RECOGNISING CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE LIVING IN THE CONTEXT OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

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ABSTRACT

Domestic violence has been a relatively 'hidden' problem in society for centuries. In the past forty years developing research has shown that children and young people who have witnessed domestic violence in their life time are likely to face long term implications in respect of their emotional, psychological and behavioural development. For children and young people who witness domestic violence, this experience is core to their lives, yet service support and delivery is still fragmented across the UK. The government need to re-address the evidence from research and practice that shows us the extent of the problem and its effects upon children and young people, so they recognise the need to appropriately fund and deliver supportive services for our young and vulnerable population.

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INTRODUCTION

"Children are the forgotten victims of domestic violence"
(Domestic Abuse and Safeguarding Adults Coordinator-East Midlands Police-2009:35)

1.1 Aims

Domestic violence is a social and criminal problem which causes damage and violation to the human rights of adults and children who become trapped within its 'web' (Calder 2004:1). Since the 1970s developments in the awareness of domestic violence and the consequences it can have upon women, children and men have grown after much awareness given by the women's movement (Romito 2008:1). Despite the increasing recognition that aspects of domestic violence are gravely criminal, arguably the affects it has upon its victims, particularly children, are still of a silent and hidden nature (Abrahams 1994; Humphreys et al 2000; McGee 2000, Hester et al 2007; Harne and Radford 2008; Romito 2008).

Even though it is recognised that men are 'hidden' victims of domestic violence (Romito 2008:5), this thesis endeavours to draw upon both theory, research and policy to bring to light the importance of recognising children and young people in the context of domestic violence. To reach this aim I intend to give a background of the child's role in the context of domestic violence, discuss the effects that witnessing domestic violence (to their mothers) can have upon children and young people's behaviours, and their effect on the child's schooling in the hope that political and social systems will recognise the need to develop further, effective and accessible support mechanisms for this vulnerable population.

Key areas of exploration are:

- The history of the changing role of children and young people living in the context of domestic violence.
- How does domestic violence affect children and young people's behaviours?
- How do these behaviours affect their adjustment in other social settings such as the school environment, and how effectively does this environment support this child or young person?

1.2 Terminology

Under UK government guidelines (agreed in 2004) for professionals who deal with domestic violence cases, domestic violence is defined as;

"Any incident of threatening behaviour, violence or abuse [psychological, physical, sexual, financial or emotional] between adults who are, or have been intimate partners or family members, regardless of gender or sexuality" (CPS 2009:10).

While the government has agreed to use this definition, researchers and organisations such as Women's Aid have contested the definition and have used variations of their own as the governmental definition does not encompass the scale of the problem to which people can be abused (Hester et al 2007; Harne and Radford 2008). It must also be recognised by voluntary organisations, statutory agencies and researchers that domestic violence isn't always an issue that affects adults, it can affect teenage relationships and the children and young people who witness the violence also.

The word 'domestic' causes misunderstandings as it implies that 'domestic' violence happens within the home, but it must be recognised that violence can still continue after women and

children have left the home (Hester et al 2007; Mooney in Hanmer and Itzin 2000). The word 'violence' also can be limiting as it implies the 'violence' is a physical act, however victims of domestic violence can be subject to an array of abuse including psychological, sexual, emotional and financial (Abrahams 1994; Humphreys 2000; McGee 2000; Calder 2004; Hester et al 2007; Harne and Radford 2008; Romito 2008).

Although the term has been contested, for the purpose of this thesis the term domestic violence has been used as it is a term commonly understood by both professionals and the public. I have chosen to discuss domestic violence specifically in relation to the effects of children and young people witnessing *physical* domestic violence through sight and hearing. Although child abuse is closely related to domestic violence (Calder 2004; Hester et al 2007; Romito 2008), the purpose of this thesis is to discuss the effects of witnessing domestic violence not the effect of direct domestic violence upon the child (child abuse).

Although vulnerable children and young people can be identified as in need of child protection from age of birth up until they are adults, when discussing the affects of domestic violence in relation to its impact upon children and young people it is important age categories are considered because the affects of domestic violence can be varied upon this factor. For example research has shown that children below the age of ten are affected by domestic violence more significantly through their health development; from crying, eating problems and weight loss in babies (Osofsky 1999; Wolak and Finkelhor 1998) to wetting the bed, stomach aches and headaches in pre-school aged children (Wolak and Finkelhor 1998). However the aim of this thesis is to discuss the effects of domestic violence upon behaviours and these are issues which have been identified as more common in school aged children and adolescents (Nighswander and Proulx 2007; Davis and Carlson 1987; Hughes et al 1989).

