

The Developmental Epidemiology of Childhood Victimization

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This article examines developmental trends in the rates of different kinds of victimization across the span of childhood. The Developmental Victimization Survey was a national telephone survey of the victimization experiences of 2,030 children from ages 2 to 17. The overall mean number of victimizations during a single year increased with age, as did the percentage of children with polyvictimizations (4 or more different kinds of victimization). However, some specific types of victimization, physical bullying and sibling assaults, were highest prior to adolescence and then declined. Other types had different developmental patterns by gender. Peer assaults increased in adolescence for boys but not for girls. Child maltreatment and sexual victimization increased in adolescence for girls but not for boys. The complex and diverse patterns of developmental vulnerability to different kinds of victimization at different ages need more exploration and explanation in order to better target prevention and intervention policies.

Keywords: *child abuse; child maltreatment; sexual assault; crime; bullying*

Although there is a considerable scientific consensus that delinquency and criminal offending are higher in adolescence than in other periods of childhood (Greenberg, 1985), there is much less information about the developmental patterns for childhood victimization. Many might presume

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that increased adolescent delinquency would automatically be associated with increased adolescent victimization (Lauritsen, Sampson, & Laub, 1991). But consideration of the dynamics of child maltreatment, bullying, and features of other developmental stages—smaller size, inexperience, and greater dependency on others—suggests the potential for relatively high victimization rates for younger children as well.

The dominant theory of victimization risk, the so-called Routine Activities Theory (Cohen & Felson, 1979; Miethe & Meier, 1994), is generally interpreted as favoring an expectation of higher victimization rates among adolescents (Lauritsen et al., 1991). The theory emphasizes, in particular, the risk factors of weak guardianship and proximity to offenders, which would apply strongly to features of adolescence including the declining supervisory role of parents and the proximity to increasing numbers of delinquent peers.

But Routine Activities Theory has been criticized for not explaining well the risk factors for victimizations by family members and other close associates (Finkelhor & Asdigian, 1996) to which children are particularly vulnerable. Alternative factors have been identified that create vulnerability to victimization in childhood, including physical weakness, social isolation, lack of self-control, dependency, and inadequate verbal or conflict-resolution skills (Finkelhor & Asdigian, 1996). Some of these are features more characteristic of younger children.

Firm empirical evidence of victimization risk patterns over the course of childhood is complicated by several problems. First, the study of childhood victimization is fragmented into a variety of subtopics such as child maltreatment, sexual abuse, bullying, and exposure to community violence, and there have been few attempts to assess victimization risk in an integrated, systematic, and comparative way. Second, the methodologies for assessing victimization patterns among children and youth frequently confine themselves to a narrowly restricted portion of the age spectrum. For example, the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) only assesses youth aged 12–17 years. This makes it hard to know how patterns extend over the whole spectrum of childhood.

Third, many sources of information about developmental patterns in victimization may contain serious reporting or identification biases. Police data do show a dramatically accelerating rate of crime victimization over the course of childhood. Teenagers aged 12–17 years, for example, account for 78% of all juvenile crime victims reported to the police (Finkelhor & Ormrod, 2000a). But victimizations of younger children tend to be underreported to the police because these victimizations are perceived as less

crime-like, or parents or child protection authorities prefer to handle such victimizations without police involvement (Finkelhor & Ormrod, 1999). So police information on victim age—for example, that provided in the National Incidence Based Reporting System—may seriously underestimate the victimizations of younger children (Finkelhor & Ormrod, 2000a).

Evidence that younger children are sometimes victimized more than adolescents is available in the epidemiology of some specific types of child victimization. But as indicated, available studies rarely have consistent information across a broad developmental spectrum from which conclusions can be drawn, and there are often contradictory findings. For example, bullying is one form of victimization generally found to be more common in middle childhood than in adolescence. A national self-report study of bullying victimization in grades 6 through 10 finds bullying higher among sixth- through eighth-grade students than among 9th- and 10th-grade students (Nansel et al., 2001). The witnessing of domestic violence is also reported to be more frequent among preschool-age children based primarily on the age patterns of cases identified by police and battered women's shelters (Fantuzzo, Boruch, Beriama, Atkins, & Marcus, 1997; Hughes, 1988; Hughes & Barad, 1983).

Child maltreatment is also often thought of as a form of victimization that particularly targets young children. According to data from state child protection authorities, victimization rates of children younger than 3 years are twice as high as those of youth older than 12 years (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services—Administration on Children Youth and Families, 2006). However, the National Incidence Study on Child Abuse and Neglect (Sedlak & Broadhurst, 1996), which includes the broader range of child maltreatment victims not reported to state agencies and relies heavily on reports from school officials, finds the lowest rates among children younger than 6 years and higher rates among those aged 6–14 years.

