

The Victimization of Children and Youth: A Comprehensive, National Survey

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This study examined a large spectrum of violence, crime, and victimization experiences in a nationally representative sample of children and youth ages 2 to 17 years. More than one half (530 per 1,000) of the children and youth had experienced a physical assault in the study year; more than 1 in 4 (273 per 1,000) a property offense, more than 1 in 8 (136 per 1,000) a form of child maltreatment, 1 in 12 (82 per 1,000) a sexual victimization, and more than 1 in 3 (357 per 1,000) had been a witness to violence or experienced another form of indirect victimization. Only a minority (29%) had no direct or indirect victimization. The mean number of victimizations for a child or youth with any victimization was 3.0, and a child or youth with one victimization had a 69% chance of experiencing another during a single year.

Keywords: *violence; victims; crime; assault; sexual assault; juveniles; incidence*

Considerable research and clinical attention have been paid in recent years to various forms of child and youth victimization such as physical and sexual abuse (Brown & Bzostek, 2003; Finkelhor & Hashima, 2001), bullying (Nansel, Overpeck, Pilla, et al., 2001; Nansel, Overpeck, Haynie, Ruan, & Scheidt, 2003), sexual harassment (American Association of University Women Educational Foundation, 2001), exposure to community violence (Bell & Jenkins, 1993; Gorman-Smith & Tolan, 1998; Hill & Jones, 1997),

and the witnessing of domestic violence (Wolak & Finkelhor, 1998). Studies typically document the frequency of such victimizations and the association of such experiences with adverse physical, psychological, and social outcomes (DuRant, Getts, Cadenhead, Emans, & Woods, 1995; Fantuzzo et al., 1991; Martinez & Richters, 1993; Singer, Anglin, Song, & Lunghofer, 1995).

However, a problem endemic to this literature is that studies usually focus on only one or a few forms of victimization out of the large spectrum of victimizations that young people experience (Hamby & Finkelhor, 2000; Saunders, 2003). Thus, there are many studies confined only to sexual abuse, bullying, parental violence, community violence, or the witnessing of domestic violence. This creates a variety of problems.

First, it underestimates the burden of victimization that young people experience. For example, studies of community violence often exclude the various forms of child maltreatment children suffer at the hands of caretakers, including neglect and emotional abuse. Property crimes against children (such as theft or vandalism) are also rarely included, even though these crimes occur against children at high rates and have been shown to have negative psychological impacts (Finkelhor & Ormrod, 2000; Norris &

Kaniasty, 1994). Certain other kinds of distinctive forms of child victimization are routinely neglected in studies and therefore underestimated because they are not specifically asked about, including assaults by siblings (Duncan, 1999; Goodwin & Roscoe, 1990; Straus, Gelles, & Steinmetz, 1980; Wiehe, 1997), non-sexual assaults to the genitals (Finkelhor & Wolak, 1995), dating violence and bias (hate) crimes. Even the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) only inquires about the conventional crime experiences of sexual assault, robbery, and physical assault (Finkelhor & Wells, 2003; U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2000) while failing to inventory the serious, nonforcible sex crimes that juveniles experience because of their dependent status (e.g., nonviolent sexual abuse of a child by a family member). In all these ways the full extent and variety of child victimization is not encompassed.

In addition to underestimating the scope and variety of child victimization, a second problem with the current fragmented approach is that it fails to show the interrelationships among different kinds of victimization. Such interrelationships occur at several levels. For example, some victimization types characteristically involve multiple offenses. Bullying frequently entails physical assaults, as well as property crimes and sexual harassment (Nansel, Overpeck, Haynie, et al., 2003). Other victimizations are precursors or catalysts for new victimizations. Children abused by parents, for example, appear more likely to be bullied at school (Perry, Hodges, & Egan, 2001). Still other victimizations cluster because of high-risk environments. Violent parents frequently attack multiple family members, and this means that children exposed to domestic violence are also often victims of child abuse (Duncan, 1999; Edleson, 1999; Perry et al., 2001; Shields & Cicchetti, 2001). Children who live in high-crime neighborhoods will likely witness community violence and themselves be victims of violent and property crimes. The interconnections among these victimizations have only been superficially explored. They are not apparent when only a few forms of victimization are assessed.

The fragmentation by victimization type in this literature is compounded by fragmentation according to victim age. Studies typically assess the experiences of only teenagers (Fox & Leavitt, 1995; Hastings & Kelley, 1997; Singer et al., 1995) or, more unusually, only elementary school-age children (Fox & Leavitt, 1995; Hill, Levermore, Twaite, & Jones, 1996; Richters, Martinez, & Valla, 1990). This can lead to the misperception that crime primarily occurs to teenagers. True developmental trajectories across the span of childhood are not available for most forms of

victimization as they are for diseases or other kinds of injuries.

These fragmentations have a number of unfortunate consequences for practice, research, and policy. At the clinical level, asking about only limited types of victimization, such as child abuse alone or exposure to community violence alone, may result in a failure to identify children who experience other kinds of still serious victimization. It may also result in clinicians targeting a problem that is not necessarily the most important one, or at least missing a considerable part of the full clinical picture. The child who is being bullied at school and abused at home may be poorly served by a clinician who simply intervenes with the bullying. It may also result in a failure to identify the children who are at the highest risk and who are chronically victimized (Kochenderfer Ladd & Ladd, 2001).

The unknown interrelationships create problems at the research level as well. For example, the negative outcomes statistically associated with children's witnessing domestic violence may, in reality, be partly or fully explained by the direct physical assaults children also suffer in these households at the hands of the violent parents (Wolak & Finkelhor, 1998). Youth who experience dating violence may be victims of other kinds of peer assaults as well (Pepler, Craig, Connolly, & Henderson, 2002). However, unless the other forms of victimization are assessed and controlled for, it is easy to overestimate the ostensible impact of one kind of victimization alone (Boney-McCoy & Finkelhor, 1995a, 1995b).

Moreover, without considering interrelationships, it may not be possible to understand fully the problem of victimization vulnerability. To explain this vulnerability, we may need to know how different kinds of victimizations cluster, how some lead to others, and why some children experience multiple victimizations while others do not.

At the public policy level, the fragmentation inhibits the development of a fully comprehensive approach to juvenile victimization. In the absence of comprehensive developmental epidemiology, certain forms of victimization may get overemphasized, such as stranger abductions (Best, 1990), while other more pervasive problems are ignored.

It was to promote a more holistic approach to the understanding of victimization that we developed the comprehensive Juvenile Victimization Questionnaire (Hamby & Finkelhor, 2004) and undertook to assess these interrelationships in a national sample, the Developmental Victimization Survey.

METHOD

Participants

This research is based on data from the Developmental Victimization Survey (DVS), designed to obtain 1-year incidence estimates of a comprehensive range of childhood victimizations across gender, race, and developmental stage. The survey, conducted between December 2002 and February 2003, assessed the experiences of a nationally representative sample of 2,030 children age 2 to 17 years living in the contiguous United States. The interviews with parents and youth were conducted over the telephone by the employees of an experienced survey research firm specially trained to talk with children and parents. Telephone interviewing is a cost-effective methodology (Weeks, Kulka, Lessler, & Whitmore, 1983) that has been demonstrated to be comparable in reliability and validity with in-person interviews, even for sensitive topics (Bajos, Spira, Ducot, & Messiah, 1992; Bermack, 1989; Czaja, 1987; Marin & Marin, 1989). The methodology is also used to interview youth in the U.S. Department of Justice's NCVS (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1992-2002) and in a variety of other epidemiological studies of youth concerning violence exposure (Hausman, Spivak, Prothrow-Stith, & Roeber, 1992).

The sample selection procedures were based on a list-assisted random-digit dial (RDD) telephone survey design. List-assisted dialing confines the random digit selection from telephone exchanges that have known listed phone numbers. This design increases the rate of contacting eligible respondents by decreasing the rate of dialing business and nonworking numbers. Experimental studies have found this design to decrease standard errors relative to alternative methods (such as the Mitofsky-Waksberg method) while producing samples with similar demographic profiles (Brick, Waksberg, Kulp, & Starer, 1995; Lund & Wright, 1994).

A short interview was conducted with an adult caregiver (usually a parent) to obtain family demographic information. One child was randomly selected from all eligible children living in a household by selecting the child with the most recent birthday. If the selected child was age 10 to 17 years, the main telephone interview was conducted with the child. If the selected child was age 2 to 9 years, the interview was conducted with the caregiver who was most familiar with the child's daily routine and experiences. Caregivers were interviewed as proxies for this age group because the ability of children younger than age 10 to be recruited and participate in phone interviews of this nature has not been well established (Hausman et al.,

1992; Waksberg, 1978), yet such children are still at an age when parents tend to be well informed about their experiences at and away from home. In 68% of these caretaker interviews, the caretaker was the biological mother, in 24% the biological father, and in 8% some other relative or caretaker.

