for the servant, the distinction between husband and wife, the younger giving precedence to the older, and faith between friends.

The three bonds mean that a father rules over his son, the lord rules over his vassals, and a husband rules over his wife. The five moral codes include kindness between father and son, that a master must properly care for a servant, and that there must be trust between friends. The three bonds mainly refer to the hierarchal relationship of father to son, master to servant, and husband to wife. The five moral

Table 34.1   The basic concepts of Confucianism.

Three bonds	Five moral codes
Father and son	Closeness of father and son
Master and servant	The master's regard for the servant
Husband and wife	The distinction between husband and wife
	The younger giving precedence to the older
	Faith between friends

codes touch on ethics, which must be upheld in the relationship between father and son, master and servant, husband and wife, young and old, and between friends. The three fundamental principles and the five moral codes of Confucianism are the basic principles that maintain social order, and they have had an enormous influence on East Asian society as a whole.

A combination of the patriarchal tradition and Confucian principles, which stress the distinction between spouses, facilitates understanding of domestic violence by and / against Asians. For example, the Korean adage "a dried pollock and a wife must be beaten once every three day" reflects the traditional justification for wife abuse by husbands. Another traditional Korean adage, "it is a sad house when the hen crows louder than the cock," implies social reinforcement of obedient life of women in house (Hong, Kim, Yoshihama, & Byoun, 2010). As for women's obedience, the traditional patriarchal cultural norm that influences Korean women even today is Samjeongjido, which asserts that a woman must be obedient to her father prior to marriage, to her husband after marriage, and to her son after her husband's death (Shim & Nelson-Becker, 2009).

When these fundamental principles are combined with the marriage customs of East Asian society, in which members prefer some age difference between spouses (generally an older husband and a younger wife), the hierarchical gap between husband and wife is maximized. According to Han et al. (2012), 69.1% of married couples consisted of an older husband and a younger wife, 16% of married couples were the same age, and 14.9% of married couples consisted of a younger male and an older female in 2011. The age gap was 3–5 years on average (Han et al., 2012). However, ten years earlier, the age gap was larger than the average age difference in 2011 and 75% of married couples consisted of an older male and a younger female (Han et al., 2012). Aligning with two moral codes of Confucianism – the distinction between husband and wife and order between young and old – the perpetration of domestic violence is easily justified and the victimization of domestic violence can be rendered invisible in Asian culture.

Chronosystem Approach

Interaction between Generation of Immigrants and Macro System   Acculturation is the process of the changes that occur as a result of contact between two different cultures (Berry, 2005). The level and speed of acculturation vary depending on cultural similarity with one's home country, the individual's age at the time of immigration, generation of immigration, and opportunity for education.

The first generation of immigration refers to immigrant youths who migrated to the United States (excluding those born to American parents).[4] The 1.5 generation refers to people who immigrate to a new country before or during their early teens. Both of these generations tend to keep the traditions of the home country yet, at the same time, they continue their assimilation and socialization. Due to the concentration of accommodation of the new, their identity becomes a combination of new and old cultures and traditions. The term "second generation" is used to refer to American-born children of foreign-born parents. Technically, the second generation does not consist of immigrants. However, due to the influence of foreign-born parents, they are usually educated in the traditions and customs of the parents' home country.

Immigration involves a permanent change not only in place of residence but also, more significantly, in the social, legal and cultural environment (Merz et al., 2009). While second-generation immigrants, as part of the development process for autonomy, may more easily accept new cultural values and practices, older members of immigrant families often wish to maintain norms and values of their culture of origin (Kwak, 2003). This latter tendency was particularly strong for Asian immigrants in North America (Hynie et al., 2006). Usually, parents had a stronger identification with their country of origin and a more collectivistic acculturation orientation than their children. However, compared to other racial groups, second-generation Asian immigrants were found to internalize the values of their family and culture of origin more strongly (Lalonde et al., 2004). Non-Western immigrants in the United States have been found to profoundly respect parental authority and parent-child hierarchies, and to emphasize the normative and moral obligation of children toward their parents and family (Fuligni, 1998). Sometimes it is considered that a father of an immigrant family is the most vulnerable for the perpetration of intimate partner violence; however, this is not true. Vaughn et al. (2014) showed that the lowest violence rate and antisocial behavior was among the first-generation immigrants, while the highest rate was among the third-generation immigrants. Also they showed that that intimate partner violence follows the same pattern of immigrant generation. The unstable status of the first-generation immigrants results in an immigrant paradox (Vaughn et al., 2014). Undoubtedly, there are a number of unreported domestic violence cases within immigrant families. However, the family members who were not familiar with a legal culture in which police intervene in the domestic violence may tend to not report the crime.

Unlike America, which passed an anti-family-violence law in the 1980s, which led to active commitment by police to crack down on domestic violence, few countries worldwide have developed similar anti-family-violence Acts (Park, 2009). First-generation immigrants who had no experience of the police actively intervening in matters of domestic violence in their home country are more likely to exhibit what would be considered abusive behavior unintentionally in the United States. A 1.5-generation immigrant educated by Asian parents sometimes adheres to more serious traditional or patriarchal views. The effect of education is differentiated by gender. As they grow up, boys feels greater autonomy and internalize parental values less than do girls (Qin, 2009); girls choose a close relationship with family rather than create tension (Dipietro & Cwick, 2014; Fuligni & Pedersen, 2002). In brief, the learning process of Asian culture in the immigrant family is stronger for female members. Naturally female immigrants are more likely to be obedient to the traditional family culture and norms.

Linking Confucianism with generation allows us to understand Asian American victims' behavior. Regarding vulnerability, Cho (2012) reported that foreign-born Asian Americans were less likely to be victimized by domestic violence than their US-born counterparts. Cho (2012) interpreted these results by suggesting that the more acculturated women are, the more vulnerable they are to domestic violence. However, the validity of this conclusion is not clear. Foreign-born Asian Americans (first-generation or 1.5-generation immigrants) are more likely not to report a crime because they need to secure their position in the United States and/or they are still under the control of Confucianism and patriarchal culture. Rather, Asian American immigrant wives are more likely to blame themselves and accept the victimization (Yoshioka, 2001). Lee and Lawy (2001) explained that the lack of the development of self and shame toward the victim and the victim's family are possible reasons for the low reporting rate by Asian Americans. Because shame comes from the collectivist

mentality, the entire family is shamed if the community recognizes that the wife has made any trouble in her marriage; this is a burden that keeps many women silent in Asian culture (Lee, 2007; Lee & Lawy, 2001; Yick, 2007). Moreover, they pointed out the lack of the development of self among Asian American women, and that such shame is a vestige of Confucianism.

Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to point out and find the reasons for domestic violence by Asian Americans and toward Asian Americans. The level of violent crime by Asian Americans is not considered as serious as that of other races. The UCR data indicate that offenses against family and children by Asian Americans are still less frequent than among other racial groups. However, NCVS shows that the frequency of domestic violence by Asian Americans and toward Asian-Americans can no longer be ignored. Offenses by Asian Americans and toward Asian Americans have been invisible so far due to victims' cultural beliefs.

In this chapter, Confucianism and patriarchal culture are used as tools of interpretation as well as the self-control and social learning theories. The relationship between generation of immigrants, Confucianism, and patriarchy were considered in terms of acculturation. Specifically, the earliest generation of immigrants rarely seeks formal help due to shame, acceptance of such incidents as destiny, and feelings of discrimination. The US Sentencing Commission (USSC) added a new mitigating factor of the acculturation level of the criminal by amending the sentencing guidelines (USSC, 2011). This means that the criminal justice system admits the possibility of involuntary offenses due to legal/cultural differences. As with the increasing awareness of the importance of the level of acculturation of immigrant groups, the theoretical approaches to domestic violence should touch on the ethnic issues beyond the formal statistics.

Notes

1   On April 29, 1878, the Ninth Circuit Court in California denied Ah Yup (a Chinese immigrant) the right to naturalize, citing the 1802 naturalization laws and all Revised Statutes that had been passed since. At the time of Ah Yup's petition, the laws granted all "free white persons" as well as all "aliens of African nativity, and … persons of African descent" the right to naturalize. Writing for the Court, Judge Sawyer ruled that a "Mongolian" is not a "white person," and he provided a brief anthropological statement about the prevailing classifications of "race" at the time. The Court ruled that Mongolians could not be classified as "white," and made it clear that the existing provisions prevented all except "whites" and individuals of African descent from naturalizing (Baggett, 1878).
2   There was a total of 11 060 cases for offenses against family and children in the United States in 2010 (Catalano, 2012).
3   Ecological system analysis facilitates a broader understanding of a social phenomenon. It represents efforts to expand the limited scope of research being conducted by an individual social scientist (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 1986, 1994).
4   See http://www.census.gov/newsroom/releases/archives/foreignborn_population/cb10-159.html (accessed August 8, 2015).

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Interpersonal Violence and American Indian and Alaska Native Communities

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Introduction

Native Americans, also known as American Indians and Alaska Natives, have endured centuries of hardship since European explorers first arrived in the Americas. Still, this population has persevered despite disease, starvation, forced removal from their homelands, violence and systemic oppression. The 2010 US Census reports that 2.9 million people self-identify as American Indian or Alaska Native and an additional 2.3 million people self-identify as Native along with one or more race (most often white) (US Census Bureau, 2012). Many, but not all, Native people are affiliated with a tribe. In the continental United States and Alaska, there are 567 federally recognized tribes in 33 US states and there are 27 state-recognized tribes in 11 states (Bureau of Indian Affairs, 2015). Although there are some regional similarities, each tribe is unique with distinct culture, language and governmental structure.

The word "violence" provokes images of physical assaults that result in bruises, broken bones or even death. For the purposes of this chapter, however, we are relying on a broader definition of violence attributed to Martin Luther King Jr., which is "anything that denies human integrity, and leads to hopelessness and helplessness" (Kivel & Creighton, 1996). In the following pages, we synthesize what is known about interpersonal violence against American Indians and Alaska Natives with an emphasis on child abuse and neglect, sexual violence,[1] and intimate partner violence[2] in Indian Country.[3] We also discuss the criminal legal response to and the impact of these forms of violence on self, community and society. We are unable to include related forms of interpersonal violence such as homicide, stalking and elder abuse, as these are complex legal and interpersonal issues that require a chapter in their own right. And, while we recognize that men, too, are victims of violence, our primary focus is children and women. Further, due to the heterogeneity of the Native people in the continental United States and Alaska, we will not be able to present an exhaustive picture of the extent and impact of these issues in each Native community. We encourage interested readers to further explore the list of references to deepen their understanding of these issues.

Child Abuse and American Indian Children: A Legacy of History, Politics, and Acculturation

It is well documented that American Indian and Alaska Native children suffer disproportionately from child abuse and the related sequelae of alcohol and substance abuse, gang involvement, and youth suicide (DeBruyn, Lujan & May, 1992; Fischler, 1995; Kunitz et al., 1998; White & Cornely, 1981). Despite decades of searching for solutions and increased understanding, however, we are only now beginning to unravel the complex web of problems that ultimately results in the violent victimization of Native children. It has become increasingly clear that the demands of family life and parenting that challenge any family are compounded for American Indians and Alaska Natives by a painful and traumatic history, the legacy of federal policy, and the tension between tribal custom, tradition, mainstream society, and the demands of acculturation.

Although the demographic and socioeconomic profile of American Indians appears similar to some other minority groups in the United States, American Indian tribes have a unique relationship with the federal government that impacts every facet of Indian life. Federally recognized tribes are considered sovereign nations with the right to exercise basic governmental powers. Tribes can set up their own governmental systems, establish tribal courts, law enforcement, and develop an array of culturally appropriate health and social services. Sovereignty establishes a government-to-government relationship between tribes and the federal government and the states in which tribal lands are located. Further, the Federal Indian Trust Relationship[4] holds the United States legally responsible for the protection of tribal lands, assets, resources, and treaty rights.

Most child welfare issues however, are handled at a state level but involve multiple governments and government systems. Six states under Public Law 280 (California, Minnesota, Nebraska, Oregon, Wisconsin, and Alaska) have concurrent criminal jurisdiction over tribal lands, the limits of which are still under debate (Canby, 2009). State-tribal relationships are further complicated by differences of opinion regarding jurisdiction (the authority to adjudicate a case in court), service responsibility (which government is responsible for providing services to the child and family), and the rights and entitlements of tribes (Child Welfare Information Gateway, 2006).

The powers and responsibilities dictated by federal and state policy both support and constrain the development of services and systems that address issues of child maltreatment. With reservations in 33 states, there is wide variation in the existence and effectiveness of child protective services on reservation lands, the availability and utilization of state child welfare and foster care resources, issues regarding the status of the growing number of urban Indian children at risk, and the resources available to tribal systems.

As with all populations, child abuse among American Indians is first and foremost a social issue. The factors that would cause stress in all families – e.g., poverty, domestic violence, substance abuse, isolation, children with disabilities – also put American Indian and Alaska Native families at risk. For many Native families, these risks are often multigenerational, amplified and further complicated by shifting economies, changes in the extended family and increasing demands of acculturation (Chino & Melton, 1992).

