I Wish I were a Tiger... Domestic Violence Research with Children Who Have Witnessed Domestic Violence

Margaret Pearman Jones
I WISH I WERE A TIGER…

DOMESTIC VIOLENCE RESEARCH WITH CHILDREN WHO HAVE WITNESSED DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

by

MARGARET PEARMAN JONES

Under the Direction of Julia Perilla PhD

ABSTRACT

This paper presents the results of a study conducted at a domestic violence safehouse for an undergraduate Honors Thesis. Twenty-three children ages 4-16 from African American and immigrant communities were interviewed while residing at a safehouse for victims of domestic violence regarding their beliefs and attitudes about perceptions of self, conflict resolution skills, and feelings of anger and coping strategies. The study found a strong relation between length of stay & positive coping strategies. Age & gender were also related to conflict resolution skills. Qualitative data provided interesting & potentially important insights into children’s internal experiences of being witnesses of domestic violence. The study did not support past research in terms of child witnesses exhibiting low self-esteem, poor conflict strategies, and high rates of aggression. This study concludes that more research needs to be conducted on protective factors and resiliency to the effects of domestic violence to explain this study’s results.

INDEX WORDS: Domestic violence, Children, Conflict resolution, Coping skills, Self-perception
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by

MARGARET PEARMAN JONES

An Honors Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for Graduation with Undergraduate Research Honors in the College of Arts and Sciences

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Finally, I would like to thank and dedicate this thesis to the families residing at the safehouse that allowed me to conduct this study using their words to enhance the literature on domestic violence. At every step during the process of conducting this study, I was grateful for the opportunity.
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INTRODUCTION

Family violence, as described by Kashani and Allan (1998), is “violent or abusive behaviors in the home directed toward one or more persons” (p.3). This definition describes a phenomenon that affects millions of partners, children, siblings, parents, and elderly people worldwide. In the United States, partner abuse alone affects as many as one in five women (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000).

Current literature on domestic violence has been guided by several different theories. According to Urie Bronfenbrenner (1979), an individual is best understood in the context of the interacting systems that make up his or her environment. An individual’s context is made up of a microsystem level that encompasses the individual’s immediate environment, the mesosystem that describes the relationship between interacting microsystem contexts, the exosystem or outlying environment that includes the mass media and government, and the macrosystem that incorporates the overarching cultural beliefs. This theory, known as the ecological theory, in particular has helped to identify the surrounding factors that contribute to the occurrence of domestic violence. For example, on the microsystem level, studies have shown that stress is positively correlated with violence in the home (Straus, 1973; Farrington, 1986). The exosystem level points to the association between low income neighborhoods and higher rates of family violence (Van Wyk, Benson, Fox & DeMaris, 2003; Rennison & Welchans, 2000). The macrosystem’s influence can be seen in feminist theories of violence in which patriarchal ideologies have been positively correlated with wife abuse (Yllo & Straus, 1990).

In addition to the ecological theory, the social learning theory is particularly relevant to this paper’s analysis of domestic violence. Albert Bandura’s (1977) theory of social learning
describes the process in which people learn behavior by a four-step process: 1) attending to the behavior, 2) retention of the information, 3) reproduction of the behavior, 4) motivation, such as by reinforcement of the behavior. Turning to the acquisition of aggressive behavior, Bandura (1961) supported his theory by showing that children can learn aggressive behavior by modeling adult’s aggressive behavior. More recent studies have also supported this line of research. For example, Howell & Pugliesi (1988) found that parental modeling of violent behavior was positively correlated with wife abuse later in adulthood. Similarly, parents who use aggressive discipline strategies were more likely to have been aggressively disciplined as a child (Simons, Whitbeck, & Conger, 1991).