Up to 13 callbacks were made to select and contact a respondent, and up to 25 callbacks were made to complete the interview. Consent was obtained prior to the interview. In the case of a child interview, consent or assent was obtained from the parent and the child. Respondents were promised complete confidentiality and were paid \$10 for their participation. Children or parents who disclosed a situation of serious threat or ongoing victimization were recontacted by a clinical member of the research team trained in telephone crisis counseling, whose responsibility was to stay in contact with the respondent until the situation was resolved or brought to the attention of appropriate authorities. All procedures were authorized by the Institutional Review Board of the University of New Hampshire. The final sample consisted of 2,030 respondents: 1,000 children (age 10 to 17 years) and 1,030 caregivers of children age 2 to 9 years. Interviews were completed with 79.5% of the eligible persons contacted.

Data were collected using a CATI (computer-assisted telephone interview) system, which gives interviewers questions and instructions on a computer screen, is programmed with algorithms to choose appropriate follow-ups, and prompts interviewers when out-of-range responses are encoded. The use of CATI minimizes recording errors and provides substantial quality control benefits. For this survey, only interviewers who had extensive experience interviewing children and in addressing sensitive topics were chosen. Interviewers then went through extensive training on the questionnaire and interview protocol.

Measurement

This survey utilized the Juvenile Victimization Questionnaire (JVQ), a recently constructed inventory of childhood victimization (Hamby & Finkelhor, 2001, 2004). The JVQ was designed to be a more comprehensive instrument than has been typically used in past research, providing a description of all the major forms of offenses against youth. The instrument covers a wide range of events, including nonviolent victimizations and events that children and parents do not typically conceptualize as crimes.

The use of simple language and behaviorally specific questions clearly defined the types of incidents that children should report. Considerable attention

was paid to translating clinical and legal concepts such as *neglect* or *sexual harassment* into language that children could understand. Prior to its use in the survey, the JVQ was extensively reviewed and tested with victimization specialists, focus groups of parents and children, and cognitive interviews with young children to determine the suitability of its language and content. As a result, the JVQ is appropriate for self-report by children as young as age 8. The caregiver version, designed for proxy interviews with even younger children, uses wording very similar to the self-report questionnaire, allowing for direct comparability of items across the two versions.¹ Therefore, unlike other victimization instruments, the JVQ permits direct comparisons of victimization experiences across the full range of childhood and adolescence.

Special attention was also paid to protecting privacy during data collection to aid in the assessment of sensitive victimizations. For example, interviewers were trained in how to help youth find times and locations when they would not be overheard. Moreover, the JVQ incorporates the use of probes to assist respondents in accurately reporting the time frame of victimization events. We believe this technique of establishing time frames by points of reference within the respondent's own life substantially increases the accuracy of 1-year incidence reports.

The JVQ obtains reports on 34 forms of offenses against youth that cover five general areas of concern: conventional crime, child maltreatment, peer and sibling victimization, sexual assault, and witnessing and indirect victimization. Specific screener items used in the JVQ and definitions of the offense types reported in this article are presented in Appendices A and B. Follow-up questions for each screener item (not shown) gathered additional information, including perpetrator characteristics, the use of a weapon, whether injury resulted, and whether the event occurred in conjunction with another screener event. The instrument takes 20 to 30 minutes to complete depending on the number of victimizations reported. Sometimes a single event may fit more than one victimization category. For example, an episode of physical abuse by a caregiver would also be considered an assault, either with or without a weapon, and with or without an injury, based on follow-up data. Such rescoring provides an increased breadth of victimization identification and the most complete count of individual victimization incidence possible from the data available.² All demographic information was obtained in the initial parent interview, including the child's age, race or ethnicity, and household income (including all wages, public assistance, and child support).

Survey Sample

The final sample represented 2,030 children age 2 to 17 years living in the contiguous United States. One half (50%) of the sample were boys; 51% were age 2 to 9 years, while 49% were age 10 to 17 years. Almost 10% of the sample reported a household income of less than U.S. \$20,000, while about 34% had annual incomes between \$20,000 and \$50,000. The survey sample is 76% White (non-Hispanic), 11% Black (non-Hispanic), 9% Hispanic (any race), and 3.5% from other races including American Indian and Asian. Although most sample measures show little difference from Census estimates, the sample somewhat underrepresented the national proportion of Black and Hispanic children. As a result, using 2002 Census estimates, (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000) we applied poststratification weights to adjust for race proportion differences between our sample and national statistics. It should be noted that because interviews were conducted in English only, this weighting procedure can only increase representation among English speaking Hispanics. We also applied weights to adjust for within-household probability of selection because of variation in the number of eligible children across households and the fact that the experiences of only one child per household were included in the study.

RESULTS

Physical Assaults, Bullying, and Teasing

Just more than one half of the children and youth (530 per 1,000) experienced an assault in the course of the study year. One in 10 (103 per 1,000) experienced an assault-related injury, including pain that lasted until the next day, a bruise, a cut that bled, or a broken bone. The rates for various specific types of assault (definitions in Appendix B), including assault with a weapon, assault with and without injury, kidnapping, multiple peer perpetrator assault, non-sexual assault to the genitals, dating violence, bias attacks, and others are shown in Table 1. (Some of the victimization types have estimates based on a small number of cases and thus entail large confidence intervals). Individual incidents could fall in more than one assault category. About one fifth of the children and youth also experienced bullying, and one fourth were teased and harassed, neither of which were included in the assault aggregate, if the incident did not involve actual physical violence.

Boys had higher rates of assault victimization than girls for almost all types of assault; however, in some cases the differences were not significant. The only type of assault victimization significantly higher for

TABLE 1: Assaults and Bullying

Victimization Type	n (Unweighted) (Sample N = 2,030)	All Cases (Confidence Interval, 95%) (Rate/1,000)	Est. Juvenile Victims in U.S. Population ^d	Victim Gender		Victim Age			Perpetrator Relationship to Victim ^b				Percentage Perpetrator Age ^b	
				Male (Rate/1,000)	Female (Rate/1,000)	Age 2 to 5 Years (Rate/1,000)	Age 6 to 12 Years (Rate/1,000)	Age 13 to 17 Years (Rate/1,000)	Family (Any)	Acquaintance (Any)	Stranger (Any)	Adult (Any)	Juvenile (Any)	
														589 ^a
Any physical assault ^c	983	530 (22)	33,651,000	589 ^a	472 ^a	470 ^{a,2,3}	568 ^{a,1}	525 ^{a,1}	54	44	4	7	93	
Assault with weapon	146	81 (12)	5,106,000	95 ^a	66 ^a	84	74	87	28	63	8	11	91	
Assault with injury	198	103 (13)	6,512,000	115	91	91 ^{a,3}	71 ^{a,3}	154 ^{a,1,2}	43	56	3	13	89	
Assault, no injury	746	409 (21)	25,923,000	456 ^a	363 ^a	363 ^{a,2}	470 ^{a,1,3}	361 ^{a,2}	66	32	3	4	96	
Attempted assault	124	64 (11)	4,065,000	76 ^a	53 ^a	38 ^{a,3}	62 ^a	85 ^{a,1}	6	84	10	8	92	
Kidnap, attempted or completed	12	6 (3)		1	12	1 ^{a,3}	3 ^{a,3}	14 ^{a,1,2}	30	16	54	100	0	
Multiple perpetrator assault	161	95 (13)	6,008,000	108 ^a	82 ^a	72	93	113	43	61	6	3	100	
Assault by sibling	594	355 (21)	22,481,000	366	344	331 ^{a,2}	411 ^{a,1,3}	298 ^{a,2}	100	2	0	0	100	
Assault by peer, no sibling	318	139 (15)	8,779,000	177 ^a	101 ^a	124 ^{a,3}	125 ^{a,3}	170 ^{a,1,2}	1	97	2	0	100	
Genital assault	98	54 (10)	3,406,000	78 ^a	29 ^a	13 ^{a,2,3}	51 ^{a,1,3}	87 ^{a,1,2}	21	80	3	1	99	
Dating violence	36	14 (5)	887,000	18	10	—	—	36	0	100	0	16	84	
Dating violence, with injury	9	5 (3)		5	4	—	—	13	0	100	0	43	57	
Bias attack	32	19 (6)	1,188,000	21	17	5 ^{a,3}	12 ^{a,3}	37 ^{a,1,2}	0	100	2	0	100	
Bullying ^c	425	217 (18)	13,735,000	241 ^a	193 ^a	217 ^{a,2,3}	270 ^{a,1,3}	147 ^{a,1,3}	56	46	0	1	100	
Teasing or emotional bullying ^c	493	249 (19)	15,745,000	233	264	169 ^{a,2}	328 ^{a,1,3}	200 ^{a,2}	14	90	1	1	99	

NOTE: 1, 2, 3 value is significantly different from value in column identified (1, 2, 3) at $p = .05$. (χ^2 tests)

a. Significantly different at $p = .05$ (χ^2 tests)

b. Percentages based on victims with described perpetrators; and may sum to more than 100% because some victimizations had multiple perpetrators who fit into more than one category.

c. Total for any physical assault, excludes bullying and teasing or emotional bullying.

d. Because of their imprecision, population estimates not provided for victimization types where $N < 10$ or confidence interval reaches 50% of estimated rate.

girls was attempted and completed kidnapping, which tend to be associated with sexual assaults (Finkelhor, Hammer, & Sedlak, 2002). Bullying victimization was also more common for boys.