In the past 50 years, these socio-political underpinnings of American Indian child abuse have been explored through anthropological, psychological, criminal, economic, and educational research and policy analysis. But it has only been in the past decade or so that our understanding of risk and protection has advanced to a point where we know how to approach the problem. What has changed recently is the influence of

Native researchers, Native anthropologists, Native psychologists, Native economists, and Native educators who have brought native perspectives to the issues. Conversations about child abuse now include the impact of American Indian and Alaska Native history on cultural acculturation, family dysfunction, policy, and self-determination (Debryun et al., 1992; Kunitz et al., 1998; Fischler, 1995; Fleming, 1996; White & Cornely, 1981). If we are to understand the disproportional levels of violence that affect Indian children today, we must first look back to the history that has shaped the lives of Native populations.

A History of Federal Policy to Address "the Indian Problem"

The more than 500 federally recognized tribes in the United States are as diverse as any group of nations. With hundreds of languages, vastly different traditions, and modern and historical experiences, each tribe is unique in many ways. But no matter the differences, tribes in the United States share important similarities. In particular, the shared history of conquest, decimation from disease, genocide, forced cultural and land-based loss, the insidious evolution of alcohol use, violence, and disease has inexorably linked American Indian and Alaska Native people together on a tenuous path of survival.

   The conquest of the indigenous peoples of the Americas began with the death of an estimated 90% of the population due to diseases brought by European explorers (Dobyns, 1993). The surviving remnant populations briefly engaged as nations in a period of treaty making (1608–1830) which became the legal and political foundation of all future interactions with the newly forming US government. Westward expansion of the growing US population and competition for land pushed the limits of existing treaties and prompted federal policy focused on removal and relocation (1828–1887), then on allotment and assimilation (1887–1928). It was during this period that more than two-thirds of existing reservation lands were reduced; the federal government took over jurisdiction of felony crimes; and legislation was passed that developed the boarding school system and other efforts to promote assimilation (Lacey, 1986).

The Best Interests of the Child

The Civilization Fund Act (1890) funded the coordinated separation of Indian children from their tribes as the only way to deal with the "Indian problem." This history helps us to begin to better understand the unique issues in the maltreatment of Indian children today. The first organized removal efforts focused on children started with Captain Richard Henry Pratt and the establishment of the Carlisle Indian School in 1879. In response to the growing expense of the Indian wars, Indian commissioner Carl Schurz and Secretary of the Interior Henry Teller, demonstrated that cultural genocide was more cost effective than physical genocide (Davis, 2001). Pratt's idea of "killing the Indian to save the man" became the foundation for the forced assimilation of generations of Indian children and their descendants. Despite the claims of assimilation being in the "best interests of the child", it was in the boarding schools that Indian people lost their languages, their culture and traditions, their parenting skills, their community support, and all the key components essential for healthy child growth and development. Requisite, immediate, unrelenting, and disciplined assimilation was the

goal. Parents, children, and tribes were not given choice in the matter. Tens of thousands of children as young as five or six, not only dealt with extreme loneliness of separation, but with the loss of everything they knew about who they were. Malnourishment was widespread. Facilities were overcrowded and unsanitary. Child labor was commonplace and even part of the educational plan (Davis, 2001).

The boarding schools were also notorious for the levels of harsh and violent punishment and rampant sexual abuse that often resulted in the death of the child (Grant, 1996). Brutal punishments were rendered for infractions such as speaking Native languages, running away, or bedwetting. Historic and recent government reports and survivor accounts (Bear, 2008; CERD Shadow Report, 2008) indicate that as recently as the 1970s Native students were beaten, whipped, shaken, burned, thrown down stairs, placed in stress positions and deprived of food. Their heads were smashed against walls, and they were made to stand naked before their classmates. While the schools flourished, thousands of children died on their way to the schools, at the schools, or trying to escape from the schools. Those that did survive this cruel treatment are the parents, grandparents, and great-grandparents of Indian children today.

In the 1920s and 1930s, when many of the schools were turned over to religious organizations as a government cost-saving measure, sexual abuses became as commonplace as brutal corporal punishment. Many well documented accounts contain accusations of bizarre, violent, and humiliating sexual abuse (Hand, 2006). It was in this atmosphere of institutionalized abuse where Indian children learned to dress like mainstream Americans, became adept at skills needed to serve mainstream Americans, and learned that the oppressed often become the oppressors.

This historical removal of children from their homes deeply affected the extended family network system (Libby et al., 2008). Children were deprived of their cultural heritage by forces that overlooked or disregarded the importance of maintaining the integrity of Indian tribes, tribal cultures and Native families. Standards for removal and placement of Indian children were predicated on a value system that ignored the value system of Indian people. Actions premised on the "best interests" of the Indian children often inflicted irreparable long-term harm to such interests by depriving Indian children of their unique identities and forcing them to adopt and accept identities imposed by non-Indians.

Self-Determination and Child Protection

It was not until the 1960s, after a brief attempt to terminate the sovereign status of all tribes (and 100 tribes were officially "terminated"), that the current era of self-determination policy reaffirmed the federal trust relationship and paved the way for tribal autonomy (Wilkinson & Biggs, 1977). Several key pieces of federal legislation including the Indian Civil Rights Act (25 USC §§ 1301-03) and the Indian Self-Determination Act (Public Law 93-638) began a new era of Indian policy that created both opportunities and challenges for the protection and support of Indian children and families.

While the self-determination era served as the official end of the boarding school period, it was not the end of the removal of Indian children from their families. The Final Report to the American Indian Policy Review Commission in 1977 stated that approximately 25 to 35% of all Indian children were raised in non-Indian homes and institutions during some period of their lives due to non-Indian perceptions that Indian families were incapable of child rearing (Fanshel, 1972). Native children have

and continue to be systematically and disproportionately removed from their homes and placed into foster care or adopted by non-Indians (Summers, Wood, & Donovan, 2013). There is still is a prevailing attitude that Indian children must be protected from life on the reservation. Currently foster care placements of Indian Children are almost five times higher than for other children and are more likely to be in non-Indian homes and away from their home reservation (Bass, Shields, & Behman, 2004).

In 1978 Congress passed the Indian Child Welfare Act (ICWA) in response to rising concerns over the consequences of abusive child welfare practices to Indian children, families, and tribes. Such practices resulted in the separation of large numbers of Indian children from their families and tribes through adoption or foster care placements, usually in non-Indian homes (Crofoot & Harris, 2012). The Indian Child Welfare Act is a federal law regulating placement proceedings involving Indian children. The law applies to a wide range of actions that are frequently the result of charges of child abuse. It requires cases to be heard in tribal courts where possible and permits the tribe to be involved in state court proceedings and requires testimony on cultural issues before a child can be removed (Guerrero, 1979). Further, it creates responsibilities for states and child advocates and sets minimum standards for foster and adoptive care and gives priority to extended family and tribal placements (Guerrero, 1979). Despite ICWA, as late as the 1980s 80% of infant adoptions still occurred without notification to the tribe (Hand, 2006; Mannes, 1995).

Tribes have also struggled with how best to deal with those individuals, both Native and non-Native, who abuse and neglect children. Due to the Indian Civil Rights Act and recent amendments in the Tribal Law and Order Act, tribes are currently limited in their ability to sentence abusers to a maximum of $15,000 and/or three years in jail per offense. US federal law currently prohibits tribes from prosecuting non-Indians[5] and tribes cannot prosecute felony-level child abuse crimes. This lack of jurisdiction over offenses committed on Indian land is highly problematic. The Indian Child Protection and Family Violence Prevention Act of 1990 was passed in response to several landmark cases involving the sexual abuse of Indian children by federal employees and the high reported incidence of family violence among American Indian and Alaska Native people. This Act mandates reporting of suspected child abuse, the development of a central registry for child abuse case information, background checks for federal employees, training and technical assistance for prevention and treatment programs, and the establishment of multidisciplinary child protection teams to deal with cases of abuse at the local level.

Tribes now must heal wounds from the historic and recent past, effectively deal with current problems, and prevent future abuses. With limited resources and varying levels of capacity, Indian children often remain, unnecessarily at risk. In response, many tribes are working to codify child welfare provisions in tribal constitutions and tribal laws and address crossjurisdictional conflicts that inhibit a rapid and effective response to an incident of abuse. Most have found it important to clearly define child abuse crimes in their codes. For example, despite the challenges of documenting emotional abuse, many tribes have expanded their definitions to include an array of emotionally abusive acts and the emotional consequences of abuse (Piasecki et al., 1989). As tribes work towards the development and implementation of children's codes and establish victim services, they are also working to educate non-Indians about the complex cultural and historical context of American Indian child abuse. In time, the evolving social and legal

response to crimes against children in Indian Country may help to refute decades of denial and misinformation, alleviate some of the pain of the past, and ensure that Indian families have the support and guidance they need to raise happy and healthy children.

Violence against Native Women

Like child abuse and neglect, the existing empirical literature on violence against American Indian and Alaska Native women indicates that violence against women is a critical public health and public safety issue in Native communities (Fairchild, Fairchild, & Stoner, 1998; Oetzel & Duran, 2004; Robin, Chester, & Rasmussen, 1998; Yuan et al., 2006). One study, conducted at an Indian Health Service facility near a reservation in the southwest, found that almost half (41.9%) of the female participants had experienced intimate partner violence in their lifetime (Fairchild, Fairchild, & Stoner, 1998). Robin, Chester, & Rasmussen (1998) found that almost a third (28.6%) of women interviewed from one tribe reported being forced to have sex by an intimate partner. In another study, conducted with American Indian women at five sites in California, 32% of women experienced physical or sexual assault in the past year (Zahnd et al., 2002). A study conducted with American Indian women in Oklahoma found that 39.1% had experienced severe intimate partner violence in their lifetime (Malcoe, Duran, & Montgomery, 2004). Recently, a statewide study in Alaska found that nearly half of all women (47.6%) had experienced intimate partner violence and more than a third of all women (37.1%) had experienced sexual assault in their lifetime (Rosay et al., 2011).

Despite these compelling estimates and national studies that have consistently indicated that violence against women is more widespread and severe in American Indian and Alaska Native communities than among other North American people, the extent of violence against Native women throughout the United States is unknown (Bachman et al., 2008) and, according to many advocates, underestimated (Pember, 2010). Existing studies utilized distinct data collection methods, sampling strategies and question wording (Bachman et al., 2008; Rosay et al., 2010). For example, some studies were conducted over the phone whereas others were conducted in person. Most studies utilized a "convenience" sample such as people visiting a clinic or staying in a domestic violence shelter. Some studies asked for respondents to self-identify whether they were American Indian or Alaska Native while other studies ask for respondents to indicate whether they are enrolled in a federally recognized tribe. Some studies asked about violence since the age of 18, some asked about violence within a respondent's lifetime whereas others asked about the past 12 months. Some studies had non-Native interviewers, some had Native interviewers from another tribe and some had interviewers from the respondent's tribe. These distinctions make comparisons across studies impossible (see Bachman et al., 2008 and Crossland, Palmer, & Brooks, 2013).

Still, it is clear that more needs to be done to address violence against American Indian and Alaska Native women. According to Agtuca (2008), "safety and justice in the lives of Native women, while related, exist as separate realities. Safety, or the prevention of immediate violence against Native women, is within our reach… Justice, on the other hand, is more complicated" (p. 4). Many, but not all, scholars

contend that violence against women, such as domestic abuse or sexual assault, was not common prior to colonization (Agtuca, 2008; Bubar & Thurman, 2004; Deer, 2004).[6] If these crimes did occur prior to colonization and the restriction of tribal legal authority, it is said that offenders were held accountable by the tribe's council or the victim's clan with harsh consequences such as public humiliation, banishment or even execution (Agtuca, 2008; Armstrong, Guilfoyle, Pecos Melton, 1996; Deer, 2004). In at least one tribe, the Lakota, a man who committed domestic violence was considered irrational and would no longer be allowed to participate in the hunting or war party activities of the tribe (Bussey & Whipple, 2010).

At present, when sexual assault, intimate partner violence or stalking occurs in tribal communities, there are several barriers that inhibit offender accountability and victim access to justice and safety. These barriers include the underreporting of crimes, complicated jurisdictional and policy issues, and the lack of tribe-based or culturally-sensitive resources and capacity to assist victims and perpetrators.

Barriers to Justice and Safety for Native Women

The Costs and Consequences of Help Seeking

If women who experience intimate partner violence or sexual assault tell anyone about the trauma they have experienced, they typically turn to friends of family first – and may or may not turn to formal sources of help (Goodman et al., 2003). Some Native survivors, however, are not comfortable talking to family members about abuse because of the effect it would have on family harmony (Thurman et al., 2003). Seeking assistance from medical providers, social services or the criminal legal system may only occur under certain circumstances (such as an escalation in violence or the effects of violence; or, because a friend of family member called the police or was persistent in encouraging them to seek assistance) (Bussey & Whipple, 2010). In fact, national victimization studies indicate that about half of violent victimizations are never reported to the police (Rennison, Dragiewicz, & DeKeseredy, 2012). There is also some evidence that underreporting of violence against women is especially prevalent in rural areas (Rennison, Dragiewicz, & DeKeseredy, 2012) and among American Indian and Alaska Native women (National Sexual Violence Resource Center, 2000).