Recent advancements in the literature of domestic violence have highlighted the importance of culture as a crucial component for understanding experiences of domestic violence. Although domestic violence has been extensively studied, cultural considerations have only recently been examined (Hampton & Gullotta, 2006). Researchers are now aware that culture needs to be taken into consideration when evaluating experiences of domestic violence. For example, one survey of 77,200 households by the Department of Justice’s Bureau of Statistics found that between 1993 and 1998 African Americans experienced domestic violence significantly more often than any other race (Rennison & Welchans, 2000). In comparison to other ethnic groups, this survey found that African American women experienced domestic violence 35% more than Caucasians and 2.5 times more than women of other races (Rennison & Welchans, 2000). However, Hampton and Gullotti (2006) point out that the differences in rates of domestic violence are not exposing inherent racial differences, but most likely the social and economic disparity between them. This point is demonstrated by an analysis by Rennison and Planyt (2003), in which data that previously showed a significant racial difference in rates of
domestic violence were reanalyzed while controlling for gender and socioeconomic status. When social and economic factors were controlled, there were no significant differences between races. This relationship between domestic violence and social and economic factors highlights the importance of ecological theories as a more comprehensive framework to understand this phenomenon. Regardless of what is causing the extreme rates of domestic violence, the problem continues. Domestic violence is an epidemic in the United States and seems to be of special concern for the African American community.

Although most of the research focuses on the adults involved, children are often also the victims of family violence, as either witnesses or direct recipients. In fact, it is estimated that 15.5 million children live in households where violence has occurred in the last year (McDonald, Jouriles, & Ramisetty-Mikler, 2006). The impact of family violence can be significant. Studies have shown deleterious long-term effects on child victims of family violence as compared to children who did not witness violence, including more health problems and conduct problems, higher rates of depression and anxiety, higher incidence of PTSD, and poorer academic performance (Fox et al., 1996).

Several studies have focused on children who reside in domestic violence shelters or safehouses. Researchers found that when compared to children who had not experienced family violence, children who had been exposed exhibited less social competence (Jaffé, Wolfe, Wilson, & Zak, 1986), higher rates of depression (Christopolous et al., 1987), increased overall externalizing behaviors (Jaffé et al., 1986), and lower self-esteem (Hughes, 1988). Westra and Martin (1981) found lower verbal, cognitive and motor abilities in addition to increased aggressiveness when compared to a control group.
In a community sample of 225 African American youth ages 11-19, researchers found that self-reported use of violence was associated with violence in the home (Durant, Cadenhead, Pendergrast Slavens, & Linder, 1994). However, as Wolfe, Crooks, Lee, McIntyre-Smith, & Jaffe (2003) point out, the main body of research with children who witness and experience domestic violence has explored the issue as if in a vacuum, leaving out major pieces of the youth’s experiences and contexts.

In an attempt to bridge the gap between data collection and participant contexts, Miller (2004) explains the importance of establishing a trusting relationship with the community of interest to gain access and develop a contextual foundation for research. Taking the time to establish a relationship with the participants’ community is beneficial for understanding the data being collected and allowing the participants to express themselves honestly. From this perspective, responses to the same question might look very different depending on who is asking the question. For example, a basic question such as “how do you cope with your parents arguing?” may elicit different answers if the interviewer is a stranger or a family friend. Participants are much more likely to share intimate details about their lives once the researcher has established a relationship that allows participants to express themselves with less need for self-protective behaviors, such as trying to impress, please, or show off (Miller, 2004). Using Miller’s approach was one of the goals of this research study. Despite the racial differences between the Caucasian researcher and the youth participants who were primarily African American, we believe that the time the researcher spent with the children served to achieve a trusting connection with the participants.

Although some research has been conducted regarding the effects of domestic violence on children, we do not yet have a clear picture of the children as victims and survivors of domestic
violence. Mullender et al. (2002) wrote about the importance of knowing more about the experiences of child witnesses and how their voices could inform community responses to create a more child-centered approach. For this to happen, there needs to be much more research with “the intention of hearing the voices of children and young people about domestic violence” (p. 2). Incorporating Miller’s (2004) and Mullender’s et al. (2002) approaches, this project sought to shed light on the experiences of child witnesses of family violence while residing in a domestic violence safehouse. The researchers attempted to build a relationship with each participant who resided at the safehouse by being physically present on a regular basis, playing with the children in groups, and talking independently with each child. Using standardized scales and open-ended questions, this project examined the children’s views on anger, their conflict resolution approaches, and their self-perceptions over the time they were living at the safehouse. In line with past research (Fox et al., 1994; Westra & Martin, 1981; Durant et al., 1994), the researchers expected that the children would rate low on conflict resolution skills and self-esteem, and high on aggression upon first entering the Safehouse. The researchers also expected an increase in conflict resolution skills and a decrease in aggressive tendencies at the time of retest that occurred just before exiting the Safehouse.