There are also mixed developmental patterns in reports about exposure to community violence. One widely cited conclusion based on a comparison of only fifth and sixth graders with first and second graders is that older children witness more community violence (Richters & Martinez, 1993). But some studies have found other patterns (Buka, Stichick, Birdthistle, & Earls, 2001; Fitzpatrick & Boldizar, 1993; Schwab-Stone et al., 1995).

In sum, there is a basis both in theory and in evidence to think that developmental patterns for victimization in childhood are not simple to characterize. It is doubtful that all types of victimization increase with age for all types of children.

There are reasons to expect that developmental victimization patterns might vary according to gender as well. For example, girls tend to be better

supervised by parents during the teenage years, whereas boys tend to both engage in more aggression and associate more with delinquent peers, so patterns of increasing adolescent victimization might apply more to boys than to girls. Unfortunately, although overall gender differences in victimization rates have been observed (e.g., boys experience more physical assault and physical bullying and girls more sexual victimization), few of the empirical studies have looked at developmental patterns by gender.

The current article analyzes data for a broad range of victimizations for a wide age range of children, allowing a developmental assessment of epidemiology that has not been available previously in the literature.

Method

Study Design and Sample

This research uses data from the Developmental Victimization Survey (DVS) conducted between December 2002 and February 2003. This survey used random digit dial telephone interviewing to assess the experiences of a nationally representative sample of 2,030 children aged 2–17 years living in the contiguous United States. Interviews were conducted with an adult caregiver (usually a parent) to obtain family demographic information. One subject child was randomly selected from all eligible children living in the household. If the selected child was 10–17 years old, the main interview about victimizations during the past year was conducted with the child. If the selected child was 2–9 years old, the interview was conducted with the caregiver most familiar with the child's daily routine and experiences. Interviews were completed with 79.5% of the eligible persons contacted. The response rate based on standard guidelines (American Association for Public Opinion Research, 2004) was 41%, not atypical for current telephone surveys. The standard guidelines response rate takes into account the relatively large number of households in modern telephone surveys in which no resident was ever contacted even after up to 25 call attempts. Because the sample somewhat underrepresented the national proportion of Blacks and Hispanics, 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. We also applied weights to adjust for within-household probability of selection due to variation in the number of eligible children across households and due to the fact that the experiences of only one child per household were included in the study.

Because data from this survey have formed the basis for a number of reports published elsewhere, it is not described in detail here (for a more complete description and assessment of the DVS, including its components, the sample, procedures, validity, and reliability, see Finkelhor, Hamby, Ormrod, & Turner, 2005; Finkelhor, Ormrod, Turner, & Hamby, 2005).

Demographic information was obtained in the initial parent interview, including the child's gender, age (in years), race or ethnicity, and current family structure (child living with two biological or adoptive parents, child living with one biological parent and a stepparent or unmarried partner, and child living with a single parent). Information was also collected on place size and type (population numbers, rural or urban character), household income, and highest level of education of parent(s). Half of the completed sample of 2,030 children were boys: 51% were 2–9 years aged and 49% were 10–17 years aged. Almost 10% of the sample reported a household income less than \$20,000 and about 34% reported income between \$20,000 and \$50,000. The survey sample comprised 76% White (non-Hispanic), 11% Black (non-Hispanic), 9% Hispanic (any race), and 4% from other races including American Indian and Asian. With poststratification and selection probability weighting, the sample is representative of American children aged 2–17 years at the time of interviewing.

Victimization measures. Information on a child's past-year victimization was collected by asking questions about 34 forms of possible youth victimization that encompass five general areas of concern: conventional crime (assault and property crimes), child maltreatment, peer and sibling victimization, sexual victimization, and witnessing and indirect victimization (the complete text of the screener questions used is available in appendix; Finkelhor, Hamby et al., 2005). The same screener questions, with slight adjustments for caregiver versus self-report interviews, were used for all children regardless of age.

The types of victimization of interest for this analysis include assaults, sexual victimization, maltreatment, property crime, and witnessed or indirect victimization. Sexual victimization (from appendix, Items 19–24), maltreatment (Items 9–12), and property crime (Items 1–3) measured whether a child had suffered any victimization of that type. Assaults and witnessed or indirect victimizations were separated into further subtypes. Thus, bullying was treated as a distinctive type of assault and was further separated into either physical bullying and intimidation (Item 16) or emotional bullying (Item 17). Similarly, physical assaults (Item 14) were differentiated as those committed by siblings or by other peers (for this analysis,

only assaults perpetrated by other juveniles were considered; such assaults accounted for 91% of all assaults against the juvenile victims in the DVS). Finally, witnessing or suffering indirect victimization was separated into those that involved intrafamily (Items 26 and 27) or extrafamily (Items 28, 29, 31–34) events.