Native women are often reluctant to report crimes of interpersonal violence due to a variety of intersecting issues at the interpersonal, community and systemic levels. Key interpersonal- and community-level reasons that Native women do not disclose abuse are a need to protect family honor or a fear of gossip or retaliation (Bussey & Whipple, 2010; Deer, 2003; Ned-Sunnyboy, 2008). For women living in small tribal communities, these obstacles are difficult to overcome. Women are disinclined to report due to stigma and a lack of confidentiality (Hamby, 2004). It is not uncommon for service providers, tribal law enforcement and government officials to be family members of the victim and/or the perpetrator through blood or marriage (Hamby, 2004). In addition, in a multisite study, many women reported that they felt they could not safely access assistance in their community because many of the people in tribal council or the tribal court system were abusers (Thurman et al., 2003, p. 38).

There are additional community-specific barriers for Native women associated with geographic isolation, a lack of accessible culturally based social services and a lack of

needed medical services (Bussey & Whipple, 2010; Hamby, 2008). Many reservations and Alaska Native villages are located in remote areas; therefore, traveling to access services is challenging (Hamby, 2004). Many tribes receive federal and other funding to offer culturally based domestic violence and/or sexual assault services within the community, but often these services are not consistently available due to time-limited grant programs and a lack of other funding sources (Ferron, 2012). Women can seek help at a non-Native service provider outside of the community but typically do not due to issues such as a lack of transportation, language barriers and/or a general "conflict between Western approaches to intervention and American Indian values" (Hamby, 2008, p. 97). Hence there is a double bind for a Native woman that needs help – seeking help within the community may compromise her safety and confidentiality but leaving the community to seek help is not seen as an option either due, in part, to transportation issues and a lack of available culturally sensitive services.

For survivors of sexual assault living in isolated tribal communities, access to crucial medical services is limited. The Government Accountability Office (GAO) recently published results from a survey that found that only 58% of Indian Health Service (IHS) hospitals have the capacity to conduct a sexual assault medical forensic exam on site (Government Accountability Office, 2011). In Alaska, many villages are so remote that residents must travel by plane or boat to access health services (Ferron, 2012; Wood et al., 2011). Lack of access to medical services not only impacts survivors' health outcomes but also affects the availability of forensic evidence. Due to the Tribal Law and Order Act, the Department of Justice (DOJ) has been working in partnership with IHS to increase the availability of Sexual Assault Nurse Examiners (SANE) and Sexual Assault Response and Resource Teams (SARRT) in tribal communities and to expand existing programs. IHS is in the process of providing a variety of trainings for existing SANE and SARRT programs in tribal communities and for tribes that are interested in starting a SANE or SARRT program. In 2010, the DOJ's Office for Victims of Crime initiated an American Indian and Alaska Native SANE-SARRT program initiative to increase each site's capacity to provide effective and culturally appropriate sexual assault services to adult and child victims (Office for Victims of Crime, 2012).

There are significant systemic barriers that prevent reporting to the criminal legal system. Many Native women distrust formal systems and fear prejudice or blame due to the history of maltreatment and oppression of Native people (Hamby, 2004). Due to the history and current practice of child welfare professionals discussed above, Native women have good reason to fear that their children will be removed if they report violence in the home (Bussey & Whipple, 2010). Also, tribal governments do not have full jurisdiction over all crimes that occur on their land. Often, in order to seek justice in the aftermath of a violent crime, Native women must rely on the non-Native criminal legal system.

Lastly, tribal law enforcement agencies are underresourced and in some case nonexistent. A survey of police departments in Indian Country found that many of these departments lack necessary resources such as personnel, technology, vehicles, and equipment (Wakeling et al., 2001). It is not uncommon for tribal law enforcement to rely on very few officers to patrol an expansive area (Goldberg & Singleton, 2005). In Alaska, the first responder to a crime is typically a paraprofessional police officer – such as Village Public Safety Officer (VPSOs), Village Police Officer or Tribal Police Officer – if the village has one. According to 2005 Alaska Department of Public Safety data, 82% of the rural areas had a VPSO position in their community – however

one-third of these positions were vacant (Roberts, 2005). The VPSO program suffers from turnover rates that are ten times greater than what is typical in law enforcement agencies (Wood, 2002).

In sum, when violence against women occurs in a tribal community, victims face many interpersonal, community and jurisdictional obstacles that prevent help seeking, crime reporting, the ability to hold perpetrators accountable, and overall access to justice and safety (Deer, 2003; Ferron, 2012; Ned-Sunnyboy, 2008). In addition, when a crime is reported, there are complex jurisdictional issues that further hinder victim access to justice and safety.

Legal and Jurisdictional issues

Federally recognized tribes in the United States are considered "domestic dependents." That is, the US federal government has a government-to-government relationship with each tribal government as they are sovereign, or self-governing, entities similar to a US state. Despite their self-governing status, tribes have limited jurisdiction and sentencing powers when crimes are committed on their land due to several federal laws and US Supreme Court cases. Under most circumstances, tribes cannot prosecute a non-Native person per the Indian Country Crimes Act (also known as the General Crimes Act of 1817) (18 USC § 1152) and *Oliphant v. Suquamish Indian Tribe* (*1978*) (Canby, 2009). Also, due to the Major Crimes Act of 1885 (18 USC § 1153) and Public Law 280 (PL 280), if the crime is one of fifteen felony-level offenses[7] and it is perpetrated by an American Indian or Alaska Native person, the federal government or the state, not the tribes, has jurisdiction (Canby, 2009).

With the passage of the Major Crimes Act, Congress transferred jurisdiction over these offenses from tribes to the federal government. Then, in 1953, Public Law 280 transferred jurisdiction from the federal government to the state government in certain states. Six states were "mandatory" PL 280 states (Alaska, California, Minnesota, Nebraska, Oregon and Wisconsin) while ten additional states were considered "optional" PL 280 states. This law is controversial because it did not require consent of the tribes, did not authorize additional funding for state governments to respond to crimes in Indian Country and because it creates added complexity to jurisdictional confusion in Indian Country (Canby, 2009; Goldberg & Singleton, 2005). In 2013, Congress reauthorized the Violence Against Women Act, which included a special domestic violence tribal jurisdiction provision that will allow some tribes to prosecute certain non-Native perpetrators of domestic violence (King & Clark, 2013).

Federal Indian Law and Violence Against Women

To further explain this complexity, consider an incident of domestic violence that occurs on a reservation. If the crime is reported, assuming the tribe has law enforcement, an officer would be dispatched to respond to the address where the incident reportedly occurred. Response times, however, vary depending on volume of calls and geographic isolation of the community. On one reservation, a reporter who rode along with officers found that it was "not unusual … to spend the entire night arriving at calls too late" (Current TV, 2010, June 2).

Table 35.1 Establishing jurisdiction in Indian country.

Offender	Victim	Jurisdiction
Non-Indian	Non-Indian	State
Non-Indian	Indian	Federal
Indian	Non-Indian	Depends on the crime and where crime occurred (see §1153 and §1152; PL 280)
Indian	Indian	Depends on the crime and where crime occurred (see §1153 and §1152; PL280)

Source: Adapted from the DOJ's *Criminal jurisdiction manual* (see http://www.justice.gov/usao/eousa/foia_reading_room/usam/title9/crm00689.htm, accessed August 9, 2015).

If the officer drives to the home and all appears to be quiet or no one answers the door, he or she may move on to the next call and not investigate further. However if the officer arrives on scene and determines that an incident of domestic violence, or an assault by a current or former intimate partner, has taken place, the officer must determine under which jurisdiction the case falls. This can be a complicated undertaking depending on the circumstances of the crime. As displayed in Table 35.1, jurisdiction in Indian Country is generally determined by the following: (i) the location of the crime (in Indian Country or not); (ii) the type of crime committed (felony or misdemeanor); (iii) the status of the perpetrator (Indian or Non-Indian)? (iv) the status of the victim (Indian or Non-Indian); and after 2015 (v) whether the tribe qualifies for special domestic violence criminal jurisdiction.

Making these determinations can be particularly challenging. On some reservations, due to patchwork tribal land, it is not always clear if an incident occurred in Indian country. As for the determination of whether a misdemeanor or felony occurred, it may not be immediately apparent, especially in the case of domestic violence. Yet this determination is crucial because if the incident is deemed to be a misdemeanor, it falls under tribal jurisdiction – but if it is a felony level[8] crime – the state or federal government has jurisdiction. In addition, the determination about whether an individual is Indian or not can be problematic (Oakley, 2011). Under the Major Crimes Act, "the Indian status of the defendant is an element of the crime that must be alleged in the indictment and proved by the prosecution beyond a reasonable doubt" (Canby, 2009, p. 183), yet there is not a consistent definition within federal statutes on how to determine "Indian status" (Oakley, 2011). The major question is who decides who is Indian? Does blood quantum matter, and if so, how much? Should courts be concerned with a *significant*, *substantial or some* amount of Indian blood (Oakley, 2011)? Does it matter whether the individual is enrolled in a federally recognized tribe or does it matter how the individual self-identifies? The determination of who is, and who is not, Indian can be a subjective matter – and without a uniform definition, there will not be consistency in the application of legislation affecting Indian people (Oakley, 2011).

Due to the Violence Against Women Act of 2013, starting in 2015, tribes[9] may voluntarily opt to utilize "special domestic violence criminal jurisdiction." That is, if tribes met certain requirements (e.g., providing a trial by an impartial jury with a fair cross-section of the community), they will be able to investigate, prosecute, convict and sentence a non-Native individual if the defendant is found to have "sufficient ties to the tribal community" (Department of Justice, 2013). In early 2014, three tribes (Pascua Yaqui Tribe of Arizona, the Tulalip Tribes of Washington, and the Umatilla

Tribes of Oregon) were selected to participate in a voluntary pilot project that allows the tribes to implement the provisions of the special jurisdiction component of VAWA 2013 (DOJ, 2014).

Meanwhile, despite state and federal criminal jurisdiction on reservations and other tribal communities such as Alaska Native villages, tribes in the contiguous 48 states and Alaska can still prosecute Indian offenders within their own tribal justice systems in addition to any prosecution undertaken by the federal or state systems (also called concurrent jurisdiction). However, tribal court powers are limited. In 1968, the Indian Civil Rights Act (ICRA) (25 USC §1302) limited tribes' sentencing authority to a maximum of one year in jail and up to a $5000 fine. ICRA was amended in 2010 with passage of the Tribal Law and Order Act. As long as certain requirements are met and depending on the number of offenses committed, tribes may now sentence an offender to up to three years imprisonment per offense (with a maximum of nine years) and up to a $15 000 fine (Tribal Law and Order Act (TLOA) 2010). Despite this increase in authority, many believe that even nine years imprisonment is not sufficient punishment for violent crimes like rape or child sexual abuse (Deer, 2003).

In addition, the shortage of jail space in Indian Country further limits tribes' ability to incarcerate offenders. A study of 80 facilities in Indian Country found that, 11 could hold fewer than 10 inmates, 24 could hold 10–24 inmates, 30 could hold 25–49 inmates and 15 could hold 50 or more inmates (Minton, 2011). The expected average length of stay at these facilities ranged from 2.1 days for the smallest jails to 9.1 days for the largest (Minton, 2011). The average expected length of stay for all facilities was 5.6 days (Minton, 2011).

The complexities outlined in this section impact the number of crimes that are reported, investigated and prosecuted in Indian Country. Factors such as stigma associated with reporting, delayed law enforcement response and jurisdictional confusion affect the quality of evidence and the availability of witnesses, and effectively communicates to community members that no one will be available when help is most needed. For many years, grassroots advocates, national tribal organizations and others worked tirelessly to lobby Congress to do something about these concerns. In 2010, President Obama signed the TLOA and many have lauded the passage of this legislation as an important step towards reducing some of these barriers to justice (Beeler, 2010; Yee, 2010). The TLOA includes several provisions that aim to (i) increase collaboration and communication among law enforcement agencies that investigate and prosecute crimes in Indian Country; (ii) increase sentencing authority for tribal courts; (iii) increase access to criminal history of suspects by law enforcement agencies; (iv) increase recruitment, retention and training efforts for federal and tribal police officers and (v) improve evidence collection and sharing policies and procedures. In 2013, more progress was made in the response to violence against Native women with the passage of the Violence Against Women Act reauthorization.

Legal changes such as TLOA or VAWA 2013 may help reduce some of the barriers to justice and safety that American Indian and Alaska Native women face. To truly address these issues, however, it is also important to provide culturally informed prevention, education in Native communities, and culturally informed advocacy and paths for healing for Native survivors and offender treatment. It is also necessary that Native people be the ones to identify what is necessary to holistically confront this

epidemic. In addition, more research on victimization in Native communities is essential to truly understand the magnitude of the problem, the needs of victims, and how to improve the response to these crimes. Additional studies must be designed in partnership with tribal communities and Native researchers, and must account for differences among tribal communities and the diversity of American Indian and Alaska Native people.

Ways Forward – Protecting the Next Seven Generations

Although the current generation of American Indian and Alaska Native people cannot change the past, they certainly have the power to change the future. Violence against women and children in Indian Country can be prevented. It is true that agencies and professionals addressing child maltreatment and violence against women on Indian reservations are often confronted by many complex issues: the complicated relationships between tribes, states, and the federal agencies, the vast distances between communities and services, limited human and financial resources, overlapping and often conflicting jurisdictional authorities and socio-culture of a community that can both help and hinder responses to these issues. Tribes and tribal communities, however, are now better positioned to move forward in developing culturally and community appropriate responses to abuse and violence that mitigate the poverty, social isolation, and alcohol use that often create a lethal environment for vulnerable children. Indian people have always known that it "takes a village to raise a child" and that each generation is responsible for the wellbeing of the next seven generations. The promise of a healthier future for our children and our communities comes in part from our understanding of the value of knowing our history and our culture, recognizing that all must contribute knowledge and skills to the process of raising healthy children, and that best solutions lie in understanding our strengths.