**METHOD**

**Participants**

Participants were 23 children (61% male) between the ages of 4 and 16 years who resided at an emergency domestic violence safehouse. The children were interviewed at the safehouse in a large Southeastern city during 2006. The mean age was 8.6 years (SD= 3.6). The sample was 69.6% African American, 8.7% Caucasian immigrant, 13% biracial (African American and
Caucasian), and 8.7% Latino. Children from every family coming into the safehouse were eligible to participate. Of the total number of children admitted into the safehouse during the study period, 12 were not involved in the study because of their family’s unexpected exit from the safehouse. From the sample (N=23), twelve children left the safehouse program before completing the posttest. Four children were already in the safehouse program before the study began, making them ineligible for the pretest, but were able to complete the posttest. A total of 30 questionnaires were completed, 19 of which were pretests and 11 posttests.

The sponsoring organization allowed the researcher to conduct a study with the children from their safehouse resident families. The researcher was able to work with supervision in the children’s program through a practicum offered by the psychology department at Georgia State University. During the practicum semester, the researcher assisted the safehouse child advocate in her duties including facilitating support groups, weekend field trips, homework assistance, and mentoring while simultaneously conducting the research project interviews. GSU IRB approval was obtained prior to beginning the study. Consent and assent forms and a 20- item questionnaire were used in this study. To enhance the ability of potential participants to decline being part of the study, a staff member explained the research project to each mother, emphasizing that regardless of their decision to participate or not, the family would be able to receive all services and support offered by the safehouse. Consent forms from the mothers for each child 4 to 16 years old and assent forms from the children were thus obtained by a safehouse staff member, rather than the researcher. The consent form described the study objectives and methodology and explained the rights of the guardian and the participant. Three mothers initially refused to consent until they could get further clarification about what specific questions would be on the questionnaire because they were concerned the questionnaire included
information about domestic violence and feared that this would upset their child. After they learned that the questionnaire did not include any questions regarding their child’s experience with domestic violence and had the opportunity to read the questionnaire, they gave their consent. Child participants whose mother gave authorization to participate signed an assent form, which explained the child’s rights, the purpose, and the procedure. The assent form also informed the child that participation was voluntary, that there would not be any negative consequences for the child’s family if he or she wanted to decline, and that questioning could be stopped at any time. None of the children refused to participate or requested to stop the questioning.

The questionnaire consisted of 20 qualitative and quantitative questions (see Appendix). In addition to demographic characteristics (age, gender, ethnicity/race) qualitative questions drawn from existing safehouse children’s form evaluated the participant’s perceptions of self through questions about children’s perceptions of their own positive characteristics, what friends like about them, an animal they would like to be, and three wishes they had. Quantitative data regarding conflict resolution and anger were adapted from a questionnaire used with Latino child witnesses of domestic violence (Jaffe, Wolfe, & Wilson, 1990)

Procedure

Within one week of the family entering the safehouse, mothers of potential participants were approached by a safehouse staff member to obtain permission for her daughter or son to participate in the study. After safehouse staff obtained written consent from the mother, the child was read the assent form. If the child agreed, he or she signed the assent form and went to a quiet area with the researcher to complete the first questionnaire. The researcher explained to the child that all answers would remain confidential and if at any time he or she felt
uncomfortable, he or she could skip a question or stop participating completely. Each question was read to the child and the response was written down verbatim. Within one week of exiting the safehouse, the children were given the same questionnaire following the same questioning procedures to find any changes that might have occurred over the course of their stay. Each questionnaire took approximately 15 minutes to complete. Children who completed both questionnaires were involved for a total of 30 minutes over the course of about 30 days.

After all questionnaires were complete, the qualitative information was coded based on common themes in the children’s responses and the quantitative data were statistically analyzed using SPSS statistical software package 12.0.

RESULTS

Quantitative Data

Results from the four quantitative sections of the questionnaire showed several significant correlations indicating relationships between response styles, gender differences, age differences, and the number of weeks in the program. Participant’s responses to whether they would yell, fight, talk, walk away, or go to their room when they get really mad were statistically analyzed along with their demographic information. As table 1 shows, the longer the participants were staying at the safehouse the more likely they were to respond that they would talk about their problem or walk away when they got really mad. The younger participants were significantly more likely to respond that they would fight when they get really mad. Girls were significantly more likely to report that they would yell and talk when they get mad. Relationships were also found between responses that suggest that the children used more than one strategy at a time (i.e. yell and fight, fight and talk, etc.).
To measure conflict resolution strategies participants were asked if they would ignore, ask the person to stop, tell, threaten, or hit when confronted with a particular conflict. Tables 2-4 show the participant’s responses statistically analyzed using Spearman’s nonparametric test for significance. Several significant correlations were identified for the participants’ conflict strategies in response to being teased. As seen in table 2, the number of weeks the children were at the safehouse is significantly associated with an increase in ignoring behavior and younger children were significantly more likely to respond that they would tell, threaten, or hit. Several correlations were found between response styles indicating that the participants used more than one strategy at a time (i.e. tell, threaten, and hit).
Table 2