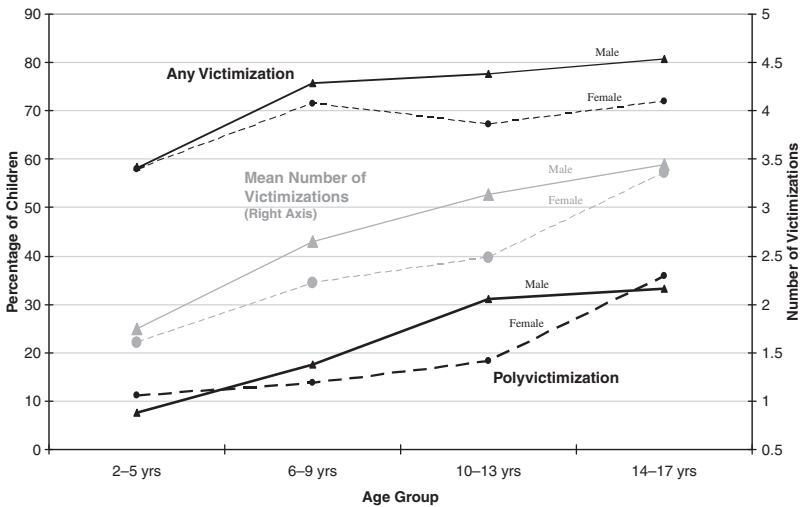
Also, a measure of polyvictimization was used to designate children who had experienced high overall levels of victimization. Polyvictims were defined as those children experiencing four or more different kinds of victimization occurring in different incidents within the past year (i.e., children with victimization levels above the mean number suffered by all victims). This distinction, developed in previous work, has been shown to have important associations with the overall severity, chronicity, and trajectory of juvenile victimization and child mental health measures (Finkelhor, Ormrod, & Turner, 2007a, 2007b, 2007c; Finkelhor, Ormrod et al., 2005). Polyvictims comprised approximately 20% of the DVS sample.

Statistical analysis. Because the focus of this study is developmental differences in youth victimization, children were divided into four age groups for all comparisons. Each age group represents a characteristic stage of childhood: the youngest group, 2- to 5-year-olds ($n = 539$), are preschool children; the 6- to 9-year-olds ($n = 491$) are of elementary school age; the 10- to 13-year-olds ($n = 457$) are approaching or entering puberty and at a middle school or junior high school level; and the 14- to 17-year-olds ($n = 543$) are teenagers of high school age. In the case of the youngest group, the age span does combine children of different developmental capabilities, but sample size issues prevented the subdivision of this group into smaller developmental segments.

Results

The percentage of children with any one of the 34 different types of victimization in the last year was high: 71% for the entire sample. In developmental terms, the percentage of children with any victimization increased from ages 2–5 to ages 6–9 (Figure 1) but subsequently increased only slightly for boys and stayed relatively constant for girls. The mean number of different kinds of victimizations, however, did increase continuously from about 1.7 for 2- to 5-year-olds to 3.4 for 14- to 17-year-olds, with boys experiencing more kinds of victimizations than girls in the 6–9 and 10–13 age groups. Increases with age were also notable for the number of youth who reported four or more different kinds of victimization, what we have termed

Figure 1
Victimization by Age Group and Gender



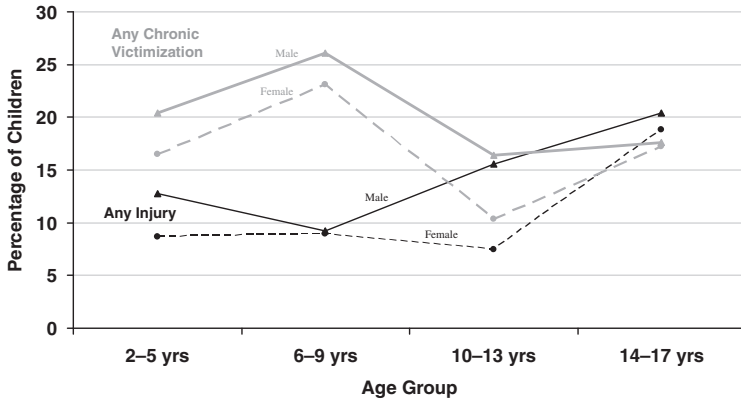
polyvictims (Finkelhor et al., 2007b). The increase in polyvictims was most dramatic for boys older than 6–9 years and for girls older than 10–13 years.