Notes

1   Sexual violence is an umbrella term that includes sexual abuse, sexual assault, and rape.
2   Intimate partner violence and domestic abuse are used interchangeably throughout this chapter.
3   "Indian Country" is defined by 18 USC 1151 as follows: "… (a) all land within the limits of any Indian reservation under the jurisdiction of the United States Government, notwithstanding the issuance of any patent, and including the rights-of-way through the reservation, (b) all dependent Indian communities within the borders of the United States whether within the original or subsequently acquired territory thereof, and whether within or without the limits of a state, and (c) all Indian allotments, the titles to which have not been extinguished, including rights-of-way running through the same" (see http://www.law.cornell.edu/uscode/text/18/1151, accessed August 9, 2015).
4   The Federal Indian Trust Responsibility legally obligates the United States "with moral obligations of the highest responsibility and trust" toward American Indian tribes (*Seminole Nation v. United States, 1942*; *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia, 1831*). This trust responsibility is reflected in policy that makes provisions for American Indian and Alaska Native health, education, and housing.

5 The Violence Against Women Act reauthorization of 2013 (discussed below) introduced an exception to this rule. Starting in 2015, some tribes will be able to prosecute non-Native domestic violence offenders who have "sufficient ties to the community" (Department of Justice, 2013).

6 For an exception, see Gwynne's (2010) description of warriors from the Comanche tribe.

7 The included offenses associated with violence against women and children are murder, manslaughter, kidnapping, maiming, felony child abuse or neglect, rape, incest, and assault (with intent to commit murder, assault with a dangerous weapon, resulting in serious bodily injury, or against an individual under the age of 16) (Canby, 2009; Oakley, 2011).

8 Felony level domestic abuse statutes include 18 USC § 113(a)(1) (assault with intent to commit murder), 18 USC § 113(a)(2) (assault with intent to commit any felony, except murder or a felony under Chapter 109A), 18 USC § 113(a)(3) assault with a dangerous weapon, with intent to do bodily harm, 18 USC § 113(a)(4) assault by striking beating or wounding, 18 USC § 113(a)(5) simple assault, and 18 USC § 113(a)(6) assault resulting in serious bodily injury. Other relevant statutes include 18 USC § 117 Domestic assault by an habitual offender or statutes related to unlawful use or possession of a firearm (such as 18 USC 924(c)). VAWA 2013 Section 906 amended the federal assault statute by adding 18 USC § 113(a)(7) assault resulting in substantial bodily injury and 18 USC § 113(a)(8) assault by strangling or suffocating. See http://www.law.cornell.edu/uscode/text/18/113 (accessed August 9, 2015).

9 In Alaska, this portion of VAWA 2013 only applies to the Metlaktla Indian Reservation and excludes the more than 200 federally recognized Alaska Native villages (Wang, 2014). In August 2013, Senator Begich (AK-D) introduced the Alaska Safe Families and Villages Act to amend VAWA 2013 "to repeal the limitation, within Alaska, of that Act's extension of tribal jurisdiction over domestic violence" (US Senate, 2013).

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Intimate Partner Violence in LGBT Communities

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Introduction

In recent years, significant cultural changes have affected the lives and relationships of individuals identifying as lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT). State and federal legislatures have passed an array of laws increasing the protections and rights of LGBT communities. Additionally, the United States and international communities continue to demonstrate large shifts in public opinion about LGBT issues. For the 3.5% of the US population who identify as LGBT (Gates & Newport, 2013), these changes have significantly modified the context of their intimate relationships. One of the most prominent cultural phenomena in the United States impacting LGBT relationships in the last decade is the marriage equality movement. Recent state and federal actions including overturning bans on same-sex marriage, state legalization of same-sex marriages and the Federal repealing of The Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA) have not only increased the visibility of LGBT relationships, but they have increased the support for and acceptance of these relationships by the broader US society (Fingerhut, Riggle, & Rostosky, 2011).

Despite these important historical gains, many LGBT individuals still experience numerous forms of violence and oppression at both individual and system levels. These include experiences such as verbal and physical harassment, employment and housing discrimination, unequal access to human services, and homicide victimization (Garnets, Herek, & Levy, 1990; Rosario, Rotheram-Borus, & Reid, 1996; Waldo, 1999). Although violence and oppression against LGBT individuals take many forms and occur across a variety of contexts, this chapter will focus on violence perpetrated by an intimate partner. Simply defined, an intimate partner is a person

whom one has a close personal relationship with that is characterized by one or more of the following: sexual behaviors, emotional connectedness, or regular contact.

This chapter provides an introduction to the research on intimate partner violence in LGBT intimate relationships. We provide a background of the research in this area, exploring common methodological issues and limitations. We then summarize the available research evidence on the rates of intimate partner violence for LGBT subgroups. Next, we outline contexts and considerations of this violence that are unique to LGBT communities. Finally, we explore responses to LGBT intimate partner violence, including help seeking behaviors and the social services available for LGBT survivors. It is important to note that although this chapter focuses on only one form of violence that LGBT individuals can face, some of the issues and experiences outlined in this chapter (e.g., methodological issues in conducting research in LGBT communities) overlap with other forms of violence in LGBT communities such as sexual assault, physical assault and hate crimes.

LGBT Intimate Partner Violence Research

The first scholarly work examining intimate partner violence in LGBT communities was published in the mid to late 1980s, decades after scholars began studying this type of violence in heterosexual relationships (Ristock, 2002). Despite the slow start to the research on this topic, the last decade has seen considerable growth in studies exploring a wide range of issues related to intimate partner violence in LGBT communities. Although research in this area is growing, numerous methodological issues continue to plague the study of this violence. Two of the largest issues include problems with definitions and sampling (Baker et al., 2013; Balsam & Szymanski, 2005; Duke & Davidson, 2009). We will outline below these key methodological issues, describing how they make it challenging to produce accurate and generalizable intimate partner violence prevalence estimates for LGBT communities.

Definition and Measurement of LGBT

One fundamental challenge that researchers face in conducting studies in this area is the issue of who qualifies as LGBT. The definitions used by researchers differ greatly (Wheeler, 2003). Some consider as LGBT only those who openly identify as LGBT. Other researchers consider people who engage in same-sex sexual behavior as LGBT, regardless of how they personally identify. Still others define people with same-sex attractions as LGBT (Gates & Ost, 2004). Differences across these definitions can impact not only the individuals included in the studies but also the intimate partner violence prevalence rates found in the studies.

Comparing LGB intimate partner violence estimates from the National Violence Against Women Survey (NVAWS) and the National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey (NISVS) illustrates the impact definitions of sexual orientation can make. In fact, the NISVS system was modeled after the original NVAWS. Both surveys are national, random digit dial telephone surveys. The NVAWS survey asked respondents if they had ever lived with a same-sex partner "as a couple" and based on that information respondents were classified into sexual orientation categories. NISVS collected respondents' self-reported sexual orientation. In 2011, using the NVAWS

data from 1994–1996, Messinger published national level estimates of LGB IPV and found 42.9% of women who were classified as bisexual and 25% of women who were classified as lesbian experienced physical violence by an intimate partner at some point during their lifetime. Walters, Chen, & Breiding (2013) reported that 56.9% of self-identified bisexual women and 40.4% of self-identified lesbians experienced physical violence by an intimate partner in their lifetime. The variance in these national level estimates illustrate the potential negative impact that inconsistent definitions and measures of sexual orientation can have on statistical estimates.

To address some of the difficulties and inconsistencies with definitions and measurement of sexual orientation, the Secretary of the Department of Health and Human Services in 2011 tasked the National Center for Health Statistics (NCHS) to develop a sexual orientation question to be included on national surveys. In a press release she stated "Today we are taking critical steps towards ensuring the collection of useful national data on minority groups, including for the first time, LGBT populations. The data we will eventually collect in these efforts will serve as powerful tools and help us in our fight to end health disparities" (Reuters, 2011) .This was the government's first attempt to use consistent definition and measurement of sexual orientation and gender identity to better understand the experiences of LGBT individuals. Currently, NCHS has created a comprehensive question for sexual orientation that has been tested, published and is currently being used in government surveys (Miller & Ryan, 2011– see Appendix).

Definition of Intimate Partner Violence

Another large methodological issue impacting the research in this area is the inconsistency in how intimate partner violence is defined. Although intimate partner violence can include physical, sexual and emotional maltreatment, researchers often use varying combinations of these forms of violence, and many use strictly physical forms of violence (DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 2001; Harvey, Garcia-Moreno, & Butchart, 2007; Heise & Garcia-Moreno, 2002). As expected, the rates of intimate partner violence found in a study are correlated with the number of behaviors and experiences measured (White, Koss, & Kazdin, 2011). More thorough and comprehensive assessments generally find higher prevalence rates.

Federal agencies create standardized definitions of intimate partner violence to encourage consistent measurement of the phenomenon. However, the same definitions are not used across agencies. For example, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) define intimate partner violence for public health surveillance and includes four main types of violence: physical violence, sexual violence, stalking, and psychological aggression (Black et al., 2011). The Bureau of Justice Statistics, which is part of the National Institute of Justice, views intimate partner violence in the context of criminal activity. They define intimate partner violence as "rape or sexual assault, robbery, aggravated assault and simple assault committed by an offender who is the victim's current or former spouse, boyfriend or girlfriend" (Catalano, 2013, p. 10).

In a recent systematic review of the literature on intimate partner violence among men who have sex with men (MSM), Finneran and Stephenson (2013b) found of the 28 articles in their study, 16 used different definitions and measurements to examine intimate partner violence. In addition, many of the researchers did not use validated tools or measures of intimate partner violence, and when they did, most were often

modified versions of the original scales. The lack of consistency across studies leads to a wide range of estimates of intimate partner violence among LGBT individuals. These inconsistencies prevent a clear understanding of the size of the problem and the types of intimate partner violence experienced by the LGBT community.

Sampling

With limited national level data on LGBT individuals, most research relies on small community samples or at best large nonprobability samples to study intimate partner violence in this community (Kulkin et al., 2007; Lewis et al., 2012; for a review see Murray & Mobley, 2009). For example, some researchers have collected LGBT intimate partner violence data at women's concerts (Lockhart, White, Causby, & Isaac, 1994), others through snowball samples at LGBT-serving agencies (Cruz & Firestone, 1998; Lie, Schilit, Bush, Montagne, & Reyes, 1991; Waldner-Haugrud & Gratch, 1997; Waldner-Haugrud, Gratch, & Magruder, 1997). These sampling procedures can result in biased samples, often leading to an oversampling of white, middle-class lesbians in the research in this area (Kanuha, 2005). The lack of representative sampling makes it difficult to produce reliable estimates of intimate partner violence that are generalizable to LGBT individuals in the United States, especially to those who experience multiple forms of marginalization, including by race/ethnicity, immigration status, and socio-economic class.

One promising example of representative sampling is a recent report released by the CDC. Using data from the 2010 National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey (NISVS), the CDC published the first national level report examining intimate partner violence, stalking and sexual violence by respondents according to self-reported sexual orientation (Walters, Chen, & Breiding, 2013). The NISVS is a random digit dial telephone survey that is conducted in all 50 states and in Washington DC. The NISVS national-level sampling frame enables estimates of these types of violence victimization among self-identified lesbians, gays and bisexual men and women.

Prevalence of LGBT Intimate Partner Violence

In the sections below, we summarize the evidence on the prevalence of intimate partner violence experienced by LGBT individuals. This does not represent a comprehensive list of studies but rather highlights key studies in this area. We separate the evidence according to LGBT subgroups. Additionally, we outline, where available, the evidence on specific types of intimate partner violence, including physical and sexual violence and psychological aggression. We also provide information on the sex of the perpetrator for bisexual women and men as this information is more commonly reported for this LGBT subgroup.

Lesbians

Until recently, the majority of research on intimate partner violence in LGBT communities focused on lesbians (Stephenson, Khosropour, & Sullivan, 2010). The first empirical studies on this group suggested lesbian couples have lower rates of physical abuse but higher rates of emotional abuse compared to heterosexual couples (Renzetti,

1989, 1992). However, while the most recent studies have suggested that lesbians have a higher prevalence of intimate partner violence than heterosexual women, these differences have not been statistically significant. For example, data from the California Health Interview Survey (CHIS) show that both lifetime and 1 year IPV prevalence estimates were higher for lesbians (31.9% and 10.2% respectively) than heterosexual women (21.6% and 5% respectively) but these differences were not statistically different. Similar results were produced using data from the National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey. Over 40% of lesbians (43.8%) had experienced rape, physical violence or stalking by an intimate partner in their lifetime while 35% of heterosexual women reported experiencing the same. Although the percentage estimates for lesbians are higher, the difference is not statistically significant.