Correlations of Conflict Resolution Strategies to Being Teased

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Weeks</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Ignore</th>
<th>Stop</th>
<th>Tell</th>
<th>Threaten</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Weeks</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>.178</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stop</td>
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<td>.40</td>
<td>.14</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tell</td>
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<td>-.61**</td>
<td>.26</td>
<td>.23</td>
<td>.01</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threaten</td>
<td>-.01</td>
<td>-.56**</td>
<td>.37</td>
<td>.22</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>.60**</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hit</td>
<td>-.06</td>
<td>-.43*</td>
<td>.34</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>.50*</td>
<td>.82**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p < .05
** p < .01

In response to someone taking their things, Table 3 shows that the number of weeks the participants were at the safehouse the more likely they would tell the person to stop taking their things without asking. Younger children were more likely to tell or to threaten and girls were more likely to say stop or hit the person taking their things. Children that responded that they would threaten were likely to follow through and hit.
Table 3

Correlations of Conflict Resolution Strategies to Someone Taking Things Without Asking

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<td>.04</td>
<td>.30</td>
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<td>-.40</td>
<td>.42*</td>
<td>.27</td>
<td>-.02</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>.71**</td>
</tr>
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</table>

* p < .05  
** p < .01
As table 4 shows, when confronted with someone hitting, younger children were more likely to tell or threaten and ignoring responses were associated with threatening responses.

**Table 4**
**Correlations of Conflict Resolution Strategies to Someone Hitting You**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th>Stop</th>
<th>Tell</th>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Stop</td>
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<td>.36</td>
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<td>.03</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tell</td>
<td>-.07</td>
<td>-.56**</td>
<td>.23</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>-.04</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threaten</td>
<td>.16</td>
<td>-.67**</td>
<td>.23</td>
<td>.55**</td>
<td>-.27</td>
<td>.31</td>
<td>1.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hit</td>
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<td>-.22</td>
<td>.24</td>
<td>-.17</td>
<td>-.13</td>
<td>-.08</td>
<td>.41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p < .05
** p < .01

**Qualitative Data**

The responses to the qualitative sections of the questionnaire were coded based on common themes in the children’s responses for each question. The children’s responses to “What do your friends like about you?” were categorized by their focus on personal characteristics, material possessions, abilities, or their inability to identify a positive characteristic in themselves. The results depicted in Figure 1 show that 18 out of 23 participants were able to name something positive about themselves. There answers varied widely; they named things, such as “I’m good at sports”, “I’m pretty”, and “I’m nice”. Similarly, when asked to name two things they like about themselves or are good at, only 3 out of 46 responses were
“do not know”. Their responses to this question were more focused on their abilities than personal attributes. Some of their responses included “I’m good at helping my mom”, “I’m good at cartwheels”, and “I’m a good writer”. When asked if they ever want to be someone different, only 5 out of 23 participants responded that they would like to be someone different. When their responses to who they would like to be were examined, it seemed that most reasons were to be like people they admire, such as to be like their mom, a football player, or a friend.

Participants were also asked, “If you could be any age, what age would you be and why?”. Not surprisingly, most children (15 out of 23) wanted to be older, while 8 children wanted to stay the same age, and no one wanted to be younger. The most common response to wanting to be older was to have more privileges and most commonly the children that wanted to stay the same age said they like being that age.

*Figure 1.* Participant responses to “what do your friends like about you?” categorized by their focus on personal characteristics, possessions, abilities, and do not know
The children were asked, “If you could be an animal what would you be and why”. The most common answers were lions, tigers, and birds. The responses were also categorized based on their reasons for wanting to be that particular animal. Results shown in figure 2 suggest that the children’s responses were almost equally split between aggressive, fleeing, and neutral reasons for wanting to be an animal.