1.3 Methodology

The information gathered to form this thesis was carried out through qualitative interviewing, with four different professional practitioners working in the field of domestic violence, and the analysis of existing literature (secondary research practice). Due to the highly sensitive nature of domestic violence, a literature review (library based study) remains the basis for this thesis, and the qualitative data collected from interviews with practitioners in the field helped to illustrate the significance of existing literature and research.

Literature Review

The literature used in this thesis contains information from both a global and local context. The purpose is to analyse studies and research from a global context to help illustrate the extent to which witnessing domestic violence can affect the child or young person's welfare and behaviour, but to specifically review the supports that are available for such children by drawing upon UK legislation, policy and practice.

When searching for literature and relevant sources there became an apparent struggle to find specific information with regards to the effects of domestic violence upon children and young people, and more specifically effects upon their behaviours. Many of the sources used in this thesis have come from within journals or books that cover a wider context than domestic violence, such as the *Journal of Marriage and the Family,* arguably highlighting the hidden nature of both the issue of domestic violence and the child's position within this context.

However references to Caroline McGee (2000) and Caroline Abrahams (1994) studies on children and domestic violence have proved particularly beneficial for this thesis because they have conducted interviews with children as well as mothers regarding the affects of

domestic violence upon them, an element of which many studies are flawed because of their reliance on mothers as the sole source of information (Dawud-Noursi et al in Lewis and Feiring 1998).

A second finding through my discovery of literature with regards to the topic of domestic violence was the particular dominance of female and feminist writers (Catherine Humphreys 2000, Caroline McGee 2000, Caroline Abrahams 1994, Patrizia Romito 2008), there was little contribution from male writers, however Martin Calder's book 'children living with domestic violence' (2004) became a useful source in my analysis of theory and practice. The relevance of literature dominated by female writers arguably reflects the work and progression by women's movements (discussed in chapter one).

Interviews

It has proved useful gathering information from multiple informants when researching to help support and illustrate information given by existing research and to try and avoid bias and generalisation. The four qualitative interviews for this thesis were conducted with professionals from welfare and criminal justice organisations in the East Midlands, England to help give a well rounded view on the effects of domestic violence in a number of different contexts. The specific area of which each interview was conducted is not disclosed in this thesis, so the larger geographical region (East Midlands) has been used instead to avoid breaching anonymity and identifying each interviewee.

The interviews in this thesis are only used for illustrative means because the sample was too small to be used as significant evidence. Each interview schedule contained the same content but was geared slightly differently depending on the agency or organisation being interviewed:

- **Agency:** Domestic Violence Integrated Response Project (DVIRP) and Break-Thru Project.
  Job Role: To ensure that the interviewee cannot be identified, their job role as a professional at DVIRP cannot be disclosed as this service is not in place in all areas of the East Midlands.
  Location: East Midlands
  (Appendix 1a)

- **Agency:** Youth Offending Service (YOS)
  Job Role: Operational Manager
  Location: East Midlands
  (Appendix 2)

- **Agency:** Police Service
  Job Role: Domestic Abuse and Safeguarding Adults Coordinator
  Location: East Midlands
  (Appendix 3)

- **Agency:** Women's Aid
  Job Role: Senior Refuge Worker
  Location: East Midlands
  (Appendix 4)

These interviews proved helpful in providing supportive information to the literature analysis in giving a more comprehensive contribution to the affects of domestic violence on children and young people. The interviews were based on a qualitative, semi-structured schedule, so while there was a degree of structure (the interview script) to encourage the interviewee to stay with the relevant theme of children affected by domestic violence, the interviews were also flexible. Flexibility in qualitative interviewing was an important and integral part of the interviewing process for myself (as the interviewer) and also the interviewee as it allows for additional questions and issues to be raised (Bryman 2008:438).

1.4 Scale of domestic violence?
The latest key findings from the Home Office Statistical Bulletin on Crime in England and Wales 2008/09 reports that domestic violence accounts for 1 in 7 (14%) of all violent incidents. Around 1 in 3 (31%) of these violent incidents are incidents of domestic violence against women, compared to just 5% against men (HM Government 2009a:34). It is estimated that the majority of those affected by domestic violence are of a young population (between the ages of 16 and 35) and frequently have children living with them (LGA 2006:3). Statistics that show how many children are affected by domestic violence are limited; the latest figures reported by the Department of Health (DH) in 2002 highlighted that 750,000 children are estimated to witness domestic violence each year.