The pattern is somewhat different when considering victimizations with certain aggravating features such as an injury or victimizations that occurred on a chronic basis (10 or more times in 1 year). The injurious victimizations to boys decreased from ages 2–5 through ages 6–9, but then increased continuously from ages 6–9 to ages 10–13, and again to ages 14–17 (Figure 2). The injurious victimizations to girls were relatively equal for all three younger age groups but then increased sharply for the 14- to 17-year-olds to a level nearly equal that of boys. The chronic victimizations were highest for the 6- to 9-year-olds for both boys and girls.

There were also considerable variations in developmental pattern when specific types of victimization were considered individually.

For example, assaults by siblings, one of the most common forms of victimization, peaked for both boys and girls at ages 6–9, then declined for ages 10–13, and again declined for ages 14–17 (Figure 3). By contrast, assaults by peers (excluding siblings) increased for boys after ages 6–9 although there was no equivalent large increase for girls.

Figure 2
Victimization Character by Age Group and Gender



Bullying was another form of victimization that did not increase continuously with age. Physical bullying peaked in the 6–9 age group and dropped thereafter (Figure 4) and more dramatically for boys because its peak was at a higher level. Emotional bullying remained high for both the 6–9 and the 10–13 age groups and for both boys and girls but then dropped for the 14- to 17-year-olds.

Sexual victimization was a form of victimization that did increase with age, but as might be expected, the increase for 14- to 17-year-olds was more pronounced for girls than for boys (Figure 5).

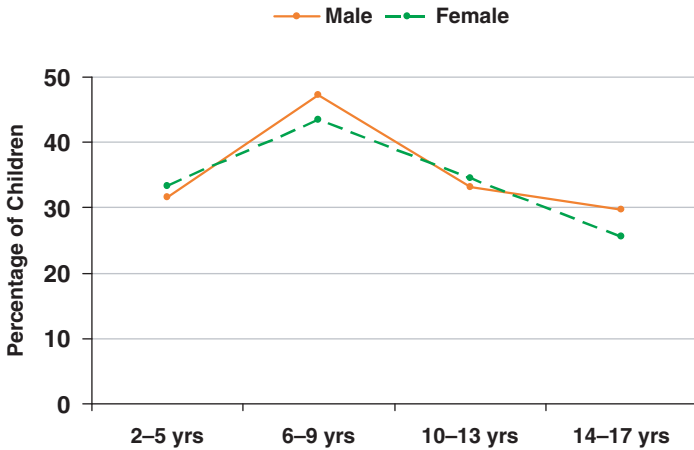
Child maltreatment (including physical abuse, neglect, and emotional abuse) also had a pattern that varied significantly by gender (Figure 6). Boys experienced more maltreatment compared with girls in both the 6–9 and 10–13 age groups, but the maltreatment of girls increased dramatically for 14- to 17-year-olds to a rate considerably higher than that for boys, which by contrast did not increase in 14–17 age group at all.

Property crime victimization (Figure 7) occurred at a relatively constant level for boys aged 6–9, 10–13, and 14–17 (children aged 2–5 were excluded because they were not asked all property crime victimization questions). The rate of property crime victimization for girls, which was lower than for boys aged 6–9 and 10–13, increased in the 14–17 age group.

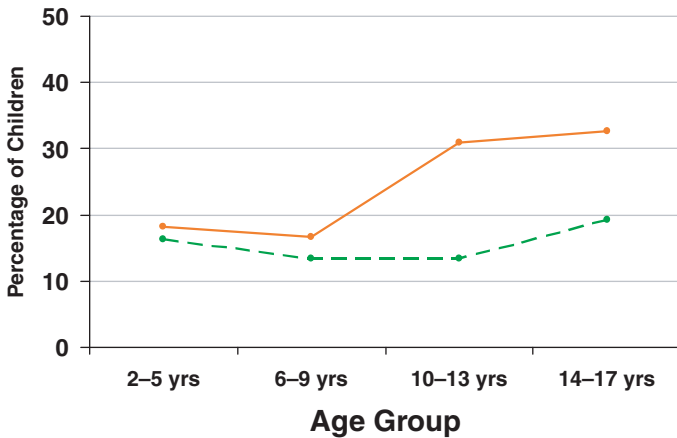
The patterns for witnessing violence varied according to whether the witnessing was within or outside the family (Figure 8). Intrafamily witnessing