![Figure 2. Participant responses to why they would want to be a particular animal](image)

Participants were asked what they would wish for if they were given three wishes. These responses were coded based on the common themes that appeared in the data. The researchers noted four dimensions to categorize the different responses; they were situation change, ecological focus, material versus nonmaterial, and pragmatism. The quantified data were statistically analyzed along with their demographic information. Correlational analysis found that as the participant’s ecological focus moved outside of themselves (dyadic relationship, family, or community/world) they were significantly more likely ($r_s = .518 p< .01$) to wish for
something nonmaterial, such as a wish “for my family to be happy”, “change my family to be nice”, or “peace on earth”. Analysis also found that when the ecological focus moved away from self, they were more likely ($r_s = -.758 \ p < .01$) to wish for something that would better their current situation, for instance, for “mom to find a job” or “a new house for my family”.

As figure 3 shows, 58 out of 69 total responses dealt with an interest for a new situation (such as a new house), whereas only 11 dealt with going back to the old situation (like going back home or to see their dad). In terms of ecology, 1 out 4 wishes was focused on others. Out of 69 responses, 44 requested material items (such as “my old videogames” or “a soccer ball”). Conversely, 25 responses requested nonmaterial items, such as “to go back to my old school” or “to ride a bike on one wheel”.

![Figure 3. Participant responses to “if you could have three wishes, what would you wish for?” coded based on situation, ecology, and material versus nonmaterial focus.](image-url)
In addition to the quantitative responses regarding coping strategies, the children were asked, open ended questions such as “What do you think is the best way to deal with something when you are really mad?” The themes identified in the children’s responses were do something else to forget about it (n=6), talk to someone (n=6), go to room (n=4), fight or yell (n=2), do not know (n=3), walk away (n=1), or punch a pillow (n=1).

Similar responses were found in the children’s conflict strategies with authority figures. When asked, “If your mom or dad does something you do not like, what do you do?” the most common responses were to tell parents (n=7), do nothing (n=6), go to room or leave the room (n=4), get mad (n=3), or do not know (n=3). When asked what they would do if an adult did something they did not like, the most common answers were to do nothing (n=6), tell parents (n=6), tell the adult (n=4), do not know (n=3), or get mad (n=1).

When questioned about a particular situation, the children came up with numerous conflict resolution strategies. If someone was teasing them they said they would tease them back (n=7), hit them (n=4), ignore or stay away from them (n=3), tell someone (n=3), laugh and take it like a joke (n=2), do not know (n=2), not be their friend anymore (n=1), or get mad (n=1). If someone was taking their things without asking they said they would take it back (n=9), hit them (n=4), ask for it back (n=3), tell someone (n=3), tell them to ask next time (n=3), or not let them play with my stuff anymore (n=1). Lastly, if someone was hitting them, the children responded that they would hit them back (n=10), tell (n=10), find out why they hit them (n=1), not be their friend anymore (n=1), or stay away from them (n=1).

**DISCUSSION**

The original hypothesis expecting a measurable increase in each child’s coping skills, conflict strategies, and self-esteem was not able to be tested due to a lack of power. However,
length of stay was correlated with the use of less aggressive conflict strategies and more positive coping skills, such as talking about the problem, walking away when really mad, ignoring annoying behaviors, and asking a person to stop. Even though this research study cannot pinpoint what exactly helped the children’s coping and conflict strategies, it is most likely a combination of several factors, such as the children being taken out of the violent household, learning about positive ways of coping and conflict resolution in the safehouse program, enforcement of nonviolence policies within the safehouse, access to counseling services, etc. The researchers believe that this demonstrates the importance of the availability of safehouses and the quality of the programs they offer to its residents because they make an important contribution to the thousands of women and children that come through their doors each year.

This research study was also able to explore what is important to this group of children by asking about their wishes. Unexpectedly, the children overwhelming provided answers directly related to their current situation. They replied, for instance, “my mom needs a new job” or “we need a new house”. Even more surprising was that the children were focusing on their family creating a new home situation. This is important information for both women survivors of domestic violence and their advocates, since the children appear to endorse their mother’s decision to seek a new life for their families.

The responses to the type of animal they would like to be also provided important insights as to the subjective experience of child witnesses of domestic violence. Approximately two of every three children in our sample appear to want to fight or flee, something that might relate to the prevalence of anxiety that has been linked to child witnessing (Fox et al., 1996). This could be of particular importance to safehouse organizations to screen for posttraumatic
stress symptoms and train staff to look for signs of elevated anxiety while the children are
staying at the safehouse.