Physical Violence   Due to some of the issues mentioned previously, findings from earlier studies suggested vastly ranging estimates of the physical violence lesbians experience by an intimate partner. For example, in a systematic review of 10 articles, Burke and Follingstand (1999) found that estimates of lifetime physical abuse by an intimate partner among lesbians ranged from 8.5% (from a study which included male partners) to almost 50% (a study of only lesbian couples). In a sample of 143 women involved with a same-sex partner, Matte and LaFontaine (2011) reported 16.1% of women currently in same-sex relationships reported experiencing physical violence in the relationship in the past year. In a study of siblings, Balsam, Rothblum and Beauchain (2005) found 47.5% of self-reported lesbians had experienced physical assault by an intimate partner at some point at some point during their lifetime and 23.2% had experienced the same in the past year. Similarly, Walters and colleagues, using the NISVS data, reported 40.4% of lesbians have experienced physical violence by an intimate partner with 29.4% of lesbians experiencing severe physical violence such as being beaten, burned or slammed against something hard in their lifetime (Walters, Chen, & Breiding, 2013).

Sexual Violence   Little research examines the sexual violence victimization of lesbians in the context of an intimate relationship. However, most existing research has not found consistent prevalence rates. In one of the earliest studies examining sexual assault in the context of an intimate partnership, 9.4% of self-identified lesbians in their sample reported experiencing forced sex from a past female partner while 23.1% reported being forced to have sex by their current female partner (Lie et al., 1991). In a systematic review of violence in lesbian and gay relationships, Burke and Follingstad (1999) identified only two studies which focused on sexual violence among lesbians both of which reported that less than 1% of lesbians in their samples experienced sexual violence by a female partner. Similarly, in a study of 118 self-identified lesbians, Waldern-Haugrud and Gratch (1997) found that 1.6% had experienced forced penetration by their lesbian partner. In more recent national study of 14 182 women and men in the United States, Messinger (2011) found that, of women who had a history of being involved in same-sex relationships, 3.6% reported being sexually abused by an intimate partner of either sex.

Psychological Aggression   More research focuses on psychological aggression in lesbian relationships. Emotional abuse, a form of psychological aggression, was reported as the most common type of IPV occurring in lesbian relationships. Previous studies suggest

this type of abuse happen is not uncommon in lesbian relationships. Lie et al. (1991) found that 55.1% of self-reported lesbians had verbal or emotion aggression by an intimate partner in their lifetime. Twenty-four percent of these women reported experiencing psychological aggression in their current relationship with a female.). In a recent survey of 143 women in same-sex relationships, Matte and LaFontaine (2011) found 70.2% of these women reported experiencing psychological abuse within the last year. More specifically, Messinger (2011) found of women who had been involved in a same-sex relationship at some point in their lives, 69% report experiencing verbal aggression and 77.5% reported their partners using controlling behaviors. Walters and colleagues (2013) estimated that 63.5% of lesbians experienced psychological aggression by an intimate partner at some point in their lifetime. The most common types of psychological aggression experienced included being called names, told no one else would want them, and being isolated from family and friends (Walters, Chen, & Breiding, 2013).

Gay Men

Research suggests that gay men often experience equal or higher rates of intimate partner violence than heterosexual women and men (Walters et al., 2013). In a recent review of the literature, Nowinski and Bowen (2012) estimated that between 15.4% and 51% of gay men have experienced intimate partner violence in their lifetime. Nowinski and Bowen found gay men experienced more overall intimate partner violence and sexual violence in an intimate relationship than heterosexual men.

Goldberg and Myers (2013) analyzed data from the California Health Interview Survey (CHIS) and found that gay men were 2.5 times more likely to experience intimate partner violence in their lifetime and in the 12 months prior to the survey when compared to heterosexual men. Gay men reported the majority of the perpetrators of intimate partner violence they had experienced in the 12 months prior to the survey were male (Goldberg & Myers, 2013).

Physical Violence   Using data from the NVAWS, Messinger (2011) found 33.3% of men who had same-sex relationships with men reported experiencing physical violence by an intimate partner during their lifetime. However, this survey did not ask respondents about their sexual orientation but rather with whom they had lived with in romantic partnership. Similarly, Balsam, Rothblum and Beauchaine (2005), in a sample of 1245 siblings reported that 38.8% of gay men experienced physical assault by an intimate partner in their lifetime while 26.9% experienced physical assault by an intimate partner within the past year. Welles and colleagues (2011) found 33.6% of men in a same-sex relationship experienced physical violence within their current relationship. In the most recent national study, over 25.2% of gay men reported experiencing physical intimate partner violence in their lifetime, with 16.4% of gay men experiencing severe physical violence (Walters, Chen, & Breiding, 2013).

Sexual Violence   The research shows a particularly large range of prevalence rates for gay men experiencing sexual violence in the context of an intimate relationship. For example, Merrill and Wolfe (2000) found that 73% of gay men in their study experienced at least one form of sexual abuse by an intimate partner. However, in a recent community study of 543 MSM, Stephenson and colleagues (2010) found that only 7.3% reported experiencing sexual violence from a male partner. Similarly an earlier

study by Walder-Haugrud and Gratch (1997) found 55% of gay men had experienced unwanted penetration by their male intimate partner and 3.6% of them experienced unwanted penetration by use of physical force. Differences in how the researchers defined and measured sexual violence may account for the sizable differences in prevalence rates found across the studies. Merrill and Wolfe (2000) measured more forms of sexual violence compared to the other two studies, and they included a number of less severe forms of violence. This may help explain why they found a significantly higher rate of sexual violence.

Psychological Aggression   Using an urban sample of 2880 MSM, Greenwood and colleagues (2002) found that 34% of men reported experiencing psychological aggression in the previous five years. Merrill and Wolfe's (2000) study indicated that gay men experienced a much higher rate of psychological abuse, with 85% experiencing some form of emotional abuse. Messinger (2011) found rates in between those of the two previous studies. In his study, 55.6% of gay men experienced verbal abuse by an intimate partner while 69.6% felt controlled by their partner. More recently, Walters and colleagues reported that 59.6% of gay men in the United States have experienced some type of psychological aggression by an intimate partner in their lifetime. The most common types of psychological aggression reported by gay men in the study included being told they were a loser or failure, having their partner act very angry in a dangerous way and being called names (Walters, Chen, & Breiding, 2013).

Bisexual Women

Compared to the research on intimate partner violence among gay men and lesbians, much less research exists on other LGBT subgroups, including bisexual women and men. One reason may be linked to the issue of how researchers define LGBT communities. Depending on the definition, the data on bisexuals can be incorrectly categorized as heterosexual, gay, or lesbian (McClennen & Gunther, 1999). Of the data that does exist, much of it highlights the increased risk of violence for bisexuals. In a recent study using the CHIS data, Goldberg and Myers (2013) found that bisexual women are three times more likely to experience intimate partner violence in their lifetime compared to heterosexual women. In addition, they found that bisexual women were four times more likely to experience intimate partner violence in the 12 months prior to the survey when compared to heterosexual women. Walters and colleagues (2013) report that bisexual women have experienced a higher prevalence of all types of intimate partner violence measured in NISVS when compared to heterosexual women and lesbians. More specifically bisexual women experienced higher prevalence of rape, physical violence and stalking by an intimate partner in their lifetime when compared to lesbians and heterosexual women. The Massachusetts BRFSS reported similar findings. Bisexual women were 7.9% times more likely than heterosexual women to experience IPV compared to heterosexual women (Conron, Mimiaga, & Landers, 2010).

Physical Violence   In a study comparing heterosexual siblings to nonheterosexual siblings, Balsam, Rothblum and Beauchaine (2005) found that 49.2% of bisexual women had been physically assaulted by an intimate partner in their lifetime while 20% of them reported experiencing physical assault in the past year. In addition, 20% reported being physical assaulted within the past year (Balsam, Rothblum & Beauchaine, 2005). Using state level

data, Conron, Mimiaga and Landers (2010) estimated that almost 61.9% of bisexual women in Massachusetts had experienced physical violence by an intimate partner at some point during her life. A more recent national study found 56.9% of bisexual women have been physically abused by an intimate partner in her lifetime compared to 32.3% of heterosexual women (Walters, Chen, & Breiding, 2013). In addition, almost half (49.3%) of bisexual women have experienced severe physical violence (such as being kicked, beaten, burned on purpose, etc.) in her lifetime by an intimate partner compared to 23.6% of heterosexual women (Walters, Chen, & Breiding, 2013).

Sexual Violence   In a study using the Violence Against Women data from 1996, Messinger (2011) found that 15.7% of bisexual women reported experiencing sexual violence in the context of an intimate partnership. Similarly, Walters and colleagues estimate approximately 22.1% of women who identified as bisexual had been raped and 40% had experienced sexual violence other than rape by an intimate partner at some point in her lifetime while (Walters, Chen, & Breiding, 2013). Messinger (2011) created a sexual orientation measures using questions about past sexual behavior (i.e. having at least one same-sex sexual experience) compared to Walters, Chen and Breiding (2013) who measured sexual orientation by having respondents self-identify the orientation with which they identified (i.e. heterosexual, gay, lesbian or bisexual).

Psychological Aggression   According to the recent NISVS report, 76.2% of bisexual women reported having experienced psychological aggression by an intimate partner during their lifetime (Walters, Chen, & Breiding, 2013). Specifically, 67% of bisexual women reported being told things like they were a loser, a failure and not good enough and being insulted, humiliated, or made fun of by their partner. Furthermore, 59.2% of bisexual women reported experiencing coercive control by their intimate partner. Coercive control includes things such as their partner trying to keep them from seeing their family or friends; threatening to hurt someone they love; and threatening to commit suicide (Walters, Chen, & Breiding, 2013).

Sex of Perpetrator   Findings from the VAW, CHIS, and NISVS data sets consistently demonstrate that bisexual women who experience intimate partner violence are overwhelmingly victimized by male partners. One study using VAW data showed that all bisexual women who experienced sexual intimate partner violence reported opposite sex abusers (Messinger, 2011). A report using CHIS data found that 95% of bisexual women who experienced intimate partner violence within the year prior to taking the survey reported having only male perpetrators (Goldberg & Myers, 2013). In a study of siblings, Balsam and colleagues found that of women who report experiencing physical assault by an intimate partner, 71.7% were assaulted by a male partner and 35% reported being assaulted by a female partner. Finally, NISVS data revealed that of the bisexual women who reported having experienced rape, physical violence, or stalking by an intimate partner in their lifetime, 89.5% reported having only male perpetrators (Walters et al., 2013).

Bisexual Men

Similar to bisexual women, data on bisexual men's experience of intimate partner violence are often subsumed into data on heterosexual and gay men. However, given the prevalence of studies examining the experience of MSM, this issue may be even

more pronounced for bisexual men. For example, in a recent systematic review, Finneran and Stephenson (2013b) found of the 25 studies that focused on MSM experiences of intimate partner violence, only one study conducted by Conron, Mimiage and Landers (2010) separated MSM who identified as gay from MSM who identified as bisexual.

While this measurement issue adds an additional layer of complexity in estimating the prevalence of IPV experienced by bisexual men, NISVS and CHIS were able to produce both lifetime and 12-month estimates. CHIS found that 19.6% of bisexual men experienced IPV in their lifetime and 9.1% experienced IPV within the past year. When compared with heterosexual men, these estimates were not statistically different (Goldberg & Myers, 2013). NISVS reported that 37.3% of bisexual men experienced rape, physical violence or stalking by an intimate partner in their lifetime compared to 29% of heterosexual men. However, these differences were not significant (Walters, Chen, & Breiding, 2013).

Physical Violence   The estimates of physical violence by an intimate partner among bisexual men have been widely inconsistent. For example, Balsam and colleagues (2005) found that 47.1% of bisexual men had been physically assaulted by an intimate partner in their lifetime and 41.7% reported being physical assaulted by an intimate partner within the past year. Conversely, using 2001–2008 data from the Massachusetts Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance Survey (BRFSS), Conron, Mimiage and Landers (2010) found that only 2.7% of bisexual men experienced physical violence by an intimate partner at some point in their lifetime. This difference could be attributed to varying survey methodologies, question wording and order and survey introductions. BRFSS is a random digit dial telephone survey of the population while Balsam et al. mailed hardcopy questionnaires to sets of siblings.

Most recently, Walters and colleagues (2013) found that 27% of bisexual men reported being slapped, pushed or shoved by an intimate partner in their lifetime. In addition, the CHIS, which combines physical acts and unwanted sexual acts in its definition of intimate partner violence, found almost 19.6% of bisexual men experienced intimate partner violence at some point in their lifetime, and 9.1% experienced it within 12 months prior to taking the survey (Goldberg & Myers, 2013).

Sexual Violence   The authors have identified no large studies to date that have produced reliable estimates of sexual violence rates for bisexual men. Studies that include bisexual men, such as CHIS, often combine sexual violence with other types of violence to create an overall IPV measure. In those cases, it is impossible to discern the prevalence of sexual violence specifically. Other national studies, such as NISVS have not been able to produce meaningful estimates of the prevalence of sexual violence among bisexual men because the estimates were based on numbers too small to calculate a reliable estimate (Walters et al., 2013).

Psychological Aggression   In a study comparing heterosexual siblings to nonheterosexual siblings, Balsam, Rothblum and Beauchaine (2005) found that 21.4% of bisexual men had experienced psychological maltreatment by an intimate in the year prior to taking the survey. Walters and colleagues (2013) found that 53% of bisexual men have experienced psychological aggression by an intimate partner during their lifetime. Common forms of psychological aggression for bisexual men include being told by a partner they were a loser, a failure or not good enough (Walters et al., 2013).