Figure 3
Rate of Assault by Age Group and Gender

a. Assault by Sibling



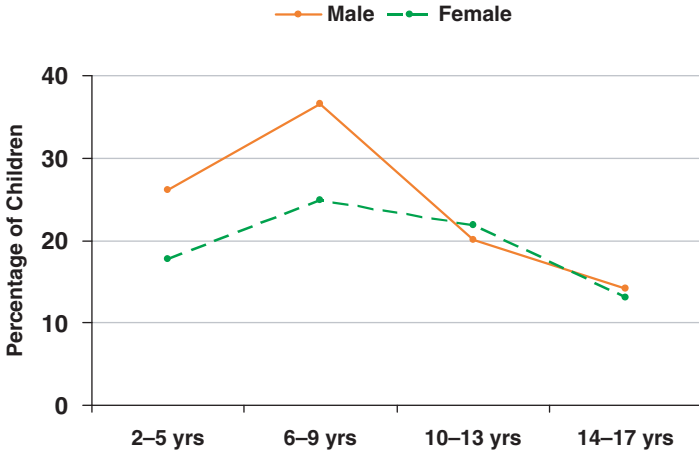
b. Assault by Peer



of violence remained relatively constant for boys and girls throughout development. Extrafamily witnessing increased over the course of development for both boys and girls.

Figure 4
Rate of Bullying by Age Group and Gender

a. Physical Bullying



b. Emotional Bullying

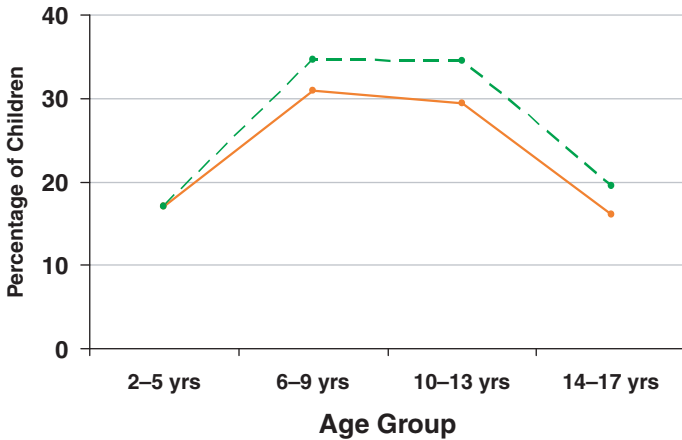


Figure 5
Rate of Sexual Victimization by Age Group and Gender

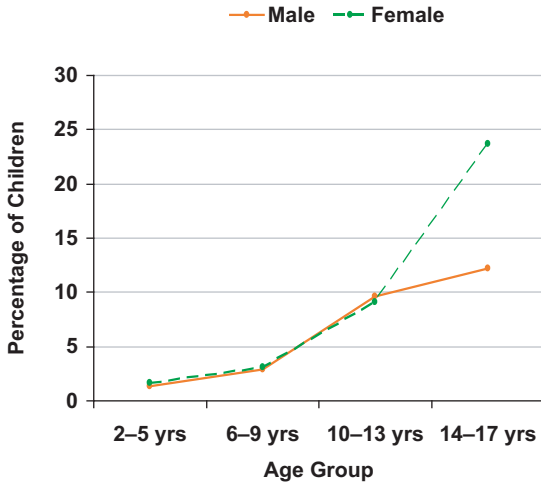


Figure 6
Rate of Maltreatment by Age Group and Gender

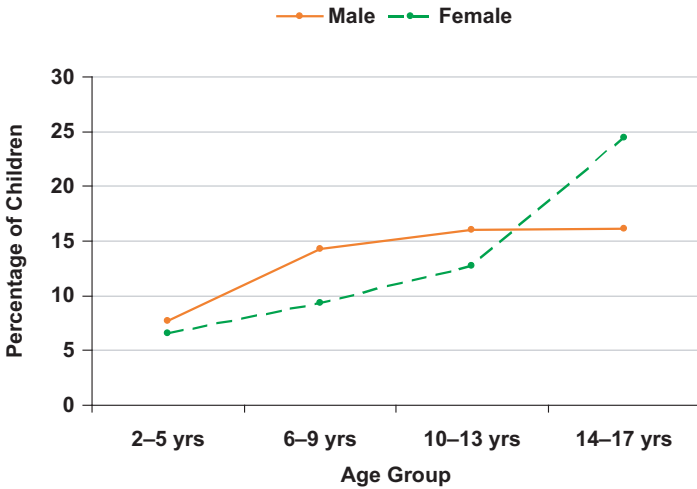
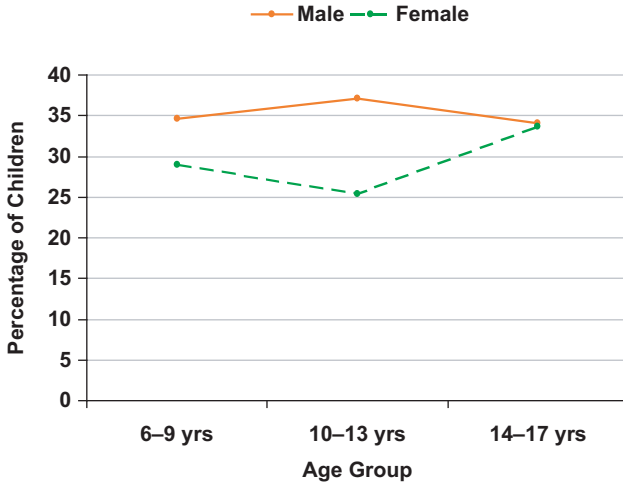