It is hard to give a valid picture of the scale of domestic violence in the UK because it is a social problem which is likely to go unreported due to its sensitive nature, fear of involvement in the Criminal Justice System (CJS) and fear in families that services will take their children away (Humphreys 2000; McGee 2000). What we do know however about domestic violence, from studies and research, is that children are affected by what they witness but the effects may vary upon a number of variables such as age, length of exposure, number of existing support networks etc. Despite research developments in the 20th century, arguably children and young people are still a hidden element in the context of domestic violence (Calder 2004; Humphreys et al 2000; Hester et al 2007; Romito 2008; Harne and Radford 2008). The first chapter aims to explore just how hidden children and young people have been in the context of domestic violence since the 19th century.

CHAPTER ONE

The role of children and young people in the context of domestic violence

2.1 Overview

Domestic violence has historically been an issue related to the violence against women; there was little or no recognition for how children and young people, and indeed men, were affected by domestic violence before the late 20th century (Hester et al 2007; Harne and Radford 2008).

Domestic violence has been a persistent problem for women throughout the centuries, particularly as it used to be legal for husbands to 'chastise' their women (Harne and Radford 2008:169; Lockton and Ward 1997:3). Such dominant patriarchal laws in turn influenced feminists and women reformists to campaign for women's rights and freedom from violence against women. Through their eventual success in the 1970s to raise awareness of women's rights, domestic violence began to emerge as an issue of political and social concern. There was a rise in voluntary support services for women and eventually gradual recognition of the effects on children living in the context of domestic violence. Despite gradual recognition given to children through state policy and agenda, the ineffectiveness of support lead Abrahams study title in the late 20th century to describe children as the 'hidden' victims (Abrahams 1994).

This chapter aims to analyse historically how children living within the context of domestic violence have been viewed in terms of their need for protection and support. To do this, reflection and analysis has been given to the key influences in the 19th and 20th century that helped progress awareness of domestic violence and recognised the need to protect children. This chapter also intends to review the key policies and legislation that have influenced the current status of support systems for children and young people affected by witnessing domestic violence.

2.2 Pre-Twentieth Century: Children and young people in the background

Domestic violence has arguably always been a 'hidden' issue (Dobash and Dobash 1992). Although the nineteenth century saw a growth in resistance towards domestic violence by women and feminist campaigners to highlight the injustices and few rights women had access to (Harne and Radford 2008:169), little recognition was given to these women and the affects of domestic violence upon children and young people.

One can argue that such little recognition regarding the impact of domestic violence upon children before the late twentieth century was due to the acceptance of patriarchy. Under the English Law of Coveture women and children were their husbands or fathers property, which meant that the state did not need to intervene into family life (Harne and Radford 2008:88). It was this conceptualised idea of women and children as 'property' that arguably kept domestic violence a strong aspect in many lives. Under the common Law of Coveture (1860) and 'the rule of thumb' it was legitimate for husbands to beat their wives (as long as the stick he used was no thicker than his thumb) and take their earnings; these physical and controlling aspects of domestic violence could not be challenged because men's rights were absolute and women had no power (Women's Aid 2005b; Blackstone Commentaries: 1765 in Harne and Radford 2008:88). However if women could fight to gain their own rights, they could have stronger influence over protecting their children from witnessing the violence that was inflicted upon them. In the nineteenth century voices of the female population such as Caroline Norton

(1808-1877) and Frances Power Cobbe (1822-1904) were significant in the fight for women's citizenship rights (Harne and Radford 2008:88).

Caroline Norton in particular was a social reformist of the 19th century who protested against being an object of 'property' to which her husband owned. Norton fought for women's rights for eligibility to divorce from their partners and gain custody (protection) over their children. Caroline Norton suffered firsthand experience of domestic violence as she noted her husband used their children as another form of punishment and control. In recognising the injustice to herself and to her children she took her husband's actions to court. Although at that time Caroline was refused the right to divorce her husband (as that remained a man's right only), her campaigns for custody over her children helped pass The Infant Custody Act in 1839 which allowed mothers to apply for custody of their children under seven (Harne and Radford 2008:89). Although this act was still controlled by patriarchal law, it could be seen as a significant milestone influencing more women to protest for the rights and protection of their children.