Sex of Perpetrator   Until recently, very little was known about the sex of the perpetrator of bisexual men who had experienced intimate partner violence. A study of siblings, 56.3% of bisexual men who experienced physical assault by an intimate partner were assaulted by a male partner while 68.8% were assaulted by a female partner (Balsam, Rothblum, & Beauchaine, 2005). Messinger (2011) found that most bisexual men reported experiencing intimate partner violence within the context of an opposite sex relationship. A similar pattern is suggested by Walters and colleagues (2013) who report that approximately 78.5% of bisexual men who experienced rape, physical violence or stalking in an intimate partnership reporting having only female perpetrators (Walters et al., 2013). However, when examining sexual intimate partner violence exclusively, Messinger (2011) found bisexual men reported having only male perpetrators of this type of violence.

Transgender Women and Men

The intimate partner violence experiences of transgender communities have largely remained absent from the research in this area. In fact a recent Institute of Medicine report called for a greater understanding of the types of violence experienced by transgender individuals as well as an understanding of within group differences among members of transgender communities (Institute of Medicine, 2011). The majority of information about transgender communities' experiences of violence comes from qualitative research, needs assessments for local communities, or a small number of nonprobability studies with small samples sizes.

Physical Violence   While data examining intimate partner violence among transgender individuals is limited, a few studies have examined the experience of this LGBT sub-group. For example, in a recent study by the Massachusetts Department of Public Health, 34.6% of transgender individuals had been threaten with physical violence by an intimate partner in their lifetime compared with 13.6% of individuals who did not identify as transgender (Massachusetts Department of Public Health, 2009).

In a study of male-to-female (MTF) transgender individuals, Risser et al. (2005) found that 50% reported being hit by an intimate partner in their lifetime while 22% had been hit by a causal sex partner. Surveying approximately 350 transgender individuals (229 MTF and 121 FTM), Xavier and colleagues (2007) found 8% had experienced physical violence in the context of an intimate partnership. The study did not report separate rates for MTF and FTM-identified individuals, so it is unclear what, if any, within group differences exist. Finally, a recent report by the National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs (NCAVP) presented intimate partner violent incident data from 18 member and affiliate agencies that serve LGBT survivors of intimate partner violence. The report found that transgender populations are disproportionately more likely to experience physical forms of intimate partner violence compared to other LGBT sub-groups (National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs, 2014).

Sexual Violence   In a survey of transgender men and women, Xavier et al. (2007) found that 35% of respondents reported experiencing at least one incident of forced sex involving someone living in the household while 14% of respondents reported the perpetrator as a former spouse or partner and 12% reported that their current spouse or partner was the perpetrator. In a sample consisting of only MTF individuals, Risser

and colleagues (2005) found that 25% had been forced to have sex with their intimate partner and 16% had experienced forced sex with a causal sex partner. No studies focusing specifically on FTM experiences of sexual intimate partner violence were identified for inclusion in this chapter.

Unique LGBT Contexts

Understanding the prevalence of intimate partner violence among LGBT individuals sheds important light on the magnitude and scope of the problem. Understanding the nature, meaning, and impact of this violence for LGBT survivors, however, requires exploration of some of the unique cultural contexts of violence for this population. In the following section, we outline several unique contexts of intimate partner violence for LGBT communities that have been examined in the research literature. Although this is not an exhaustive list, these contexts illustrate the kinds of unique issues and obstacles facing LGBT survivors of intimate partner violence.

Unique Forms of Violence

While many forms of violence are experienced by survivors of intimate partner violence regardless of sexual orientation, LGBT individuals experience several types of psychological violence unique to LGBT communities (Burke et al., 2002). For example, the threat of having one's sexual orientation, gender identity or HIV status disclosed to friends, family members or employers is a common tactic used to force LGBT individuals stay in abusive relationships (Elliott, 1996; Kulkin et al., 2007). Other unique forms of psychological violence include abusers questioning their partner's "true" sexual orientation or pressuring them sexually to "prove" their sexual orientation. Given the often limited number of LGBT-friendly spaces or community events in an area, abusers in LGBT relationships may also threaten to isolate their partners from these spaces in the event that the couple ever breaks up.

Context of Isolation

Although isolation is a tactic of intimate partner violence used in both heterosexual and LGBT relationships (Pence & Shepard, 1999), isolation may be more common and have a greater impact on LGBT individuals for a number of reasons. For one, homophobia reduces the visibility of LGBT communities and relationships in general, and particularly so for many LGBT communities of color (Kanuha, 2005; Waldron, 1996). This reduced visibility provides one level of isolation already, which can make it easier for batterers to further isolate their partners (Bornstein et al., 2006).

Exacerbating this situation is the relatively small size of many LGBT communities across the country. Smaller communities can mean less access to resources (Schneider & Witherspoon, 2000). It can also mean a greater likelihood that survivors and batterers share many, if not most, of their friends and acquaintances (Bornstein et al., 2006; Duke & Davidson, 2009). This, again, provides batterers with more opportunity to isolate their partners, and it can make it harder for survivors to access resources when

trying to leave. Finally the strained relationships many LGBT individuals have with their biological families (de Vries & Hoctel, 2007; Lindhorst, Mehrotra, & Mincer, 2010) can further reduce their access to support and resources and thus increase their risk of isolation and abuse.

First LGBT Relationship

An individual's first LGBT relationship is rife with potential issues that can increase their risk of experiencing intimate partner violence. Unlike heterosexuals, LGBT relationships are not commonly discussed or portrayed in many societal arenas, including the media, church, or even family histories. Therefore, many individuals enter their first LGBT relationship with limited prior exposure to healthy models of LGBT relationships (Miller, Bobner, & Zarski, 2000). This can make it more challenging for them to know what healthy relationships look like and what are warning signs of abuse. Some individuals entering their first LGBT relationship may also be new to LGBT communities in general, having few connections to other LGBT individuals or community spaces. Being new to the community reduces one's access to community resources and thus can make LGBT individuals more vulnerable to abusive partners. Although the research in this area is limited, Ristock (2002) found that more than half of the lesbians in her sample described their first relationship as abusive, suggesting that the vulnerability of individuals in their first LGBT relationship may be a unique context for LGBT communities.

Response to LGBT Intimate Partner Violence

In order to best serve LGBT survivors, it is important to examine whom survivors turn to for help and the responses they receive from these public and private sources of support. Public sources of support can include law enforcement, domestic violence agencies, health care providers, and legal assistance (Donnelly et al., 1996; Ford et al., 2012; Poorman, 2001). Private support usually includes members of survivors' networks of friends, family, neighbors, personal counselors or therapists, and religious advisors (Finneran & Stephenson, 2013; Merrill & Wolfe, 2000). The following section describes the research on help-seeking behavior of LGBT survivors as well as the types of support and assistance they receive from public and private sources of support.

Help Seeking

Seeking help for any survivor, regardless of sexual orientation, can be challenging and difficult. However, seeking help as an LGBT survivor of intimate partner violence may involve additional complications. For one, awareness of intimate partner violence in LGBT communities remains limited. With most intimate partner violence services, research, and messages focusing on the experience of heterosexuals, many members of LGBT communities continue to believe that this violence does not occur in their relationships (Ristock, 2002). This can create barriers LGBT survivors seeking help because they may be less likely to see the violence they experience as abuse (Girshick, 2002; Kulkin et al., 2007; Turell, 2000), or they may worry that others from whom they seek help will not recognize it as abuse.

Another complication for LGBT people is that seeking help for abuse often requires disclosing their sexual orientation or gender identity. Thus survivors who are less "out" (i.e., less open about their sexual orientation to others) may face additional hurdles in seeking help (Elliott, 1996). Additionally, survivors may fear (often justifiably) disclosing their sexual orientation/gender identity will lead to rejection, harassment or discrimination when seeking help from private and public sources of support (Donnelly & Kenyon, 1996; Girshick, 2002; Lundy, 1999; National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs, 2014; Poorman, 2001; Potocziak et al., 2003; Renzetti, 1989, 1992; Walters, 2011). Further complicating matters, seeking private and public support in smaller communities may be compounded by a general lack of available resources for LGBT individuals (Kulkin et al., 2007).

Public Resources

Despite the often central role law enforcement plays in responding to heterosexual intimate partner violence, many members of LGBT communities do not feel comfortable reaching out to law enforcement for fear that they will experience discrimination, insensitive responses, or abuse (Cabral & Coffey, 1999; Donovan & Hester, 2008; Lindhorst et al., 2010; National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs, 2014; Waldron, 1996). This distrust stems in part from a long history of homophobic and transphobic practices within many criminal justice and law enforcement agencies, and from the fact that many LGBT people have directly experienced or witnessed discrimination and violence at the hands of law enforcement (National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs, 2014). Merrill and Wolfe (2000) found that police were one of the most frequently contacted, yet least helpful, sources of formal support gay male survivors sought. Conversely, Renzetti (1992) found that lesbians were not likely to seek help from the police in the first place. The recent NCAVP report (National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs, 2014) found that only about one-third (34.8%) of LGBT survivors reported intimate partner violence incidents to the police. In comparison approximately 62% of female and male survivors overall reported incidents of IPV to the police (Catalano, 2007). In a recent study of gay and bisexual male survivors of intimate partner violence, 85% thought police would be helpful if contacted by heterosexual women while only 30% felt police would be helpful if contacted by gay or bisexual men (Finneran & Stephenson, 2013a).

It has previously been argued that police do not respond to domestic violence calls among same-sex couples. However, using data from the National Incident Based Reporting System (NIBRS), Pattavina and colleagues (2007) illustrate only minor differences in police response rates between domestic violence calls among same-sex and opposite-sex couples. It is worth noting, though, that of the survivors who reported their intimate partner violence incident to the police in 2013, the NCAVP found that only 35.4% of those incidents were classified as intimate partner violence. Worse still, they found that in 57.9% of the incidents, the police incorrectly arrested the survivor as the perpetrator of the violence (National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs, 2014).

Domestic violence agencies are service-based organizations created to attend to the needs of survivors of intimate partner violence. Many of these agencies offer 24-hour hotlines, confidential shelter locations, job placement and counseling services. Most agencies were developed to serve heterosexual women. Although some LGBT individuals may be able to utilize services at these agencies, research consistently shows that the vast

majority of LGBT individuals do not feel comfortable doing so (Bornstein et al., 2006; Kanuha, 2005) or are unaware that they can (Helfrich & Simpson, 2006; McClennen, Summers, & Vaughan, 2002; Merrill & Wolfe, 2000). This is due to varying factors such as the fear of homophobia, having to "out" oneself, and bringing negative attention to LGBT communities. Previous research demonstrates that LGBT survivors are unlikely to reach out to mainstream community agencies and would be more likely to use services specifically for LGBT communities or provided by LGBT agencies (Merrill & Wolfe, 2000; Renzetti, 1992; Turell & Herrman, 2008).

Personal Resources

Personal or more informal sources of support are often the first and only places LGBT survivors turn to for assistance with intimate partner violence (Lindhorst et al., 2010; McClennen, 2005). Of the different types of personal resources, friends are the most commonly sought resource for lesbians (Bornstein et al., 2006; Renzetti, 1992) and gay men (McClennen, Summers, & Vaughan, 2002; Merrill & Wolfe, 2000). Research on heterosexual female survivors of intimate partner violence illustrates that receiving positive support from informal sources has been linked to fewer negative mental and physical effects of intimate partner violence (Beeble et al., 2009; Canady & Babcock, 2009; Coker et al., 2002). However, support from these sources can also be negative (Goodkind et al., 2003; Trotter & Allen, 2009; Turell & Herrmann, 2008). Negative feedback can take the form of expecting survivors to stay in violent relationships (Bui & Morash, 2007), minimizing the violence (Bornstein et al., 2006; Duke & Davidson, 2009; Morrison et al., 2006), and blaming the victim (Morrison et al., 2006; West & Wandrei, 2002). Receiving these types of negative responses can be devastating for survivors (Turell & Herrmann, 2008), and they can ultimately make it harder for survivors to leave abusive relationships and maintain their safety (Westbrook, 2009).

LGBT survivors of intimate partner violence also regularly reach out to counselors; however, therapists may be less helpful due to a lack of understanding of the issues involved in LGBT relationships and intimate partner violence (Helfrich & Simpson, 2006; Kulkin et al., 2007; Merrill & Wolfe, 2000; Wise & Bowman, 1997). Wise and Bowman (1997) describe how counselors are reluctant to challenge the female perpetrator of the violence abuse in the relationship. In addition, Helfrich and Simpson (2005) conclude that therapists are unlikely to see lesbian intimate partner violence as a real threat, often recommending damaging treatment such as couples counseling and failing to recommend shelter or police involvement. In a study of gay men, although individual counselors were the second source of help sought after help from friends, they were rated near the bottom in terms of helpfulness (Merrill & Wolfe, 2000).

Conclusion   Intimate partner violence is a universal, pervasive experience that affects individuals of all sexual orientations. Until recently, little was known about violence in LGBT relationships. However, the increasing research in this area reveals that LGBT individuals experience equal or higher levels of intimate partner violence when compared to heterosexuals and the rates of violence experienced by LGBT subgroups differ considerably. In particular, the research reviewed in this chapter highlights that bisexual and transgender communities may be particularly vulnerable to experiencing

intimate partner violence. Future research must continue to build our understanding of the prevalence of violence in these communities as well as examine contextual factors that may be linked to this increased risk.