Physical assaults overall occurred at a higher rate for elementary school-age children (age 6 to 12 years) than for preschoolers or teenagers (see Table 1). However, certain types, including assault with injury, kidnapping, assault by nonsibling peers, nonsexual assaults to the genitals, and bias attacks, were higher for the teenage group. Dating violence was exclusively a teenage phenomenon (and only asked about in regard to children age 12 years or older, or in the sixth grade). The overall rate of dating violence calculated for the group age 13 to 17 years was 36 per 1,000, with the rate at 24 per 1,000 for dating violence without injury, and 13 per 1,000 for dating violence with injury. Victimization clearly more common for the elementary school-age children were bullying, teasing, and harassment.

Assault perpetrators were mostly family members (54%), especially siblings, and acquaintances (44%). Acquaintances predominated for assaults with weapons, multiple perpetrator assaults, genital assaults, and dating violence (see Table 1). Family members were well represented in most categories with the exceptions of attempted assault, dating violence, and teasing or emotional bullying. In terms of age, it is clear that the overwhelming majority of these family member and acquaintance perpetrators were juveniles (see Table 1).

Sexual Victimizations

One in 12 of the national sample of children and youth (82 per 1,000) had experienced a sexual victimization in the study year, including 32 per 1,000 who experienced a sexual assault, and 22 per 1,000 who experienced a completed or attempted rape (attempted rape could include verbal threats to rape without actual physical contact; see Table 2). The other specific kinds of sexual victimizations were being flashed (made to look at private parts using force or surprise), experiencing sexual harassment, and statutory sex offenses. Being flashed included a large number of peer perpetrators and so was broken into two categories to separate out what is conventionally thought of as more stereotypical criminal flashing—that carried out by an adult. Statutory sex offenses (voluntary sexual relationships with considerably older partners) were limited here to relationships between adults (age 18 years and older) with youth age 15 or younger, in keeping with the statutes of many, but not all states (Elstein & Davis, 1997).

Sexual victimizations overall, sexual assaults, rapes, and sexual harassment were considerably more common against girls than boys. In addition, sexual victimizations occurred disproportionately to teenagers. Adults were responsible for 15% of sexual victimizations overall but for 29% of the sex assaults (sexual victimizations minus flashing, sexual harassment, and statutory sex offenses). The great majority of sexual victimizations were perpetrated by acquaintances. Flashing by an adult was the one victimization with a relatively high proportion (55%) of stranger perpetrators.

Child Maltreatment

Child maltreatment occurred to a little more than 1 in 7 of the child and youth population (138 per 1,000) (see Table 3). (The instrument specifically excludes episodes of conventional corporal punishment—defined as spanking on the bottom—from the counts of assault or child maltreatment.) Of the five maltreatment types measured in the current study (physical abuse, sexual abuse, emotional abuse, neglect and family abduction or custodial interference), emotional abuse (name calling or denigration by an adult) was the most frequent. Some child protection agencies require actual harm from abuse and neglect before they substantiate its occurrence, and applying this standard (that physical harm had to have occurred) lowers the physical abuse rate to 15 per 1,000, the neglect rate to 11 per 1,000, and the overall child maltreatment rate to 124 per 1,000.

Boys and girls experienced similar rates for maltreatment and its several forms with the exception of sexual abuse. The rates of child maltreatment overall were lower for preschoolers than for elementary or high school youth. Physical abuse was highest among the teenage group, whereas neglect was the form of maltreatment most equivalent across age groups. Family adults by definition commit most of the maltreatment. Emotional abuse had a somewhat higher proportion of nonfamily perpetrators (who were nonetheless by definition an older person important in the life of the child).

Property Victimizations

A little more than one fourth of the children and youth (273 per 1,000) experienced a property victimization in the study year (Table 4). Because an important minority of these property victimizations involved sibling perpetrators, whose offenses are apt to be regarded as different in terms of perceived seriousness and social dynamics from victimizations committed by other persons (accurately or not), these are reported separately in Table 4. Robbery by non-

TABLE 2: Sexual Victimization

Victimization Type	n (Unweighted) (Sample N = 2,030)	All Cases (Confidence Interval, 95%) (Rate/1,000)	Est. Juvenile Victims in U.S. Population ^c	Victim Gender		Victim Age			Perpetrator Relationship to Victim ^b			Perpetrator Age ^b	
				Male (Rate/1,000)	Female (Rate/1,000)	Age 2 to 5 Years (Rate/1,000)	Age 6 to 12 Years (Rate/1,000)	Age 13 to 17 Years (Rate/1,000)	Family (Any)	Acquaintance (Any)	Stranger (Any)	Adult (Any)	Juvenile (Any)
						1.	2.	3.					
Any sexual victimization	154	82 (12)	5,191,000	67 ^a	96 ^a	15 ^{a,2,3}	55 ^{a,1,2}	168 ^{a,1,2}	2	91	7	15	86
Sexual assault	59	32 (8)	2,053,000	22 ^a	42 ^a	12 ^{a,3}	18 ^{a,3}	67 ^{a,1,2}	3	85	12	29	72
Rape, completed	8	4 (3)		3	5	1	0	11	5	84	11	25	84
Rape, attempted or completed	43	22 (6)	1,405,000	12 ^a	33 ^a	1 ^{a,3}	3 ^{a,3}	63 ^{a,1,2}	1	85	14	33	69
Sexual assault, known adult	11	6 (3)		1 ^a	11 ^a	4	3	12	12	88	0	100	10
Sexual assault, adult stranger	7	4 (3)		1	6	3	1	8	0	0	100	100	0
Sexual assault, peer	40	21 (6)	1,335,000	18	24	8 ^{a,3}	12 ^{a,3}	42 ^{a,1,2}	1	95	4	6	96
Flashing or sexual exposure, peer	57	26 (7)	1,671,000	31	22	6 ^{a,3}	8 ^{a,3}	65 ^{a,1,2}	3	97	0	3	100
Flashing or sexual exposure, adult	10	4 (3)		3	5	2	0	11	5	40	55	100	19
Sexual harassment	68	38 (8)	2,411,000	19 ^a	57 ^a	0 ^{a,2,3}	28 ^{a,1,3}	78 ^{a,1,2}	1	97	2	2	98
Statutory sexual offense	7	3 (2)		3	3	0	0	8	0	100	0	100	0

NOTE: 1, 2, 3 value is significantly different from value in column identified (1, 2, 3) at $p = .05$. (χ^2 tests)

a. Significantly different at $p = .05$ (χ^2 tests)

b. Percentages based on victims with described perpetrators and may sum to more than 100% because some victimizations had multiple perpetrators who fit into more than one category.

c. As per (d.), Table 1

TABLE 3: Maltreatment

Victimization Type	n (Unweighted) (Sample N = 2,030)	All Cases (Confidence Interval, 95%) (Rate/1,000)	Est. Juvenile Victims in U.S. Population	Victim Gender		Victim Age			Perpetrator Relationship to Victim ^b			Percentage Perpetrator Age ^b	
				Male (Rate/1,000)	Female (Rate/1,000)	Age 2 to 5 Years (Rate/1,000)	Age 6 to 12 Years (Rate/1,000)	Age 13 to 17 Years (Rate/10,000)	Family (Any)	Acquaintance (Any)	Stranger (Any)	Adult (Any)	Juvenile (Any)
Any maltreatment	271	138 (15)	8,755,000	137	140	75 ^{a,2,3}	132 ^{a,1,3}	191 ^{a,1,2}	77	23	2	91	11
Physical abuse	67	37 (8)	2,320,000	36	37	12 ^{a,3}	27 ^{a,3}	67 ^{a,1,2}	83	17	3	88	12
Sexual assault, known adult	11	6 (3)		1 ^a	11 ^a	4	3	12	12	88	0	100	100
Psychological or emotional abuse	206	103 (13)	6,498,000	101	105	58 ^{a,2,3}	97 ^{a,1,3}	143 ^{a,1,2}	70	30	2	90	13
Neglect	31	14 (5)	909,000	15	14	17	13	14	94	6	0	100	0
Custodial interference or family abduction	29	17 (6)	1,099,000	14	21	12	17	21	100	0	0	100	2

NOTE: 1, 2, 3 value is significantly different from value in column identified (1, 2, 3) at $p = .05$. (χ^2 tests)

a. Significantly different at $p = .05$ (χ^2 tests)

b. Percentages based on victims with described perpetrators and may sum to more than 100% because some victimizations had multiple perpetrators who fit into more than one category.