Arguably it was the recognition by women reformists and protests against a patriarchal state, monopolised by men, which influenced the beginning of protection for children and young people as 'a national priority' (Zelizer 1994:12). Thomas Barnardo was an advocate of child protection for those who were vulnerable, encouraging a development in the voluntary sector for children in need of protection from direct abuse and to help prevention of later delinquency (Alcock 2003:101). However while child protection measures started to grow with the establishment of Barnado's charity in 1867 and the NSPCC in 1884, arguably protection was predominantly centred for those who faced physical and visible restraints to their lives such as child abuse and those who were poverty stricken. Literature shows that there was no recognition of the psychological and emotional impacts that domestic violence could have on children and young people affected by witnessing domestic violence namely because society and government actively silenced this issue (NSPCC 2009:4). For example a famous reformer Lord Shaftesbury said:

"The evils....are of so private, internal and domestic a nature as to be beyond the reach of legislation" (NSPCC 2009:4).

The silencing of domestic violence and its impact upon the child's emotional and psychological well being meant it would be a struggle for this population to receive the right support they needed. It was only after the women's movement in the later 20th century that child protection for those affected by witnessing domestic violence was recognised (Calder 2004:1).

2.3 Twentieth Century: Recognising children and young people

The beginning of 20th century saw significant developments for women's rights in terms of their political rights but also their right to freedom against violence. However recognition for the affects domestic violence has upon children and young people only became acknowledged following the Women's Liberation Movement (WLM) in the 1970s. Although there were legislative introductions to improve the protection of children and their welfare in the early part of the 20th century (Children and Young Persons Act 1933; Children Act 1948 in Hendrick 2003:136), there was still no specific reference to children who maybe living in situations of domestic violence .

It was during the rise of the WLM in the 1970s that radical feminists protested against domestic violence and the failings of law in understanding that domestic violence was a form of social control that was keeping women subordinate to male dominance (Lavalette and Pratt 2007:82; Rhodes and McNeill 1985; Harne and Radford 2008:170). It was during the 1970s and 1980s that public and political awareness through campaigning of the issue gradually started to take note of the extent to which women were being physically, emotionally and psychologically harmed behind closed doors. Arguably it was the publicity and recognition given by Erin Pizzey (the founder of Women's Aid), in particular through her book '*Scream quietly or the neighbours will hear you*' (1974) and efforts of setting up six successful voluntary run women's refuges in the UK by 1972, which influenced a movement in recognising the rights of children too (Hague et al in Hanmer and Itzin 2000:116-118; Newburn 2007:821; Harne and Radford 2008:171). The rise and influence of the WLM and the establishment of Women's Aid groups influenced the changing of legislative and policy aims across the UK to encompass women and eventually children into their policies of protection against violence (Hague et al in Hanmer and Itzin 2000:116-118).

1970s Legislation

The Domestic Violence and Matrimonial Proceedings Act 1976 and the Domestic Proceedings and Magistrates Courts Act 1978 were the first two key acts of the 20th century to provide protective mechanisms for those victimised by domestic violence (Harne and Radford 2008:96). The Acts became a benchmark in the overall recognition of domestic violence as a social problem in society and the progression of women's rights. However the legislation was limited as not all provisions were applied to women outside of marriage, therefore failing to recognise abuse outside the home and also the harm that could be caused to children. Edwards (2000) argues that the limitations in these legislative 'progressions' were very much in the hands of law, that was still dominated by patriarchal tendencies; particularly judges (who were mostly male), saw such legislative changes to condemn the perpetrators (men), taking away a man's rights to his property (women and his children). Jaffe et al (2003) highlights this judiciary bias throughout time has created persistent barriers for women and children seeking help from the state. Jaffe et al argued that judges and policy makers have continually absorbed discourse from father's rights' movements that argue the prevalence of domestic violence and its impact upon children is largely exaggerated, and further that courts are gender biased against males (Jaffe et al 2003:12). Such gender bias and exaggeration absorbed by policy makers and judges can be detrimental to the implementation of legislation and practices for the protection of women and children.