In addition to increasing the research on specific LGBT subgroups, the literature reviewed in this chapter also point to a continuing need for researchers to address key methodological challenges in this area of research. Specifically, greater alignment is needed in how LGBT status and intimate partner violence are defined and measured. The work of the NCHS to develop standardized sexual orientation and gender identity survey questions is an important step. Additional coordination across federal agencies and researchers to align their definitions of violence and utilize more representative sampling strategies will also be needed if we want to increase the quality, reliability, and generalizability of the research in this area along with additional research on risk and protective factors for this population.

The current chapter illustrates LGBT-specific contexts and considerations that are important not only for future research to explore, but also for intimate partner violence interventions to address. For example, since research shows that LGBT people may be especially vulnerable to isolation by abusive partners, interventions that aim to prevent this tactic of abuse may be particularly relevant for this population. The literature also suggests that LGBT communities would benefit from interventions specifically addressing the increased risks associated with one's first LGBT relationship. Furthermore, given LGBT survivors' limited comfort with and access to many mainstream domestic violence and law enforcement services, increasing the availability of culturally specific interventions that address the unique needs of LGBT communities may be an especially useful strategy for this population.

In light of the sweeping and historical gains being made that expand the rights of many LGBT communities and relationships, it is important for us not to lose sight of the additional work still needed to create equitable conditions for individuals of all sexual and gender identities. Part of this work includes continuing to reduce LGBT communities' experiences of oppression and violence. The current chapter contributes to this effort by describing the prevalence and contexts surrounding one form of violence that LGBT people experience: intimate partner violence. Addressing other forms of violence and oppression and identifying prevention and intervention strategies that can cut across these forms will be critical to ensuring that individuals across gender and sexual spectrums can exercise their right to safe and healthy lives.

Appendix: Sexual Orientation Question developed by National Center for Health Statistics, Included in National Health Interview Survey

Do you think of yourself as …
  Lesbian or gay
  Straight, that is, not gay
  Bisexual
  Something else
      By *something else*, do you mean that …
      • You are not straight, but identify with another label such as queer, trisexual, omnisexual or pan-sexual

- You are transgender or transexual
- You have not or are in the process of figuring out your sexuality
- You do not think of yourself as having a sexuality
- You personally reject all labels of yourself
- You made a mistake and did not mean to pick this answer
- You mean something else
  - What do you mean by something else?

Don't know

By *don't know,* do you mean that …

- You don't understand the words
- You understand the words, but you have not or are in the process of figuring out your sexuality
- You mean something else
  - What do you mean by something else?

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Research on the Victimization of Understudied Populations

Current Issues and Future Directions

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Introduction

To improve the quality of our collective knowledge of violence and victimization in the United States, future work must incorporate hidden and vulnerable populations that have been largely neglected in past research and policy. As a field, we have come so far as to acknowledge our lack of understanding about how interpersonal violence affects certain populations, therefore we must begin to incorporate research methodologies that will improve the identification, recruitment, and retention of underserved populations.

Looking forward, a focus on underserved populations in research and policy development is both important and ethical. At the most basic level, simply gathering estimates of victimization rates within certain populations is essential to determining the extent of some social problems (Zhang, 2012). Furthermore, discussions of the scope of victimization generally, as well as those focusing on specific forms of victimization will be richer if we understand these issues from viewpoints outside of the norm. Public policies focusing on interventions can be better targeted and more appropriately funded if we are able to more fully understand the scope of problems as they relate to multiple subpopulations. Knowing that vulnerability to interpersonal crimes varies between groups of people, we must not ignorantly apply uniform prevention policies based on research focused only on mainstream groups. It is our ethical obligation as social science researchers to include marginalized groups in our research in order to make informed policy recommendations that take into account multiple perspectives. Furthermore, this research allows us to examine the heterogeneity within subpopulations.

This chapter will discuss the importance of gathering information about hidden and underserved populations. Next, it will review what is known about barriers to the inclusion of underserved groups in empirical research and promising methodologies for finding, accessing, and maintaining these populations for the duration of empirical

studies. The chapter concludes with suggestions for policies that will encourage the participation of traditionally underresearched groups so that we might better understand the experiences of these groups and better protect them from interpersonal violence in the future.

Research Issues

We characterize underserved or understudied populations as groups of people who, for various reasons, have received less scholarly attention and intervention than other groups. This volume includes chapters focusing on the victimization of Latino, African American, American Indian, Asian American, and LGBT individuals. These represent only a fraction of the underserved populations who are at risk for exposure to violence. Other groups that are underrepresented in research on victimization include individuals with disabilities, immigrants, the elderly, runaway youth, those with mental illness, religious minorities, and rural inhabitants, among others.

The neglect of hard-to-reach and traditionally underserved populations in research is not unique to the study of violence and victimization. Scholars in many fields, including medicine (Spears et al., 2011), public health (Hinton et al., 2000), psychology (Pernice, 1994), and nursing (Daunt, 2003), have noted a need for a greater number of investigations of traditionally underserved populations. Making an effort to include underserved populations in research is important to reaching more ethical, valid, and useful research findings (Spears, et al., 2011). In an increasingly diverse modern society, researchers must access many different populations that vary along many dimensions including but not limited to: culture, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, and cognitive ability. While according to US census data, the national population grew by 9.7% between 2000–2010 (Mackun & Wilson, 2011), that growth was not uniform among all demographic groups in the United States. For example, we now know that for the first time, the birth rate of second-generation Hispanic children – that is, US-born children of Hispanic immigrants – is outpacing the rate of new Hispanic immigrant arrivals in the United States (Suro & Passel, 2003). Just as the composition of the United States changes over time, so too do the needs and values of subpopulations in this country.

In order to make recommendations for future directions in research on the victimization of underserved populations, it is useful to take a step back and look across disciplines to gauge what is known about the inclusion of hidden populations in research. This section explores some of the challenges in the recruitment, participation, and retention of underserved populations in empirical research. Next, we describe why research on violence of certain populations is valuable to our understanding of the phenomenon of interpersonal violence. Finally, we conclude with a discussion of promising research strategies for engaging and including traditionally underserved populations in research.

Barriers to Research Participation

Explanations for the widespread neglect, or lack of inclusion, of certain populations from empirical research range from institutional to individual reasons. A fundamental challenge is that when it comes to hidden and understudied groups, traditional

sampling methods often cannot be utilized. Due to the fact that the exact size of the population is often unknown and the inherent "hidden" nature of these populations, it is often impossible to draw sophisticated and representative research samples from these groups. Therefore, identifying potential study participants is much more difficult. Consider, for example, the challenge of investigating the prevalence of HIV among sex workers. Traditional sampling strategies, such as household surveys, will not access the number of participants necessary to draw meaningful conclusions.

There are also institutional explanations for the lack of inclusion of certain groups in research. At an institutional level, time constraints and competing service demands may prevent the comprehensive recruitment of underserved populations (UyBico, Pavel, & Gross, 2007). Additionally, recruitment through practitioners, service providers, or others with direct access to potential study participants can be hampered if practitioners view the research as intrusive and offering no benefit to participants (Hinton et al., 2000).

At an individual level, barriers can be traced both to prospective research participants and to those conducting the research. Researcher barriers may include multicultural differences, lack of knowledge about hidden populations (UyBico et al., 2007), lack of cultural understanding, and lack of interest. Additionally, researchers may be less willing to conduct research that they perceive will have low response rates; it can be more challenging to recruit and maintain study participants from hidden and underserved groups (e.g. Knight, Roosa, & Umana-Taylor, 2009).

There are several barriers to the recruitment of understudied populations in empirical research. These barriers may include a distrust of research, lack of confidentiality, fear for safety, schedule conflicts, lack of knowledge, language barriers, and cultural differences (UyBico et al., 2007).

Obviously some of these inhibitors are more relevant to certain populations than others. Language barriers, for instance, are more likely to affect the proportion of immigrants that participate in research than members of the LGBT community. Thus, while it is certainly important to generally consider individual and institutional barriers to accessing select populations, it is most helpful to think about those barriers within the narrower context of a specific population. Groups are underserved in research for different cultural reasons. To address this we must take a series of culturally sensitive approaches that are carefully tailored in response to the social and cultural roadblocks to inclusion in empirical studies.

Promising Methodologies

Despite significant advancement in the sophistication of sampling strategies, many of the most common sampling methodologies are ineffective for targeting hidden populations. Fundamental to what are considered the most reliable sampling strategies is a definition of the total population from which the sample should be drawn. Without reliable data on the total size of any given population, it is impossible to draw a representative sample of that group. This has posed a major challenge for those conducting research on hidden and underserved populations and has led to limitations on the conclusions that could be drawn from such studies.

However, recent advancement in sampling methodologies has led to better access to hidden populations and to the ability to draw stronger inferences from samples to target populations. Snowball sampling was originally introduced as a method of

analyzing the structure of social networks and organizations (Coleman, 1958–59; Goodman, 1961) but gained popularity as a method for reaching hidden populations following Howard Becker's (1963) study of marijuana users. The snowball method is a nonprobability sampling strategy in which existing study participants recruit other potential participants from among their social networks. For decades, this became the predominant method for recruiting hidden populations for research, yet this methodology has been criticized due to the restricted generalizability of findings (Heckathorn, 2011). Because a snowball sample begins with a convenience sample with an undetermined amount of bias, the bias may be extended as the sample expands from wave to wave. Therefore, unfortunately, this type of referral-driven sampling strategy is inherently limited to convenience samples (Erikson, 1979; Heckathorn, 2011).

Also limited to convenience sampling is the strategy of contacting members of hidden populations through service providers and community groups that have access to target populations, such as illegal immigrants or runaway youth. Samples obtained in this way are very likely to be unrepresentative of populations as a whole but are useful for learning about certain social problems. For example, clinical samples will have higher rates of victimization, and populations such as runaway youth obtained through service providers will also display certain vulnerabilities that may not be present in all runaway youth. Knowing that within subpopulations, the individuals who pursue services may be systematically different from those who do not, teaches us more about both subgroups. Although there are limits to the inferences one can make based on findings from these studies, there is still merit in learning about hidden populations using this strategy.

More recently, a technique called respondent-driven sampling (RDS) has been developed specifically to overcome some of the shortcomings inherent to traditional referral-driven sampling strategies (Zhang, 2012). Like snowball sampling, RDS relies on initial seed study participants to recruit successive waves of participants. However, RDS uses an incentivized and highly structured chain referral system that achieves diversity and equilibrium, and allows for unbiased estimation of the target population (Zhang, 2012). Whereas snowball sampling typically involves an incentive for participation, RDS involves two opportunities for incentive: one for initial participation in a study, and another for the successful recruitment of others into the study. Another critical difference is that in snowball sampling, subjects are asked to identify their peers to study investigators, while under RDS subjects actively recruit other study participants from their social networks. This distinction is important when considering the challenges of recruiting hidden and underreached populations (Heckathorn, 1997). In essence, the structure of RDS allows researchers to make inferences about target populations from initial convenience samples, while still relying on a referral-based system of reaching hidden populations. This is an important step toward legitimizing research involving hidden populations.

Regardless of the sampling methodology employed, there are several steps that researchers can take to encourage participation by members of marginalized groups. These strategies include the use of ethnically diverse research teams with appropriate language capabilities, recruitment through mailing lists and listservs of community and/or advocacy organizations that have access to hidden groups, the use of monetary incentives to compensate participants for their time, and the recruitment and training of peer survey administrators and interviewers. Research teams can also organize studies so that data collection takes place outside of traditional work hours,

so as not to interfere with participants' work schedules, and in locations that are convenient for participants. Although we cannot achieve perfect recruitment of hidden populations for research, with proper acknowledgement of sampling methods and limitations, the data that researchers are able to gather about these hidden populations makes an important contribution to our scientific knowledge of these groups, and about social problems more generally.

Researching Groups

Despite the well documented challenges to accessing and retaining hidden and underserved populations for study, there is a growing body of research about select underserved groups. A brief analysis of this existing body of scholarship in light of what we know about the challenges of conducting research on underserved groups may help in the formulation of policy recommendations to better access and serve these groups.

As this volume demonstrates, in addition to looking at types of victimization, there is also significant utility in looking at victimization experiences among and across distinct groups of people. It is clear from the preceding chapters that for various social, historical, and cultural reasons, there exist some patterns in victimization among distinct groups of people. Studies focusing on specific issues within targeted populations reveal patterns that may otherwise be overlooked.

For instance, by looking specifically at the victimization experiences of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) youth, researchers Balsam, Rothblum, & Beauchaine (2005) discovered that these young people are more likely than their heterosexual counterparts to experience parental psychological abuse. While that finding alone may have significant policy implications, it also demonstrates the importance of studies targeting specific problems (i.e. victimization) among specific populations (i.e. LGBT youth). Because of the specificity of the study the researchers were able to, for the first time, distinguish between environments in which LGBT youth experienced victimization and found evidence that those youth who were being bullied at school may have been similarly targeted by their parents at home. The discovery that this population may be at elevated risk for concurrent or polyvictimization, leads to a different set of policy implications related to trauma and mental health. As this example illustrates, studies that have a narrow focus on a targeted population can help us more thoroughly understand social problems among underserved subgroups.