TABLE 4: Property Victimization

Victimization Type	n (Unweighted) (Sample N = 2,030)	All Cases (Confidence Interval, 95%) (Rate/1,000)	Est. Juvenile Victims in U.S. Population ^c	Victim Gender		Victim Age			Perpetrator Relationship to Victim ^b			Percentage Perpetrator Age ^b		
				Male (Rate/1,000)	Female (Rate/1,000)	Age 2 to 5 Years (Rate/1,000)	Age 6 to 12 Years (Rate/1,000)	Age 13 to 17 Years (Rate/1,000)	Family (Any)	Acquaintance (Any)	Stranger (Any)	Adult (Any)	Juvenile (Any)	
Any property victimization	529	273 (19)	17,287,000	294 ^a	252 ^a	109 ^{a,2,3}	315 ^{a,1}	335 ^{a,1}	27	65	9	9	9	92
Robbery, nonsibling	86	40 (9)	2,543,000	47	34	—	58 ^{a,1}	45 ^{a,1}	6	88	6	12	89	89
Robbery, sibling only	23	14 (5)	903,000	12	17	—	30 ^{a,1,3}	4 ^{a,2}	100	0	0	0	0	100
Vandalism, nonsibling	188	96 (13)	6,103,000	108	84	49 ^{a,2,3}	112 ^{a,1}	110 ^{a,1}	5	95	3	8	8	94
Vandalism, sibling only	87	53 (10)	3,345,000	50	56	60	56	44	100	0	0	0	0	100
Theft, nonsibling	288	140 (15)	8,887,000	153	127	—	151 ^{a,1,3}	227 ^{a,1,2}	1	79	21	16	16	85

NOTE: 1, 2, 3 value is significantly different from value in column identified (1, 2, 3) at $p = .05$. (χ^2 tests)

a. Significantly different at $p = .05$ (χ^2 tests)

b. Percentages based on victims with described perpetrators and may sum to more than 100% because some victimizations had multiple perpetrators who fit into more than one category.

c. As per (d.), Table 1

siblings occurred to 40 per 1,000 of the sample, vandalism by nonsiblings to 96 per 1,000, and theft by nonsiblings to 140 per 1,000. There was a considerable quantity of vandalism at the hands of siblings, some sibling robbery, but insufficient sibling theft to warrant a separate category in Table 4. Robbery involves the taking of property by force or threat from the owner and is also considered a violent victimization. Theft, by contrast, involves the permanent removal of property without the owner's knowledge.

Overall, boys experienced more property victimization than girls. Property victimization was less frequent (109 per 1,000) among preschoolers and occurred at higher rates among elementary and high school-age children (315 per 1,000 and 335 per 1,000, respectively). Thefts by nonsiblings were notably higher among high school youth than among other children. Vandalism by nonsiblings was equally high among elementary and high school youth, and theft lower among elementary school children. Property victimizations by nonsiblings were mostly committed by juvenile acquaintances.

Witnessed and Indirect Victimization

One third (357 per 1,000) of the national sample of children and youth had witnessed the victimization of another person or been exposed to victimization indirectly in the course of the study year (see Table 5). This category included children and youth who had witnessed domestic violence, the physical abuse of a sibling, an assault with or without a weapon, who had seen a murder, had been near a riot or other civil disturbance where shooting and bombing was happening, or had been in a war zone. It also included children and youth who experienced the murder of someone close to them or whose household had been the victim of a theft. The most frequent of these victimizations were witnessing assaults with and without weapons and experiencing household theft (138 per 1,000, 209 per 100, and 209 per 1,000, respectively); however, considerable numbers had been in civil disturbances (55 per 1,000) or had someone close to them murdered (29 per 1,000).

There were few gender differences in witnessed or indirect victimization, with the exception that more girls reported being close to someone who was murdered, a fact that may reflect the larger social networks that girls have or identify with. Teenagers were more likely than younger children to witness victimizations or experience indirect victimizations, with the exceptions of witnessing domestic violence or physical abuse.

Although the majority of these witnessed and indirect victimizations were committed by juveniles, some

types—notably domestic abuse, physical abuse, murder, and household theft—were committed primarily by adult perpetrators.

Demographic Differences

Household income was not significantly related to overall aggregated rates of physical assaults, sexual victimizations, maltreatment, or property victimization (see Table 6).³ However, five specific types of victimization within these categories were significantly more common among households with incomes less than \$20,000: assault with a weapon, attempted assault, multiple peer assault, completed or attempted rape, and emotional abuse. Witnessing or indirect victimization in aggregate was also more common in the lower income group. Only one form of victimization, bullying, was significantly more common for children or youths in households with incomes above \$50,000.

Race and ethnicity had an inconsistent association with various forms of victimization. Aggregated physical assaults, sexual victimizations, and child maltreatment did not vary significantly by racial or ethnic identity. However, Black children and youth had significantly higher rates of aggregated property victimization and witnessing or indirect victimization. Some specific types of victimization also had significant racial or ethnic differences. For example, Whites and Hispanics reported significantly high rates of assault without injury and assaults by siblings, whereas Whites alone suffered a noticeably high rate of bullying, and Hispanics alone suffered distinctly high rates of sexual assault, sexual harassment, and family abduction. In addition, Blacks experienced significantly higher levels of flashing by peers and emotional abuse than others.

Multiple Victimizations

Among the 71% of all children and youth who reported at least one direct or indirect victimization over the course of the year, the average number of separate, different victimization incidents was three. (*Different incidents* refers only to different victimization types that happened at different times and places. For example, a second assault with injury in the course of the study year would not be counted as an additional victimization. Such an exclusion was made to highlight the value of inquiring about different types of victimization.) This means the average juvenile victim was victimized in three different ways in separate incidents during the course of a year. The least victimized were the 31% of the victims who had only a single victimization incident during the course

TABLE 5: Witnessing or Indirect Victimization

Victimization Type	n (Unweighted) (Sample N = 2,030)	All Cases (Confidence Interval, 95%) (Rate/10,00)	Est. Juvenile Victims in U.S. Population	Victim Gender		Victim Age			Perpetrator Relationship to Victim ^b			Perpetrator Age ^b	
				Male (Rate/1,000)	Female (Rate/1,000)	Age 2 to 5 Years (Rate/1,000)	Age 6 to 12 Years (Rate/1,000)	Age 13 to 17 Years (Rate/1,000)	Family (Any)	Acquaintance (Any)	Stranger (Any)	Adult (Any)	Juvenile (Any)
Any witness or indirect victimization	695	357 (21)	22,599,000	376	338	182 ^{a,2,3}	284 ^{a,1,3}	579 ^{a,1,2}	17	62	23	34	66
Witness domestic violence	71	35 (8)	2,190,000	30	39	38	38	28	93	6	1	97	3
Witness physical abuse	21	11 (5)	726,000	12	10	4	13	15	100	0	0	100	2
Witness assault with weapon	264	138 (15)	8,769,000	147	130	33 ^{a,2,3}	106 ^{a,1,3}	257 ^{a,1,2}	8	69	27	25	76
Witness assault, no weapon	434	209 (18)	13,212,000	221	196	72 ^{a,2,3}	127 ^{a,1,3}	414 ^{a,1,2}	12	75	15	16	84
Witness murder	6	4 (3)		5	3	0	0	11	0	0	100	100	0
Exposure to shooting, bombs, riots	96	55 (10)	3,495,000	57	53	29 ^{a,3}	40 ^{a,3}	94 ^{a,1,2}					
Exposure to war	3	3 (2)		1	6	0	1	9					
Someone close murdered	38	29 (8)	1,821,000	18 ^a	39 ^a	24 ^{a,3}	12 ^{a,3}	55 ^{a,1,2}	0	29	71	100	0
Household theft	186	102 (13)	6,460,000	111	93	75 ^{a,3}	92 ^{a,3}	135 ^{a,1,2}	12	40	48	78	23

NOTE: 1, 2, 3 value is significantly different from value in column identified (1, 2, 3) at $p = .05$. (χ^2 tests)

a. Significantly different at $p = .05$ (χ^2 tests)

b. Percentages based on victims with described perpetrators and may sum to more than 100% because some victimizations had multiple perpetrators who fit into more than one category.