1986- A change in the aims and principles of Women's Aid

Since the foundations of Women's Aid in the 1970s, Women's Aid groups across the UK have campaigned, on behalf of women and their children, against the systems, movements and discourses that minimise the extent and harm male violence can cause. In 1986 their aims changed to include a specific statement that outlined how children are affected by domestic violence arguably to fight back at the continued discourse such as those by father's movement's (as highlighted by Jaffe et al 2003) which overlook the extent of harm that can be caused upon a child or young person. This aim meant that refuges would then strive to continually provide specific supports to children (Hague et al in Hanmer and Itzin 2000:118), arguably improving the status of children and young people who are the victims of domestic violence too.

Children's Human Rights (UNCRC 1989)

Despite resistance from campaigns by father's movements and the sluggish movements by government, the driven profile of domestic violence and its impact upon children by women's groups was recognised by the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) in 1989, which gave children the right to be protected from neglect, abuse and maltreatment from parents (Article 19). A second significant article (Article 3) in the convention highlighted that legal proceedings should consider domestic violence issues when providing interventions that are in the child's best interest (Harne and Radford 2008:105). Although recognition and protection was given by the convention for children living in contexts of domestic violence, it can be said the rights set out by the UNCRC are of an idealistic and theoretical nature to give guidance to society on how children should be treated and what they should not be subjected to. These rights are not always enforceable and have been contradicted by other rights such as those given to parents. For example, despite rhetoric about the child's best interests and the need to protect and prevent children from domestic violence, many courts believe that children at risk from an abusive parent would actually suffer greater harm if they did not keep contact with both natural parents than if the victim separates from the perpetrator (Harne and Radford 2008:106).

Research has highlighted the danger of putting emphasis on parent-child relations and contact orders, forgetting the actual risks of the perpetrator on the health and even life of the child. Between 1994 and 2004 records show that the rights set out by the UNCRC were contradicted; 29 children in 13 families were killed during their contact visits with their fathers (in this case the perpetrator) in England and Wales (Saunders 2004:5), suggesting the limited worth of the Convention in protecting children and young people.

Children Act 1989

The Children Act of 1989 was the next significant piece of legislation in promoting the need for protection of vulnerable children. The Act highlighted how paramount the need is to protect those children who are suffering or likely to suffer 'significant harm' (Section 47 in Hester et al 2007:99). However, the Act's reference to 'harm' neglected that harm could be inflicted upon children and young people in the context of domestic violence (Hester et al 2007:91). With the help and progression by women's movements as a result of ongoing campaigning, Women's Aid continually rallied to raise the profile of domestic violence as a child protection issue, influencing future developments in policy and legislation which would regard children's welfare specifically in the context of domestic violence (Humphreys 2000: 3; Harne and Radford 2008:108).

Despite these developments for protection of children and young people throughout the 20th century, legislation that encompassed these values were slow in their arrival and contradictory of other existing polices and political frameworks such as those which allow a child at risk contact with an abusive (perpetrator) parent. The slow development of policies despite awareness given by ongoing campaigning by social reformists, particularly Women's Aid, was arguably due to the resistance by a male dominated government who arguably still listened to the traditions of patriarchy, hindering developments for women and children. For example in 1984 Sir Kenneth Newman, the Metropolitan Police Commissioner, tried to eliminate the police, often a first port of call for victims of domestic violence (HM Government 2006:203), from responding to domestic violence cases as he called this "rubbish work" (Radford and Stanko 1994:149-158). This resistance arguably raised a barrier within institutions and political frameworks for women and children seeking help.

This meant that the WLM and establishment of Women's Aid groups had to struggle and continue to strive for changes and development so that law would address children who were affected by witnessing domestic violence. As a result of continuous support and protest by Women's Aid, the 1989 Children Act was eventually amended under section 120 of the Adoption and Children Act (2002), which changed the meaning of 'harm' to encompass those affected by *witnessing* domestic violence. The meaning of 'harm' now includes; 'impairment suffered from seeing or hearing the ill treatment of another' (HM Government 2006:203). This amendment became a benchmark in that recognition was given to the damage that could be caused after a child has been exposed to domestic violence. This recognition arguably provided the stepping stone for state welfare services to encompass this type of exposure in their plans for provision in the 21st century.