Figure 7
Rate of Property Victimization by Age Group and Gender



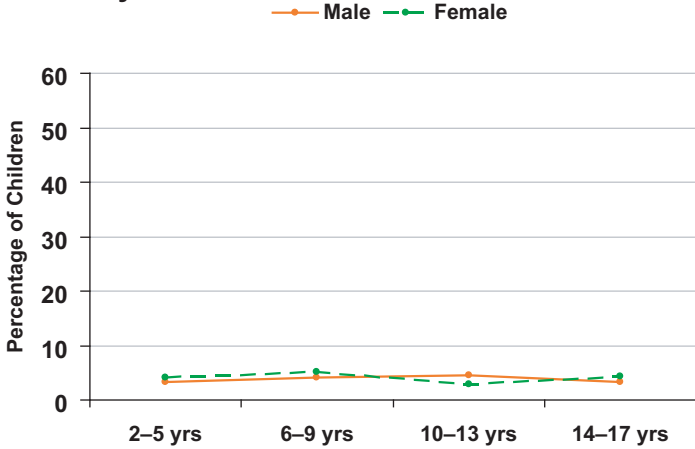
Discussion

The findings from this survey of youth and parents do not support the impression that might be drawn from police statistics: a greatly accelerating rate of victimization in the teenage years. The aggregated burden of victimizations is high across the full span of childhood. It did increase somewhat as children aged, but the pattern varied considerably according to specific types of victimization and also by gender. For example, for boys, peer assaults did increase among 10- to 13-year-olds and 14- to 17-year-olds, which may reflect decreased supervision and more delinquency among such youth. However, girls did not experience an equivalent increase in peer assault victimization as they got older.

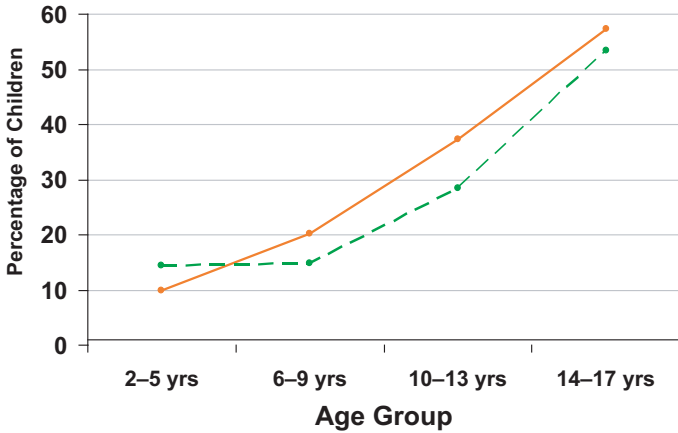
Several other forms of victimization did not have a peak in adolescence for either gender. Assaults by siblings peaked for the 6- to 9-year-olds, with a significant decline subsequently. This probably reflects the fact that siblings spend less time together at older ages and may have fewer conflicts over things such as shared family toys and parental access.

Figure 8
Rate of Witnessing or Indirect Victimization by
Age Group and Gender

a. Intrafamily Events



b. Extrafamily Events



Bullying was another form of childhood victimization that appeared to decline rather than increase in the adolescent years. This pattern has been noted by previous research on bullying (Nansel et al., 2001) and has been associated with the observation that bullies appear to lose status and support among peers as the children move into adolescence and perhaps develop more sophisticated interpersonal skills and moral judgments (Ross, 2003). The survey also confirmed earlier observations that boys, more than girls, at younger ages are the targets of physical bullying (Ross, 2003). However, the observation that girls are the targets of more emotional bullying than boys was not confirmed.

Several forms of victimization did increase with adolescence, in addition to the peer assault of boys mentioned earlier. The sexual victimization of girls was one of the forms of victimization with the steepest increase in later adolescence, a finding that is consistent with both common perception and police statistics.