TABLE 6: Demographic Differences Among Victimization Types

Victimization Type	n (Unweighted) (Sample N = 2030)	Household Income				Race or Ethnicity			
		\$20,000 & Less (Rate/1,000) 1.	\$20,000 to \$50,000 (Rate/1,000) 2.	More than \$50,000 (Rate/1,000) 3.	Refused Question (Rate/1,000) 4.	White, non-Hispanic (Rate/1,000) 1.	Black, non-Hispanic (Rate/1,000) 2.	Other, non-Hispanic (Rate/1,000) 3.	Hispanic, Any Race (Rate/1,000) 4.
Any physical assault^b	983	516	536	539	485	533	506	438	564
Assault with weapon	146	111 ^{a,2,3}	99 ^{a,3,4}	65 ^{a,1,2}	45 ^{a,1,2}	74	95	97	92
Assault with injury	198	89	117	98	89	88	134	104	120
Assault no injury	746	403	406	424	359	424 ^{a,2}	336 ^{a,1,4}	320	433 ^{a,2}
Attempted assault	124	108 ^{a,2,3,4}	64 ^{a,1}	55 ^{a,1}	52 ^{a,1}	58	59	90	87
Kidnap, attempted or completed	12	11	11	2	2	5	11	0	8
Multiple perpetrator assault	161	144 ^{a,2,3}	94 ^{a,1}	76 ^{a,1,4}	124 ^{a,3}	78 ^{a,2,4}	121 ^{a,1}	125 ^a	115 ^{a,1}
Assault by sibling	594	307	354	377	317	375 ^{a,2}	290 ^{a,1}	306 ^a	352 ^a
Assault by peer, no sibling	318	166	149	132	97	125	171	104	159
Genital assault	98	70	64	47	27	52	51	56	56
Dating violence	36	22	14	15	0	16	20	7	6
Dating violence, with injury	9	20	1	4	0	4	7	7	6
Bias attack	32	44 ^{a,2,3,4}	18 ^{a,1}	14 ^{a,1}	10 ^{a,1}	17	11	42	22
Bullying	425	170 ^{a,3}	191 ^{a,3}	261 ^{a,1,2,4}	160 ^{a,3}	255 ^{a,2,4}	103 ^{a,1,3,4}	195 ^{a,2}	179 ^{a,1,2b}
Teasing, emotional bullying	493	287	245	247	219	261	240	243	210
Any sexual victimization	154	97	80	84	58	75	88	49	115
Sexual assault	59	49	28	34	22	29 ^{a,4}	24 ^{a,4}	21 ^a	59 ^{a,1,4}
Rape, completed	8	3	1	6	5	6	2	0	0
Rape, attempted or completed	43	47 ^{a,2,4}	11 ^{a,1,3}	26 ^{a,2}	11 ^{a,1}	20	22	14	34
Sexual assault, known adult	11	20	4	2	13	4	9	0	14
Sexual assault, adult stranger	7	6	5	3	0	3	4	0	8
Sexual assault, with peer	40	9	19	28	9	21	13	21	31
Flashing or sexual exposure, with peer	57	35	20	30	24	32 ^{a,4}	42 ^{a,4}	7 ^a	0 ^{a,1,2}
Flashing or sexual exposure, with adult	10	2	4	5	0	5	4	0	0
Sexual harassment	68	15	47	41	21	32 ^{a,4}	33 ^{a,4}	21 ^a	73 ^{a,1,2}
Statutory sexual offense	7	7	4	1	0	3	4	7	0
Any maltreatment	271	170	131	124	190	137	138	111	145
Physical abuse	67	54	32	38	24	38 ^{a,2}	11 ^{a,1,4}	14 ^a	56 ^{a,2}
Sexual assault, known adult	11	20	4	2	13	4	9	0	14
Psychological or emotional abuse	206	139 ^{a,2,3}	92 ^{a,1,4}	87 ^{a,1,4}	170 ^{a,2,3}	104 ^{a,4}	134 ^{a,4}	97 ^a	64 ^{a,1,2}
Neglect	31	19	15	14	9	15	11	0	17
Custodial interference or family abduction	29	32	20	14	2	13 ^{a,4}	4 ^{a,4}	0 ^{a,4}	48 ^{a,1,2,3}
Any property victimization	529	290	286	246	333	270 ^{a,2}	356 ^{a,1,3,4}	194 ^{a,2}	226 ^{a,2}
Robbery, with nonsibling	86	49	47	34	35	41	46	35	22
Robbery, sibling only	23	11 ^a	14 ^{a,4}	11 ^{a,4}	37 ^{a,2,3}	21 ^{a,4}	9 ^a	0 ^a	0 ^{a,1}
Vandalism, with nonsibling	188	130	103	85	80	92	123	56	98
Vandalism, sibling only	87	39	52	59	46	58	64	56	22
Theft, with nonsibling	288	175	145	120	177	134 ^{a,2}	191 ^{a,1,4}	118 ^a	128 ^{a,2}
Any witness or indirect victimization	695	476 ^{a,2,3,4}	370 ^{a,1,3}	321 ^{a,1,2}	321 ^{a,1}	335 ^{a,2}	420 ^{a,1}	340 ^a	383 ^a
Witness domestic violence	71	109 ^{a,2,3,4}	32 ^{a,1}	20 ^{a,1}	14 ^{a,1}	29 ^{a,2}	61 ^{a,1}	28 ^a	31 ^a
Witness phys abuse	21	20	8	14	0	13	7	7	11
Witness assault with weapon	264	200 ^{a,2,3,4}	140 ^{a,1}	124 ^{a,1}	123 ^{a,1}	131	160	97	159
Witness assault no weapon	434	256	202	201	206	210 ^{a,4}	250 ^{a,4}	250 ^{a,4}	154 ^{a,1,2,3}
Witness murder	6	14	1	0	15	1	20	0	0
Exposure to shooting, bombs, riots	96	108 ^{a,2,3}	63 ^{a,1,3}	35 ^{a,1,2}	57 ^a	37 ^{a,2,4}	110 ^{a,1}	42 ^a	78 ^{a,1}
Exposure to war	3	3	4	3	0	1	0	0	17
Someone close murdered	38	62 ^{a,3,4}	37 ^{a,3,4}	18 ^{a,1,2}	5 ^{a,1,2}	9 ^{a,2,4}	70 ^{a,1,3}	14 ^{a,2,4}	67 ^{a,1,3}
Household theft	186	170 ^{a,2,3,4}	115 ^{a,1,4}	86 ^{a,1,4}	42 ^{a,1,2,3}	85 ^{a,2,4}	134 ^{a,1}	104 ^a	140 ^{a,1}

NOTE: 1, 2, 3, 4 value is significantly different from value in column identified (1, 2, 3, 4) at $p = .05$.a. Significantly different at $p = .05$.

b. Excludes bullying and teasing or emotional bullying.

TABLE 7: Victims of One Type of Victimization With Another Victimization Type

<i>Victimization</i>	<i>Percentage Matched with Separate Incident of</i>					
	<i>Any Other Victimization</i>	<i>Any Assault</i>	<i>Any Sex Victimization</i>	<i>Any Maltreatment</i>	<i>Any Property Victimization</i>	<i>Any Witness or Indirect Victimization</i>
Any assault	67		13	20	39	49
Any sex victimization	97	82		43	70	84
Any maltreatment	92	76	27		50	66
Any property victimization	91	77	20	25		63
Any witness or indirect victimization	85	73	19	25	48	

of the year; however, there were also 2% who had more than 10 separate victimization incidents. The maximum number of incidents was 15.

Children and youth with certain kinds of victimizations were more likely to have a high total of victimization incidents. Thus, children and youth with the following kinds of victimizations all had a mean total of 7 or more different victimizations during the past year: dating violence with injury (8.4), completed rape (7.6), being flashed by a peer (7.6), sex assault by a stranger (7.6), bias attack (7.5), attempted or completed rape (7.3), witnessing a murder (7.3), exposure to a war (7.3), statutory sex offenses (7.1), attempted or completed kidnapping (7.0), and being flashed by an adult (7.0). Nearly all of the children with these experiences had additional, different types of victimization incidents. By contrast, victims of bullying, teasing, sibling assault, assault, or vandalism had the lowest number of total victimizations and were among those most likely to have a single victimization incident.

Because multiple victimization appears to be the norm, what different kinds of victimizations tend to occur together? We addressed this question by examining how different kinds of victimizations were associated with one another when they occurred to the same child in temporally distinct incidents. This excluded different kinds of victimization that occurred in the same episode.