Another goal of this research study was to explore the children’s conflict strategies
qualitatively to find out in their own words what types of approaches they use. Based on past
research (Jaffe et al., 1986; Westra & Martin, 1981), the ecological model, and the social
learning theory the researchers expected that children exposed to domestic violence would rate
high on aggression and low on conflict resolution strategies. It is evident that some of the
children used aggressive approaches when dealing with conflict while others did not. For
instance, in the most extreme example, when confronted by someone hitting them, 10 children
responded that they would hit them back while 13 children came up with nonviolent responses to
the situation like telling someone, finding out why they hit them, and staying away from the
person. In another example, ten children also used nonviolent approaches to someone taking
their things; instead, they responded to ask for it back, tell them to ask next time, tell someone, or
not let them play with their stuff anymore. The researchers were continually surprised by the
varied and creative responses the children had for each situation, when invited to use their own
voices to name their responses to the experience of violence or abuse.

In this same vein, we expected that, based on past research, the children would exhibit
low self-esteem (Hughes, 1988) and social competence (Jaffe et al., 1986). These findings were
not supported by this research study. Every child was able to think of at least one positive
attribute that they like about themselves and only three were not able to come up with a second
attribute. Even further, only five participants were not able to name something their friends like
about them. These findings indicate that most of these children liked themselves and could see
that other people liked them as well. Therefore, it appears that witnessing domestic violence
affects children differently. Some children showed signs of aggression, low self-esteem, and lacked positive conflict strategies while others did not. This research study seems to offer support to the effects of resiliency and protective factors in children, and the importance of identifying those factors so that community services can more effectively work with these children to heal the wounds of domestic violence.
References


Appendix

Participant # ____________

1) Participant’s age: ____________________________

2) Gender:  a) boy  b) girl

3) Race/Ethnicity: ________________________________

4) What do your friends like about you? ________________________________

5) Name two things that you like about yourself or that you are good at?
   a)  ____________________________________________
   b)  ____________________________________________

6) Would you like to be someone different? a) yes  b) no

7) If yes, who would you like to be? ________________________________

8) When you are really mad at something or someone, do you ever:

<table>
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<th>Never</th>
<th>Sometimes</th>
<th>Often</th>
<th>NR</th>
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</table>
   a) Yell, scream, swear: 0 1 2 9
   b) Fight, hit, punch: 0 1 2 9
   c) Talk to someone: 0 1 2 9
   d) Walk away: 0 1 2 9
   e) Go to your room: 0 1 2 9
   f) Other: 0 1 2 9

9) If someone your own age teases you, what do you usually do?

   ____________________________________________

10) Do you also:

    | Never | Sometimes | Often | NR |
    |-------|-----------|-------|----|
    a) ignore them 0 1 2 9
    b) ask them to stop 0 1 2 9
    c) tell someone 0 1 2 9
    d) threaten them 0 1 2 9
    e) hit them 0 1 2 9
    f) other 0 1 2 9
11) If someone your age takes something without asking, what do you usually do?

_____________________________________________________________________________

12) Do you also: 

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<th>Sometimes</th>
<th>Often</th>
<th>NR</th>
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<tr>
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<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
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<td>b) ask them to stop</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>c) tell someone</td>
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<td>d) threaten them</td>
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<td>e) hit them</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>f) other</td>
<td>0</td>
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</table>

13) If someone your own age hits you, what do you usually do?

_____________________________________________________________________________

14) Do you also: 

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<td>f) other</td>
<td>0</td>
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15) If mom or dad does something that you do not like, what do you do?

_____________________________________________________________________________

16) If an adult who is not your parent does something that you do not like, what do you do?

_____________________________________________________________________________

17) What do you think is the best way to deal with something when you are really mad?

_____________________________________________________________________________

18) Sometimes it is fun to pretend we are an animal.

a) If you could be an animal what would you be? ___________________________________________

b) Why?  _____________________________________________________________________
19) If you could be any age,
a) what age would you be? _______________________________________________________
b) Why? _________________________________________________________________

20) Let's pretend you could have three wishes. What would you wish for?
a) __________________________________________________________________________
b) __________________________________________________________________________
c) __________________________________________________________________________

THANKS FOR TALKING WITH ME!