Child maltreatment against girls also increased in late adolescence, in contrast to boys, for whom it did not increase for the oldest adolescents. This spike for girls may reflect the increasing efforts of adults to control older girls, whose sexual maturity creates particular anxiety and family conflict. A variety of observers have pointed out that such adolescent maltreatment tends not to come to the attention of state child welfare authorities (Hutchinson & Langlykke, 1997), which may explain why the age pattern in state data shows teenagers with the lowest rates. The fact that the youngest children have the highest rates of maltreatment in the state data, with comparatively low values in the present survey, could be explained by a number of factors. States may be particularly focused on identifying and protecting young children who have the highest child maltreatment fatality rates not because of their frequency of abuse but because of their physical vulnerability to the effects of abuse. Another factor may be that the current study did not include children younger than 2 years who may be a group highly vulnerable to physical abuse. Moreover, episodes of maltreatment to young children may be particularly underreported in surveys that question caregivers because such behavior is so stigmatized or because of respondent fears that it will trigger child welfare investigations.

Certain other forms of victimization in this study manifested patterns that were at variance with data based on official reports. For example, police statistics on property crimes show very low rates of property victimization for children younger than 12 years (Finkelhor & Ormrod, 2000b). However, the current survey actually found rates of property victimization for boys to be relatively constant from age 6 to age 17 and rates for 6- to 9-year-old girls

to be nearly as high as those for 14- to 17-year-old girls. It does seem plausible that elementary school age children encounter frequent episodes of theft, vandalism, and forcible deprivation of property. But it is also likely that few such episodes involving younger children get reported to the police because the value of the items tends to be small and because parents prefer to handle these incidents informally or through school authorities.

The study also did not confirm observations from the literature that younger children are more likely to witness domestic and family violence. The difference may be explained by several factors. The rate of exposure to intrafamily violence was small enough in this study that we needed to aggregate the witnessing of violence by parents against siblings with violence by parents against one another and other adults. The developmental epidemiology of such an aggregated measure may be different. Similarly, general population surveys tend to have a spectrum of domestic abuse that is of a generally less serious sort than the abuse that comes to the attention of police and battered women's agencies. The less serious abuse may not result in as many divorces, and so exposure may continue as children get older.

Limitations

Although the current study has many improvements over the earlier studies, including a representative sample, a broad age spectrum, and reports directly from youth and their families, it presents other limitations that need to be taken into account. First, as indicated earlier, episodes obtained from self-report in community samples may not be of the same level of seriousness as those collected from official sources. In fact, because these episodes were not evaluated by professional investigators, we have no assurance that they would qualify as cases under official criteria. Second, one problem with official criteria is that they often insert implicit developmental biases (e.g., defining maltreatment as something occurring more to younger children, or crime as something occurring more to older children) that make objective developmental assessment more difficult. This highlights that it is to some extent a philosophical question whether a concept such as assault or physical abuse should be defined with normative developmental assumptions built in or in uniform behavioral terms that try to factor out any developmental reference. It is probably useful for research purposes to have information on both perspectives. The inclusion of normatively less serious forms of victimization also raises questions of whether they merit attention by institutions, such as child protection authorities and police who do not typically respond to such episodes. The seriousness of such episodes and the role of agencies

in responding to them is the topic of another article emanating from this study (Finkelhor, Turner, & Ormrod, 2006).

Another limitation is that the study did not use a uniform methodology across the age span. So it is possible that the use of caregiver proxies for information on children younger than 10 years created artifactual differences that are not true developmental trends. We tested whether caregiver proxies might be systematically underreporting victimizations, such as child maltreatment or peer victimizations, that they did not know about, and we did not find evidence of such biases (Finkelhor, Hamby et al., 2005). It is also instructive that some of the most important developmental differences in this analysis were within groups sharing the same data collection methodology (e.g., 2- to 5-year-olds differed from 6- to 9-year-olds on overall victimization levels, sibling assaults, and bullying, and 10- to 13-year-olds differed from 14- to 17-year-olds on polyvictimization by gender, injury, bullying, and sex victimization).

Conclusion

For a public policy problem of relatively serious concern, child victimization has surprisingly incomplete epidemiological information. This lack may be in part because the topic has not been primarily investigated by public health researchers who tend to place a high value on such an approach. Although they have some important limitations, community survey approaches, such as the one taken in this study, provide a very valuable alternative perspective on child victimization experiences, as shown by the data presented here. More research needs to be done to help evaluate and overcome their limitations, such as the difficulty of getting self-report information from younger children. Some surveys, such as the NCVS, have treated this as an insurmountable obstacle. The NCVS, the nation's most important source of crime victimization information, does not gather any information on crime victims younger than 12 years. The present study, however, demonstrates the feasibility of collecting victimization information on children younger than 12 years, whether by self-report or caregiver proxy, and the importance of gathering data on these younger children, who for many types of victimization have rates as high as or higher than rates for teenagers. Only with a comprehensive perspective of this sort will we have all the tools that we need to develop proper prevention and intervention policies.