Table 7 shows the interrelationship among the major categories of victimization: assaults, sexual victimizations, child maltreatment, property victimizations, and witnessing or indirect victimizations. As can be seen in the first row, 67% of the children with an assault also had at least one of the four other types of victimization, and the percentage with specific other kinds of victimization is shown in subsequent columns, for example, any sex victimization, 13%, and so on. There was a large amount of overlap among victimizations in all categories. Children and youth with

any sexual victimization were particularly likely (97%) to have additional victimizations, especially an assault (82%) or a witnessing or indirect victimization (84%). They were also the victims most likely to have child maltreatment (43%) and property victimization (70%). Those children and youth with an assault had comparatively lower levels of sexual, property, and witnessing or indirect victimization.

The interrelationships could also be charted at a more specific level, among the specific different kinds of victimizations analyzed in the current study. Although the associations were too numerous, multifaceted, and difficult to display in a tabular fashion, particular combinations did suggest certain specific contexts that may promote multiple victimizations. For example, the property victimizations of theft and vandalism were strongly associated with violent victimizations including simple assault with injury, suggesting they occurred among children in neighborhood settings with high levels of conventional crime. Attempted or completed kidnapping was associated with neglect and emotional abuse, which suggests that poor parental supervision or rejection may play a role in children who get kidnapped.

Dating violence with injury was associated with sex assaults as well as with statutory sex offenses, all of which suggests a group of young people at risk in romantic contexts. Family abductions were associated with sexual assaults, perhaps, because sexual abuse or fears about it may motivate unilateral intervention by guardians. There was also an expected cluster of associations among youngsters experiencing physical abuse, witnessing physical abuse of a sibling, and witnessing domestic violence, indicators of children living in the household with a multiply violent parent or adult.

Physical abuse was also associated with being in a war zone and being exposed to shooting, bombing, and riots, perhaps, because dangerous environments motivate parents to use coercive control measures

with their children. Emotional abuse was related to neglect as well as to teasing and harassing by peers, sexual assault, and property victimizations. These may be children whose characteristics or behavioral styles elicit rejection and hostility in and outside the family, or it may be that family rejection sets children up for peer rejection and victimization as well.

These examples by no means exhaust the associations evident in the victimization reports. However, the complexity of the data places a complete analysis of these patterns beyond the scope of this article.

Comment

The current study confirms the pervasive exposure of young people to violence, crime, maltreatment, and other forms of victimization as a routine part of ordinary childhood in the United States. More than one half of this nationally representative sample had experienced a physical assault in the past year, more than 1 in 4 a property victimization, more than 1 in 8 a form of child maltreatment, 1 in 12 a sexual victimization, and more than 1 in 3 had been a witness to violence or another form of indirect victimization. Only a minority (29%) had no direct or indirect victimization.

Although other studies have clearly identified specific victimizations as important problems in the lives of children and youth, the current study is unusual in highlighting the remarkable variety of forms victimization takes and the enormous cumulative and collective burden it imposes. Nearly one half (49%) of the sample had more than one type of direct or indirect victimization during the course of the year, and any victimized child had on average three. This suggests the degree to which studies focusing on a single form of victimization miss a much bigger picture.

In comparison to previous studies, the estimates of specific types of victimization in the current study are generally higher. For example, the estimate for physical assault from the NCVS for 12-year-olds to 19-year-olds is between 39 to 49 per thousand (Rennison & Rand, 2003), compared to 523 per thousand for the 13-year-olds to 17-year-olds (a slightly different age range) in the current study. The differences between this and previous studies are due to many factors, only some of which can be enumerated here. In some cases, such as child maltreatment, previous lower estimates are based on cases coming to the attention of professionals or law enforcement (Sedlak & Broadhurst, 1996), which miss undisclosed cases revealed through population surveys such as this one. In other cases, such as assault, the multiple screening questions utilized in this survey may have prompted the disclosure of more episodes than would occur in

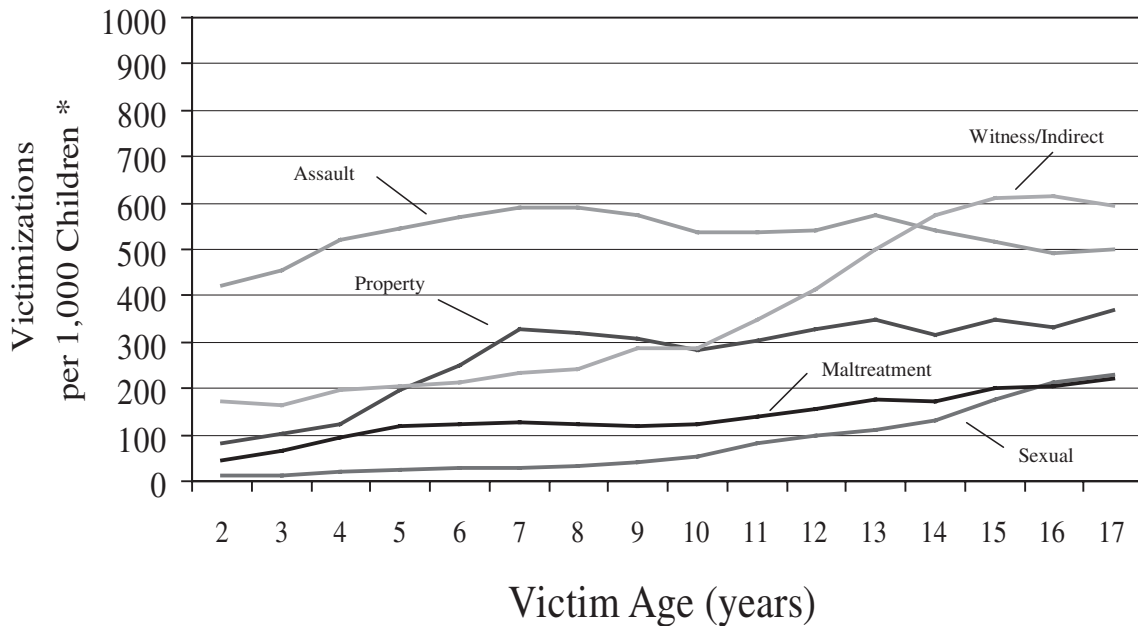
instruments with fewer questions. In still other cases, studies have sometimes applied more restrictive definitions or more conservative methodologies than those applied here (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1992-2002; Finkelhor, Hammer, et al., 2002). For example, the current study used a broad definition of assault, encouraging reporting of assaults by siblings and other relatives, whereas the NCVS invoked a more conventional crime context, which may discourage reporting such events (often not perceived as so-called real crimes; see below).

For a variety of victimizations, such as bias attacks, bullying, and witnessing physical abuse, the current study provides the first available national estimates from a population survey. The frequencies of such victimizations suggest that they should be added to conventional victimization inventories.

In addition, unlike most previous studies, the current study provides victimization estimates across the full age spectrum of childhood (see Figure 1), something that has rarely been available. Previously, national estimates on property crimes, physical assaults, and sexual assaults have only been obtained for teenagers or older children (Hashima & Finkelhor, 1999). The current study suggests that considerable victimization is obscured by such limitations. For example, 6-year-olds to 12-year-olds have physical assault victimization rates that are actually higher than teens and property victimization rates that are almost as high.

This inclusion of younger children in the study, however, does raise questions about the equivalency of victimizations. When younger children are hit by peers or have their property stolen or damaged, conventional norms do not generally regard these experiences as crimes or even serious victimizations. Striking a peer with a fist in the face, for example, would clearly be a crime if it occurred between 17-year-olds, but not if it occurred between 6-year-olds. In addition, a considerable portion of assaults against younger children occurs at the hands of siblings, and these acts have even more benign normative status. Thus, aggregated assault data, such as presented here, may seem inflated by the inclusion of acts that are not regarded as serious by many people (one of the reasons why we have presented it in disaggregated form).

However, the conventional perspective that peer and sibling assaults and offenses are less serious for younger children is not something supported by empirical evidence. There is no suggestion in the developmental literature that such acts of violence are any less upsetting or traumatizing for younger children than they would be for older children or adults. Peer and sibling victimization, which are some-



* For purposes of generalization, data are shown as 3-year running averages.

FIGURE 1: Major Victimization Types by Victim Age

times overlooked because of the norms, have been found to be serious in their consequences (Straus et al., 1980; Wiehe, 1997). The differential norms appear to reflect judgments about moral culpability of offenders and the appropriate domain for the invocation of the criminal justice system. Although these have been justifications for limiting victimization surveys to older children in the past, it was the deliberate goal of the current study to gather information across the age spectrum using behaviorally equivalent definitions. The idea that there is considerable continuity for many victimization acts from younger to older children is supported (see Figure 1).