Similarly, in-depth investigations of specific populations can also lead to a better understanding of differences across groups. For example, as West discusses in Chapter 33 of this volume, studies looking specifically at violence affecting African Americans demonstrate that, compared with other groups delineated by race or ethnicity, this population experiences higher rates of violence in their homes, including elevated rates of intimate partner violence (IPV) and child abuse. Understanding the historic and cultural explanations for this type of disparity is important for the formulation of effective crime prevention policies.

It is important to note that although research about specific populations is important to our comprehensive understanding of social issues, it should not be inferred that these populations are mutually exclusive. One person may identify as a member of multiple distinct groups. An individual's identity can be fluid, as it is based on relation to or identification with one or more social categories or classifications (Stets & Burke, 2000).

This concept is important in the context of violence prevention because, as this volume demonstrates, there is differentiated risk for types of victimization associated with certain classifications, including gender, race, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, disability or mental health diagnosis, immigration status, and sexual orientation.

Given what we understand about the fluid nature of identity, there are implications for future research on populations delineated by these types of characteristics. One such implication is the value that lies in examining the experiences of a particular group of people of a particular phenomenon, which may reveal cultural subtleties that would be missed in a more broad study of that phenomenon. We recommend that future research violence against underserved and hidden populations look not just at violence across different populations, but also delve into the specific experiences of each subpopulation to specific forms of victimization. Self-identification with one or multiple groups also has implications for crime prevention and service provision policy, which will be discussed in the following section.

Policy Implications

As we continue to better understand the vulnerability of traditionally underserved groups to violence and victimization, we must also apply our research conclusions to public policy. Research on underserved populations has implications for public policies that focus on the identification, intervention, and prevention of violence and victimization in specific populations. In this section, we discuss what is currently known about the identification, interventions, and prevention of crimes against hidden and underserved populations. We conclude by making suggestions for meaningful policy to better understand and provide services to these groups.

Identification

The consensus among investigations focusing on crime reporting is that there is a significant amount of criminal activity that is neither officially recorded nor accounted for in self-reported data. Research on victimization consistently finds that for many categories of victimization, there is a significant difference between the number of incidents reported to police, and therefore included in the Uniform Crime Report (UCR), and the number of incidents self-reported on victimization surveys, such as the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) (Lynch & Addington, 2006), contributing to the so-called "dark figure of crime" (Biderman & Reiss, 1967), a euphemism for the amount of crime that occurs in the United States and goes undetected by law enforcement and unreported by victims. This gap in our knowledge about victimization is very important for hidden and underserved groups, as their victimization may be unreported for a number of different reasons. Research continues to improve our understanding of why certain people do not report their experiences with crimes.

One explanation that has been proposed for the underreporting of victimization is that some victims do not self-identify as victims. It follows that they do not then report their victimization, either directly after the occurrence of the incident, or later if selected to participate in a victimization survey. Among hidden and marginalized groups there are many explanations for this failure to self-identify as a victim. One

reason that an individual may not self-identify as a victim of crime is if they have a feeling of culpability for the victimization. Of underrepresented groups, this is particularly problematic among runaway youth and illegal immigrants, who may feel that their victimization is "deserved" because of their own acts of deviance. Another reason for lack of self-identification is that sometimes victims lack awareness that what they are experiencing is actually against the law. This is a problem for many different types of underrepresented populations, from illegal immigrants who are unfamiliar with American law to people with intellectual disabilities who may not have the cognition to be aware of their personal rights. These individuals may not know that they have the right to protection from certain forms of victimization.

As an example, both of these rationales for not reporting incidents have been observed in victims of human trafficking. In a study on the identification, investigation, and prosecution of human trafficking cases in the United States, Amy Farrell and her colleagues (2012) found that some victims of trafficking were reluctant to report their plight to law enforcement due to their involvement in illegal activity, ranging from engaging in prostitution to seeking employment in the United States without legal immigration documents. Additionally, due to cultural differences and a lack of familiarity with American laws, some victims did not know that was happening to them constituted a crime.

Research on underserved groups finds that there can be cultural factors that influence the likelihood of self-identification. For instance, there are some cultural explanations as to why Asian Americans tend to underreport incidents of intimate partner violence, including a tradition of patriarchy within the Asian-American community (Liang, et al., 2005; see also Chapter 34 in the current volume). Cultural influences, traditions, and norms may impact what behaviors people deem normal and acceptable, and therefore may affect self-reports of victimization.

A second explanation as to why crimes go unreported is a mistrust of law enforcement. Research has found that even though immigrants may believe our law enforcement authorities do a fine job, they are less likely to report crimes than are Americans born in this country (Davis & Hendricks, 2007). Studies consistently find that members of minority communities are more hostile toward police and more fearful of law enforcement than are their Anglo neighbors (Reisig & Parks, 2000). This is true for long-established minority communities in the United States, who have historically strained relationships with law enforcement, as well as more recent immigrants to this country (Davis & Henderson, 2003). Recent immigrants to the United States may be mistrustful of law enforcement due to unpleasant experiences with corrupt or oppressive law enforcement authorities in their countries of origin (Culver, 2004; Song, 1992).

Another reason that crimes against vulnerable populations go undetected by authorities is fear. Fear of reporting crime can have several explanations. Some individuals may be fearful of law enforcement and therefore unwilling to report their victimization to authorities. Other victims of crime may be fearful of retaliation by a perpetrator and will opt not to report their victimization for that reason. A third fear experienced by victims of crime is a fear of shame or stigmatization. Studies have found that victims of rape and other forms of sexual assault underreport their victimization for fear of stigmatization (Weiss, 2010). For example, this problem is particularly pervasive for male victims of rape and sexual assault (Groth & Burgess, 1980; Scarce, 2001).

A final reason that crimes against hidden or vulnerable populations are not identified by law enforcement is that some victims, particularly those with disabilities, do not have the means, transportation, or communicative ability to report their victimization. For these individuals with disabilities, even if they are able to report their victimization, it may not be considered credible testimony (Petersilia, 2001). Similarly, recent immigrants or even temporary visitors to the United States may not have the language capabilities to report their victimizations to the police.

There are many policy changes that have the potential to improve our identification of victims who may be vulnerable or from underserved groups. At a very simple level, law enforcement, community leaders, advocates, and service providers should be educated about hidden and underserved populations. If these professionals work in areas where there are concentrations of people from these underserved groups, they should also be trained about the types of violence and victimization that may occur among specific groups.

In order to address the issue of lack of self-identification among victims, know-your-rights trainings can be held to teach different populations about their legal and personal rights. These trainings should be tailored very carefully to specific populations and address the types of victimizations they may encounter as well as provide information about what types of treatment they should not accept from others. Obviously such training for children with disabilities would differ in content and delivery from a training tailored toward recent Vietnamese immigrants. A critical component of these trainings would also be a secure and trustworthy method for individuals to report any crimes or abuses that they have encountered. Awareness trainings for at-risk populations should be delivered locally and in a culturally sensitive manner and should be administered by individuals that are trusted among the targeted groups. This suggestion is a practical one that engages community groups and service providers that have solid existing relationships with minority and hidden populations. Consider, for example, the Worker Justice Center of New York (WJCNY), whose basic mission is to ensure the legal rights and wages of agricultural workers in the upstate region of New York. Having already established relationships within these farming communities, WJCNY runs secondary programs and on-site trainings focusing on the prevention of labor exploitation, domestic violence, and sexual assault victimization among the farmworking community. We suggest that other community organizations and groups with existing relationships with marginalized groups similarly offer trainings about violence prevention, rights, and reporting.

To continue to increase our knowledge of victimization among underserved groups, it is important that law enforcement have contact with and properly identify these victims. There are several implications for law enforcement. First, they must have the capability to communicate with potential victims in languages other than English. Second, they must have some cultural understanding of the groups with which they interact. Next, they must begin to collect more sophisticated demographic data about some victims of crime. For instance, if a victim has a disability, there should be a place to note that on an incident report. The systematic collection of reliable data will enhance the services that we can provide to victims from underserved groups.

Outside of law enforcement, community leaders and activists with influence in small minority communities must be aware of the types of victimization that may occur within the community and work to address the problems. Dialogue about

victimization in general terms will help to reduce shame and stigmatization and encourage reporting and help seeking should victimization occur.

Intervention

We have established that the types of violence and abuse that occur among populations differ according to a number of cultural and systemic factors. It follows that intervention strategies must be tailored to reach and impact certain targeted underserved groups. There can be no large-scale approach to outreach to hidden and underserved populations. It is more sensible to utilize existing support networks that are already established within these communities. Intervention strategies must take into account where these groups tend to congregate, social, cultural and systemic explanations for victimization, and culturally appropriate methods for encouraging individuals to learn about their rights, what resources are available to them, and how to seek help.

Consider the population of migrant agricultural workers in the United States, which consists largely of immigrants from South and Central America, both with and without legal documentation for entry to and employment in the United States. The undocumented migrant population is one that, from the perspective of the US Census, does not exist. Even documented migrant workers are largely forgotten and neglected by federal and state authorities (duFresne & McDonell, 1971; Guernsey, 2007), and those with visiting documentation are highly restricted by their visas (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2013), leaving them with few options if their working conditions are exploitive. With or without documentation, migrant workers live and work in isolated conditions, hidden from even their nearest neighbors. This isolation increases their vulnerability to a number of heath, safety, and occupational risks. Carefully tailored interventions will address these risk factors.

It takes nuanced understanding to comprehend how culture and isolation interact to affect the vulnerability of these migrant workers. For example, research on cancer prevention among Hispanic migrant workers has found that, even though they are knowingly exposed to harmful chemicals in pesticides and other materials they regularly have contact with, these individuals may be hesitant to ask their employer for proper protective gear for fear of losing their jobs. Further, research finds that a cultural barrier exists among this population that prevents them from seeking medical help, due to an association of shame and embarrassment with physical examinations (Lantz et al., 1994).

As this example illustrates, in order to be effective, intervention strategies must be carefully tailored to specific problems, and need to be delivered by an individual who is trusted among the targeted community. In the case of migrant farm workers, outreach workers who have already developed rapport with the migrant community, speak their language, and can be trusted are the best means by which to deliver education, resources, and information about how to access help when they need it, either in the form of Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) victim service providers or law enforcement.

Culturally appropriate intervention strategies are important for all underserved groups, not only those delineated by ethnicity. We know that there are patterns of victimization among youth and adults in the LGBT community, and that some risk factors for violence and victimization are highly elevated for these individuals. For

instance, LGBT teenagers are significantly more likely to experience dating abuse than are heterosexual teenagers. At particular risk, according to recent research, are transgender teenagers (Dank, Lachman, Zweig, & Yahner, 2014). Existing research must be translated into broader understanding of vulnerability and incidence among underserved populations. Targeted interventions, such as support groups and trainings, by trusted community members and service providers may then follow.

Prevention

All of the chapters in this section illustrate that there are distinct needs and vulnerabilities among different populations. Preventive measures must take these into account. Therefore, as with intervention, a generalized, sweeping violence prevention model will not be effective in reducing victimization among hidden and underserved populations. Prevention programs must be local, culturally and developmentally appropriate, and target the specific needs and vulnerabilities of the targeted population.

Most crime prevention strategies are necessarily targeted to prevent a specific offense. As we know from this volume and others, not all people are vulnerable to the same types of victimization. Risk depends on a multitude of personal characteristics as well as the environments that persons interact with. Prevention techniques and policies, then, must be formulated very specifically. Central to crime prevention is an understanding of risk.

Some prevention policies can work to address personal vulnerabilities, or risk factors. For example, we know that people with disabilities are disproportionately victims of sexual abuse (Sobsey & Doe, 1991). The increased rate of sexual victimization among this population has been attributed to a confluence of factors, including an increased dependence on others for daily care and wellbeing, a lack of understanding about personal rights, insufficient or lack of sexual education, and the understanding among perpetrators that victims may not have the means to report abuse. Prevention policies that can address this problem at the individual level would include developing appropriate trainings for people with different types of disabilities about sexual education, choice making, assertiveness, and personal rights (Sobsey & Mansell, 1990). Another suggested prevention technique would be to have a clinician available to people with disabilities (Baladerian, 1991) and a known, practiced plan in place to contact that person should the need arise.

Other prevention policies can target environmental factors. To continue with the example of the sexual abuse of people with disabilities, we know that oftentimes the perpetrators in these instances are caretakers and the victimization occurs in institutions, such as schools or residential facilities. Prevention strategies targeting the environment would increase guardianship in those places, such as a policy mandating that a single caretaker should never be alone with a client with disabilities. Crime prevention programs that have been carefully evaluated and found to be effective in the past may be specially catered to reduce the vulnerability of specific underserved populations. For example, the use of closed-circuit television surveillance devices has been found to reduce various forms of victimization in a number of settings (Welsh & Farrington, 2009). The strategy of increasing guardianship by using surveillance cameras might be implemented in facilities serving people with disabilities to target the specific problem of interpersonal crimes against people with disabilities in those settings.

Prevention policies can be targeted to potential victims as well as to environments in which victimization may occur. While these policies may differ drastically in approach, what they have in common is that they are carefully structured to prevent a very specific problem among a specific population. In order to prevent crimes against hidden and underserved groups, this is the necessary approach.

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