2.4 Twenty first Century: Children and young people in the forefront?

At the beginning of the 21st century statistics reported that at least 750,000 children witness domestic violence per year (DH 2002). As a result, the New Labour government continued to take concern for children's welfare, following the Adoption and Children's Act (2002) by the introduction of a new agenda called '*Every Child Matters'* alongside the Children Act (2004). The creation of children's trusts under the 'duty to co-operate', the setting up of Local Safeguarding Children Boards (LSCBs) in each local authority, and the duty placed on all agencies under the Children Act (2004 section 11) to make arrangements to safeguard and promote the welfare of children (DfES 2006a:16) have all improved the protection of children and young people. Under the *Working together to safeguard children* policy children affected by witnessing domestic violence are now established as 'children in need' (HM Government 2007:11; Humphreys et al 2000a:3) so that services now acknowledge that these vulnerable groups need specialist attention and support.

While promoting the issue in law that children can be identified as children in need has helped to protect and address the needs of many children affected by domestic violence, arguably this attention to support in practice is varied and not effective in all areas of the UK placing some children at disadvantage. For example, while some services have the right skills and understanding to screen families for domestic violence (Humphreys 2000:14), others have varied including some services that have not developed any polices regarding domestic violence (Humphreys 2000:14). A study by Humphrey et al (2000) highlighted that specific service provision for children living in the context of domestic violence was only recognised in 20% of Children's Services Plans and 45% of social service departments had not developed domestic violence policy guidelines (Humphrey's et al 2000:51).

Although Humphrey et al's findings are a little outdated, the most recent findings by the Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC) through their 'Map of Gaps' campaign and by the 'End violence Against Women' coalition highlight that provision has not greatly improved as one in four local authorities still do not have specialist support services for victims of domestic violence (Coy et al 2009). The extreme level of variation in service provision and policy development raises serious questions about the inequalities for vulnerable children who are affected by domestic violence, and the validity of the Children Act and Every *Child Matters* 2004 which introduced a new long term approach to safeguard the well being of children and young people (Hester et al 2007:103).

While policy has been 'progressing' throughout the 21st century in its gradual recognition of the 'harm' that can be caused to children who witness domestic violence (Adoption and Children Act 2002 in HM Government 2006:202, 203), in practice there is evident

inequalities and variation in the amount of specific supports across the country to support women and children affected by domestic violence. The fragmentation of support arguably reflects Abrahams (1994) depiction of children as 'the hidden victims' in the 21st century. In the UK 'The hideout' is the only national support service related specifically for children and young people who have been affected by domestic violence in 2010, despite the alarming statistics that report approximately 750,000 children witness domestic violence each year (Department of Health 2002). The hideout is the first national website (thehideout.org.uk) for children and young people produced by the voluntary services of Women's Aid in 2005 to inform them about domestic violence, to help them identify whether it is happening in their home, to provide informal support but furthermore signpost children and young people if they need access to additional help and direct support (Women's Aid 2005a).

There are voluntary support services on local levels, such as the Break-Thru programme under the Domestic Violence Integrated Response Project (DVIRP) in the East Midlands, which supports the specific needs for children aged 7-16 years after they have witnessed and or experienced domestic violence. However, as discovered in my interviews conducted with practitioners from local and statutory organisations and reflected by the Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC); not all areas are equipped with effective support mechanisms as support varies across the UK according to funding and local authority agendas (Appendix 1a, 2 and 4 and Humphreys et al 2000; Coy et al 2009). The fragmentation of specific support services across the UK arguably reflects that government funding is not meeting the needs of those affected by domestic violence, and if not addressed the lack and unevenness of services will continually act as a barrier for children seeking or needing help (McGee 2000:187).

Although services which relate specifically for children suffering from the affects of domestic violence are limited, it is important to recognise that other services, both voluntary and statutory, also have duties to protect and safeguard vulnerable children. These services have been developing since the 20th century after the Beveridge Report (1942) guided and influenced parliament to increase national welfare services and eradicate evils such as ignorance (Hendrick 2003). These services include statutory agencies such as social services, health, housing, education and the support and protection given by the police service (HM Government 2006:203), alongside national charities such as the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (NSPCC), Barnado's, Childline, and Action for Children.

Such statutory and voluntary agents are regulated by the LSCBs introduced under the Children Act 2004, and more specifically in relation to domestic violence, the Multi Agency Risk Assessment Conferences (MARACs) introduced between 2006- 2007. These are both forms of safety planning networks that aim to work with all statutory agencies and some voluntary organisations within a multi-agency infrastructure to raise awareness of the scope of domestic violence and to allow for the most effective support and intervention to be implemented to protect domestic violence victims and their children; the hidden victims (Home Affairs Committee 2008:113; DfES 2006:16; Abrahams 1994).