Nonetheless, the current study does not overturn the overall impression that teenagers are more frequent victims of many kinds of offenses, such as rape, bias attacks, sexual harassment, as well as the more serious assaults that result in injury. They are also more likely to witness assault and violence than are younger children. However, it also shows substantial levels of many kinds of victimization at younger ages. It particularly confirms the higher levels of bullying and teasing that elementary school-age children experience (Ross, 2003). Some may be surprised at higher levels of maltreatment among teens than younger children; however, prior research has produced a mixed array of findings on this issue, some of them confirming, but others disputing, higher rates

among teens (Sedlak, 1991; Sedlak & Broadhurst, 1996; Straus et al., 1980).

The current study found that young people from poor and ethnic minority backgrounds do suffer more victimization of certain types. Yet the pattern of differences was not as large or consistent across all forms of victimization as it sometimes appears in some earlier studies (Rennison & Rand, 2003; Sedlak & Broadhurst, 1996; Straus et al., 1980). One reason for the difference may be that data from official sources, reflecting what gets identified and reported, tend to have a larger social class and ethnic bias than data from population surveys.

The current study also has a variety of limitations that need to be kept in mind when interpreting the results. First, although the sample size is adequate for estimating the incidence of more common victimizations, it is relatively small for estimating very low-incidence victimization types. It should be noted that low-incidence estimates are based on only a few cases and have relatively large confidence intervals compared to incidence rates (e.g., sexual assault by an adult stranger). In addition, the large number of statistical comparisons undertaken in this analysis makes it probable that some apparently significant findings are, in fact, due to chance. In addition, a telephone survey such as this one, conducted exclusively in English, is likely to miss parts of the population that may

be particularly vulnerable to victimization or that may manifest a different victimization profile. Interviews with caregivers, used for obtaining reports on victimizations of children age 2 to 9 years, may not be able to fully represent the experiences of the children themselves and may particularly underrepresent experiences of maltreatment at the hands of caregivers. Moreover, despite the overall comprehensiveness of the instrument, victimization experiences of all children were assessed using brief screeners and a limited number of follow-up questions that might misclassify episodes that would be evaluated differently based on more complete information.

Nonetheless, the findings of the current study that victimizations of a diverse variety occur frequently in the lives of children are consistent with earlier literature (Boney-McCoy & Finkelhor, 1995b; Brown & Bzostek, 2003; Finkelhor & Hashima, 2001; Martinez & Richters, 1993; Singer et al., 1995) and have implications for practitioners, researchers, and policy makers. One implication is the need to question clients, patients, and research participants about a broader spectrum of specific victimization experiences. Questionnaires and checklists covering a range of victimizations are now available from a variety of sources (Hamby & Finkelhor, 2001; Richters & Martinez, 1993; Selner-O'Hagan, Kindlon, Buka, Raudenbush, & Earls, 1998; Walsh & MacMillan, 1999), although not all of them include the full spectrum of victimizations discussed here. Important and common forms of victimizations that tend to be omitted include dating violence, emotional maltreatment, property victimizations, and nonsexual assault to the genitals. Although it does consume valuable clinical and research time to cover this full spectrum of experiences, studies have consistently shown that questions alluding to general categories such as crime, assault, sexual assault, and violence, fail to elicit many of the specific victimizations of interest to researchers and clinicians.

The need to inquire about additional victimization experiences is particularly great among children who have already been identified as suffering one form of victimization. The initial presenting problem, be it sexual assault or bullying victimization, often occupies the full attention of professionals intervening with the child. However, as the current study has demonstrated, other serious forms of victimization have likely also occurred that require attention. Moreover, a pattern of chronic victimization may often be present. For example, the current study found victims of sexual assaults, dating violence, and hate crimes to be among those with extremely high victimization frequencies. More efforts need to be made to identify

and intervene with children who seem to be highly victimized.

Accounting for the full spectrum of victimization is also a pressing problem for the child victimization research community. Much of the research concerning child victimizations such as sexual abuse is derived from a traumatic events model (Finkelhor, 1988). However, for many children, including victims of sexual abuse, victimization may be more accurately characterized as a chronic condition than as a traumatic event. In any case, the measurement of the negative impact of specific victimization events, such as sexual assault, may have been impaired in many studies by the failure to account for previous, and even subsequent, victimizations (Boney-McCoy & Finkelhor, 1995a). Researchers need to collect sufficient data and apply analytical models that incorporate the contribution of other victimizations.

Another implication of the current study is the need to inquire about victimizations across the full spectrum of childhood. With a few exceptions such as dating violence, most types of victimization occur across a broad age range. It is a mistake to assume that younger children do not experience bias crimes or sexual harassment, or that older children do not experience child maltreatment. New instruments are becoming available, but more are needed, that inquire about these experiences in language and formats that are understandable to younger children (Kaufman Kantor et al., 2003; Selner-O'Hagan et al., 1998). Parents, caretakers, and other proxy informants can also be used in many circumstances to broaden the age range. Methodological work is needed to refine these approaches.

One of the main reasons for restricted age ranges in victimization research is the habit of using schools as the basis for data collection. If researchers continue to use this methodology, they should make an effort to include elementary, middle, and high schools in their designs. The problem of age restriction is also a serious limitation of the NCVS, the nation's most systematic and sophisticated source of information on victimization, which only collects information on victims' age 12 years and older. With modifications and preparatory research, the NCVS could expand its age range to the victimizations of children younger than age 12 years, using direct and proxy interviews, as was done in the current study.

The current study also points to the need for more interest in sibling victimizations. Sibling offenses make a considerable contribution to the high assault and property victimization rates, particular among younger children. Although there is a popular inclination to dismiss these experiences, research and

developmental theory suggest that they have the potential for short- and long-term consequences equivalent to nonsibling victimizations (Straus et al., 1980; Wiehe, 1997).

Finally, the current study has implications for a more holistic approach to public policy concerning child and youth victimization. Programs to prevent and intervene in child victimization remain quite fragmented, as illustrated by recent initiatives, for example, to address the separate problems of bullying (Ross, 2003), dating violence (Foshee et al., 1998, 2000), and sexual harassment (Stein & Sjostrom, 1994). Many of the institutions and funding streams in this field adhere to restricted portions of the victimization spectrum, such as the child protection system, which tends to exclude victimization by noncare-takers, and the justice system that tends to exclude victimizations not conventionally dealt with by police (Finkelhor & Cross, in press). In the same way that dangers from automobile, workplace, and consumer products were integrated into the public health field of injury prevention (Christoffel & Gallagher, 1999; Widome, 1997), it may be time for all these subdivided fields to consider a more integrated and synergistic approach to child and youth victimization prevention and response.

APPENDIX A

Developmental Victimization Survey Screeners:

Conventional Crime Screeners

1. In the past year, did anyone use force to take something away from you that you were carrying or wearing? (Only asked of children age 6 and older.)
2. In the past year, did anyone steal something from you and never give it back? Things like a backpack, money, watch, clothing, bike, stereo, or anything else? (Only asked of children age 6 and older.)
3. In the past year, did anyone break or ruin any of your things on purpose?
4. Sometimes people are attacked with sticks, rocks, guns, knives, or other things that would hurt. In the past year, did anyone hit or attack you on purpose with an object or weapon? Somewhere like: at home, at school, at a store, in a car, on the street, or anywhere else?
5. In the past year, did anyone hit or attack you without using an object or weapon?
6. In the past year, did someone start to attack you, but for some reason, it didn't happen? For example, someone helped you or you got away?
7. When a person is kidnapped, it means they were made to go somewhere, like into a car, by someone who they thought might hurt them. In the past year, has anyone tried to kidnap you?

8. In the past year, have you been hit or attacked because of your skin color, religion, or where your family comes from? Because of a physical problem you have? Or because someone said you are gay?

Child Maltreatment Screeners

9. Not including spanking on your bottom, in the past year, did a grown-up in your life hit, beat, kick, or physically hurt you in any way?
10. In the past year (since [month] when you were [age/grade]), did you get scared or feel really bad because grown-ups called you names, said mean things to you, or said they didn't want you?
11. When someone is neglected, it means that the grown-ups in their life didn't take care of them the way they should. They might not get them enough food, take them to the doctor when they are sick, or make sure they have a safe place to stay. In the last year, did you get neglected?
12. Sometimes a family fights over where a child should live. In the past year, did a parent take, keep, or hide you to stop you from being with another parent?

Peer and Sibling Victimization Screeners

13. Sometimes groups of kids or gangs attack people. In the past year (since [month] when you were [age/grade]), did a group of kids or a gang hit, jump, or attack you?
14. In the past year, did any kid, even a brother or sister, hit you? Somewhere like: at home, at school, out playing, in a store, or anywhere else?
15. In the past year, did any kids try to hurt your private parts on purpose by hitting or kicking you there?
16. In the past year, did any kids, even a brother or sister, pick on you by chasing or grabbing your hair or clothes or by making you do something you didn't want to do?
17. In the past year, did you get scared or feel really bad because kids were calling you names, saying mean things to you, or saying they didn't want you around?
18. In the past year did a boyfriend or girlfriend or anyone you went on a date with slap or hit you? (Only asked of children age 12 and older).