Appendix

Juvenile Victimization Questionnaire: Basic Screen Questions

Now we are going to ask you about some things that might have happened in the last year.

Conventional Crime

1. C1) Robbery: In the last year, did anyone use force to take something away from you that you were carrying or wearing?
2. C2) Personal theft: In the last year, did anyone steal something from you and never give it back? Things like a backpack, money, watch, clothing, bike, stereo, or anything else?
3. C3) Vandalism: In the last year, did anyone break or ruin any of your things on purpose?
4. C4) Assault with weapon: Sometimes people are attacked with sticks, rocks, guns, knives, or other things that would hurt. In the last 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. C5) Assault without weapon: In the last year, did anyone hit or attack you without using an object or weapon?
6. C6) Attempted assault: In the last 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. C7) Kidnapping: 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 last year, did anyone try to kidnap you?
8. C8) Bias attack: In the last year, were you 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

Next, we ask about grown-ups who take care of you. This means parents, babysitters, adults who live with you, or others who watch you.

9. M1) Physical abuse by caregiver: Not including spanking on your bottom, in the last year, did a grown-up in your life hit, beat, kick, or physically hurt you in any way?

(continued)

Appendix (continued)

10. M2) Psychological or emotional abuse: In the last year, did you get scared or feel really bad because grown-ups in your life called you names, said mean things to you, or said they didn't want you?
11. M3) Neglect: 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. M4) Custodial interference or family abduction: Sometimes a family fights over where a child should live. In the last year, did a parent take, keep, or hide you to stop you from being with another parent?

Peer and Sibling Victimization

13. P1) Gang or group assault: Sometimes groups of kids or gangs attack people. In the last year, did a group of kids or a gang hit, jump, or attack you?
14. P2) Peer or sibling assault: In the last 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. P3) Nonsexual genital assault: In the last year, did any kids try to hurt your private parts on purpose by hitting or kicking you there?
16. P4) Bullying: In the last year, did any kids, even a brother or sister, pick on you by chasing you or grabbing your hair or clothes or by making you do something you didn't want to do?
17. P5) Emotional bullying: In the last 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. P6) Dating violence: In the last year, did a boyfriend or a girlfriend or anyone you went on a date with slap or hit you?

Sexual Victimizations

19. S1) Sexual assault by known adult: In the last 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. S2) Nonspecific sexual assault: In the last 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. S3) Sexual assault by peer: Now think about kids your age, like from school, a boy friend or a girl friend, or even a brother or a sister. In the last year, did another child or teen make you do sexual things?

(continued)

Appendix (continued)

- 22. S4) Rape: Attempted or completed: In the last year, did anyone try to force you to have sex, that is, sexual intercourse of any kind, even if it didn't happen?
- 23. S5) Flashing or sexual exposure: In the last year, did anyone make you look at their private parts by using force or surprise or by flashing you?
- 24. S6) Verbal sexual harassment: In the last year, did anyone hurt your feelings by saying or writing something sexual about you or your body?
- 25. S7) Statutory rape and sexual misconduct: In the last year, did you do sexual things with anyone 18 or older, even things you both wanted?

Witnessing and Indirect Victimization

Sometimes these things don't happen to you but you see them happen to other people. This means to other people in real life. Not people on TV, video games, movies, or that you just heard about.

- 26. W1) Witness to domestic violence: In the last 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. W2) Witness to parent assault of sibling: In the last year, did you see your parent hit, beat, kick, or physically hurt your brothers or sisters, not including a spanking on the bottom?
 - 28. W3) Witness to assault with weapon: In the last 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. W4) Witness to assault without weapon: In the last 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. W5) Burglary of family household: In the last 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. W6) Murder of family member or friend: When a person is murdered, it means someone killed them on purpose. In the last year, was anyone close to you murdered, like a friend, neighbor, or someone in your family?
 - 32. W7) Witness to murder: In the last year, did you see someone murdered in real life? This means not on TV, on video games, or in the movies?
 - 33. W8) Exposure to random shootings, terrorism, or riots: In the last year, were you in any place in real life where you could see or hear people being shot, bombs going off, or street riots?
 - 34. W9) Exposure to war or ethnic conflict: In the last year, were you in the middle of a war where you could hear real fighting with guns or bombs?
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