Sexual Assault Screeners

19. In the past year, did a grown-up you know touch your private parts when you didn't want it or make you touch their private parts? Or did a grown-up you know force you to have sex?
20. In the past year, did a grown-up you did not know touch your private parts when you didn't want it, make you touch their private parts or force you to have sex?
21. Now think about kids your age, like from school, a boyfriend or girlfriend, or even a brother or sister. In the last year, did another child or teen make you do sexual things?

22. In the past year, did anyone try to force you to have sex, that is sexual intercourse of any kind, even if it didn't happen?
23. In the past year, did anyone make you look at their private parts by using force or surprise, or by "flashing" you?
24. In the past year, did anyone hurt your feelings by saying or writing something sexual about you or your body?
25. In the past year, did you do sexual things with anyone age 18 or older, even things you both wanted? (Only asked of children age 12 and older).

Witnessing and Indirect Victimization Screeners

26. In the past year, did you see one of your parents get hit by another parent, or their boyfriend or girlfriend? How about slapped, punched, or beat up?
27. In the past year, did you see your parent hit, beat, kick, or physically hurt your brothers or sisters, not including a spanking on the bottom?
28. In the past year, in real life, did you see anyone get attacked on purpose with a stick, rock, gun, knife, or other thing that would hurt? Somewhere like: at home, at school, at a store, in a car, on the street, or anywhere else?
29. In the past year, in real life, did you see anyone get attacked or hit on purpose without using a stick, rock, gun, knife, or something that would hurt?
30. In the past year, did anyone steal something from your house that belongs to your family or someone you live with? Things like a TV, stereo, car, or anything else?
31. When a person is murdered, it means someone killed them on purpose. In the past year, has anyone close to you, like in your family, a friend, or neighbor, been murdered?
32. In the past year, have you seen someone murdered in real life? This means not on TV, video games, or in the movies?
33. In the past year, have you been in a place in real life where you could see or hear people being shot, bombs going off, or street riots?
34. In the past year, have you been in the middle of a war where you could hear real fighting with guns or bombs?

NOTE: Further information on the instrument (Juvenile Victimization Questionnaire) is available at www.unh.edu/ccrc/jvqhome.html.

APPENDIX B Victimization Definitions

Physical Assaults, Bullying, and Teasing

- a. *Assault with weapon*: Someone hit or attacked child on purpose with something that would hurt (like a stick, rock, gun, knife or other thing).

- b. *Assault with injury*: Someone hit or attacked child, and child was physically hurt when this happened. (Hurt means child felt pain the next day, or had a bruise, a cut that bled, or a broken bone.) No weapon was used.
- c. *Assault without injury*: Someone hit or attacked child, and child was not physically hurt when this happened. No weapon was used.
- d. *Attempted assault*: Someone started to attack child, but for some reason it didn't happen. No weapon was used, and child was not physically hurt.
- e. *Attempted or completed kidnapping*: Child was made to go, or there was an attempt to make the child go, somewhere, like into a car, by someone who they thought might hurt them.
- f. *Multiple perpetrator assault*: Child was attacked by more than one person, and at least one perpetrator was a juvenile.
- g. *Assault by sibling*: Child was attacked by a sibling.
- h. *Assault by nonsibling peer*: Child was attacked by a peer, not including any sibling.
- i. *Nonsexual genital assault*: A peer tried to hurt child's private parts on purpose by hitting or kicking.
- j. *Dating violence*: A boyfriend or girlfriend of child, or someone child went on a date with, slapped or hit child.
- k. *Dating violence with injury*: Child suffered dating violence, and was injured.
- l. *Bias attack*: Child was hit or attacked because of child's skin color or religion, where the child's family comes from, because of child's physical problem, or because of sexual orientation attributed to child.
- m. *Bullying*: A peer picked on child (for example, by chasing, grabbing hair or clothes, or making child do something he or she did not want to do).
- n. *Teasing or emotional bullying*: Child was scared or made to feel really bad because child was harassed by a peer (for example, by name calling, having mean things said, or being told they were unwelcome).
- o. *Any physical assault*: Child experienced any physical assault victimization (any Item a through l, above, or item aa below). Excludes bullying (Item m, above) and teasing or emotional bullying (Item n, above).

Sexual Victimization

- p. *Sexual assault*: Someone touched child's private parts when unwanted, made child touch their private parts, or forced child to have sex. Or attempted any of these acts.
- q. *Completed rape*: Someone forced child to have sexual intercourse and put any part of their body inside child.
- r. *Attempted or completed rape*: Someone forced, or attempted to force, child to have sexual intercourse.
- s. *Sexual assault by known adult*: An adult the child knows touched child's private parts, made child touch their private parts, or forced child to have sex.

- t. *Sexual assault by adult stranger*: An adult the child does not know touched child's parts, made child touch their private parts, or forced child to have sex.
- u. *Sexual assault by peer*: A peer made child do sexual things.
- v. *Flashing or sexual exposure by peer*: A peer made child look at their private parts by using force or surprise, or by "flashing" child.
- w. *Flashing or sexual exposure by adult*: An adult made child look at their private parts by using force or surprise, or by "flashing" child.
- x. *Sexual harassment*: Someone hurt child's feelings by saying or writing sexual things about child or child's body.
- y. *Statutory sexual offense*: For child younger than 16 years, child did sexual things with an adult (18 years and older), even willingly.
- z. *Any sex victimization*: Child experienced any sexual victimization (any Item p through y, above).

Child Maltreatment

- aa. *Physical abuse by caregiver*: An adult in child's life hit, beat, kicked, or physically abused child in any way.
- bb. *Psychological or emotional abuse*: An adult made child scared or feel really bad by name calling, saying mean things, or saying they didn't want child.
- cc. *Neglect*: Adults in child's life did not take care of child the way they should (for example, by not getting child enough food, not taking child to doctor when sick, not making sure child had a safe place to stay).
- dd. *Custodial interference or family abduction*: A parent took child, kept child, or hid child to prevent child from being with another parent.
- ee. *Any maltreatment*: Child experienced any maltreatment victimization (any Item aa through dd, or s, above).

Property Victimization

- ff. *Robbery by nonsibling*: A nonsibling (peer or adult) used force to take something away from child that child was carrying or wearing.
- gg. *Robbery by sibling*: A sibling (and no nonsiblings) used force to take something away from child that child was carrying or wearing.
- hh. *Vandalism by nonsibling*: A nonsibling (peer or adult) broke or ruined any of child's things on purpose.
- ii. *Vandalism by sibling*: A sibling (only) broke or ruined any of child's things on purpose.
- jj. *Theft by nonsibling*: A nonsibling (peer or adult) stole something from child and never gave it back.
- kk. *Any property victimization*: Child experienced any property victimization (any Item ff through jj, above).

Witnessed and Indirect Victimization

- ll. *Witness domestic violence*: Child saw one parent get hit (for example, slapped, hit, punched, or beat up) by another parent, or parent's boyfriend or girlfriend.

- mm. *Witness parent assault of sibling*: Child saw a parent hit, beat, kick, or physically abuse a sibling.
- nn. *Witness assault with weapon*: Child saw (in real life) someone get attacked or hit on purpose with a stick, rock, gun, knife, or other thing that could hurt.
- oo. *Witness assault with no weapon*: Child saw (in real life) someone get attacked or hit on purpose, with no weapon used.
- pp. *Witness murder*: Child saw (in real life) someone murdered.
- qq. *Exposure to shooting, bombs, riots*: Child was in a place (in real life) where child could see or hear random shootings, terror bombings, or riots.
- rr. *Exposure to war or ethnic conflict*: Child was in a place (in real life) in the middle of a war where child could hear real fighting with guns or bombs.
- ss. *Murder of someone close*: Someone close to child (for example, family member, friend, or neighbor) was murdered.
- tt. *Household theft*: Someone stole something (for example, furniture, clothing, TV, stereo, car) from child's house that belonged to child's family or household.
- uu. *Any witnessed or indirect victimization*: Child experienced any witnessed or indirect victimization (any Item ll through tt, above).

NOTES

1. For a discussion of the issue of comparability of self-report versus caregiver victimization reports, as well as other methodological questions regarding the JVQ, see (Finkelhor, Hamby, Turner, & Ormrod, in press).

2. A more detailed inventory of the algorithm for calculating victimization rates from the screener and follow-up items is available from the authors. For additional discussion of victimization rescoring, also see (Finkelhor et al., in press).

3. Unlike most questions, household income items had relatively high refusal rates (10% of sample). Consequently, cases where income information was not available are shown as a separate group in Table 6. For more information on overall refusal rates, see (Finkelhor et al., in press).

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