Conversely, while LSCBs have been implemented into every local authority in England and Wales, the provisions of MARACs have not, reflecting the fragmented progressions of support for children affected by domestic violence. Although the progression of support for children and young people affected by domestic violence are lacking widely across the country, services argue that policies that support mothers also support and protect their children (Humphreys et al 2000:2). For example, the Department of Health (DH) believes 'where domestic violence may be an important element in the family, the safety of (usually) the mother is also in the child's welfare' (DH 1997:12; HM Government 2006:203),

suggesting there is not an urgent need for support mechanisms in this area, as they are receiving effective intervention through their mothers support which has improved since the WLM.

On the contrary government who now aim to support children affected by domestic violence should take note, when introducing policy and influencing legislation, that the needs of those affected by domestic violence will vary significantly dependant on age, maturity, experience and length of exposure to domestic violence (an issue discussed in the following chapter), so intervention and support for a mother is in fact not always effective support for the welfare of her child.

2.5 Summary

Throughout history children and young people seem to have been lacking the support of a patriarchal state, however as time has gone on reformists in the 19th century such as Caroline Norton, and in particular the women's movement in the 20th century have helped to progress the status of women, and importantly children living in the context of domestic violence. The recognition and developments from the state (central government) have been slow and fragmented, keeping the status and support for children affected by witnessing domestic violence still relatively hidden (Fantuzzo et al 2000 in Calder 2004:4), hindering their healthy emotional, psychological and behavioural development.

Government should re-address past and present research that show the detrimental effects of witnessing domestic violence on the child or young person so the appropriate funding can be given to provide further, up-to-date and effective frameworks of support to ensure that these children and young people become continually acknowledged and can make successful transitions into adulthood. To help government see the need for progressive and effective support mechanisms to assist the needs of this vulnerable population, the following chapter gives an in-depth analysis of how domestic violence can affect children and young people's behaviour.

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CHAPTER TWO

The effects of domestic violence upon children and young people's behaviour: a theoretical application

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3.1 Overview

Research on domestic violence and the effects it has on children and young people is still within its infancy, as it was only forty years ago that the campaigns by the women's movement in the 1970s helped give domestic violence its name and seriousness. Thanks to the resistance and knowledge given by the women's movement, studies and research (Hughes 1988, 1992; Jaffe et al 1990; Abraham 1994; McGee 2000; Geffner et al 2003; Hester et al 2007) have began to recognise that those who have witnessed domestic violence in their homes, compared to those who have not, will more likely face detrimental challenges to their psychological and emotional well being, influencing their life patterns and behaviours.

Although damaging effects to children and young people's well-being have been recognised, it has to be acknowledged that responses to domestic violence are individual and unique and can differ between age, gender, and cultural differences, level of attachment to parents and the amount of time exposed to it. However researchers have examined behaviours of children and young people exposed to domestic violence and attempted to explain them by applying them to particular theories.

It is apparent that researchers draw upon Lenore Walkers (1979) theory of 'the cycle of violence', that problem behaviours witnessed in the home can influence problematic behaviour in the child or young person's life. However, unlike Walker's theory, researchers now recognise that not all children that witness violent abuse by their parents or guardians will become violent abusers themselves but it may induce some form of problematic behaviour (Kaufmen and Ziegler 1987).

How exactly though does witnessing physical/violent behaviour of parent/guardian's influence the child or young person's behaviour, and is it just the behaviour of the perpetrator that is influential? To assess these links it is important to look at the forms of violence children and young people have witnessed, the effects on their emotional and psychological well being, behavioural outcomes and to draw upon theoretical explanations, particularly social learning theory, which help to provide root causes and understanding.

3.2 Forms of violence witnessed

Studies that have investigated the impacts of domestic violence all show clear evidence that witnessing inter-partner violence can have a negative effect on the child's emotional and behavioural development (Kolbo et al 1996 in Hester et al 2000:67). From examining some of the more recent studies carried out on children and mothers who have been subjected to domestic violence (Abrahams 1994; McGee 2000), alongside the information gathered from interviews conducted with practitioners that come into contact with children who have been affected by domestic violence, several forms of physical violence are significant across the board:

- slapping,
- punching,

- kicking,
- grabbing,
- pushing,
- use of weapons: typically throwing furniture and household objects.

According to professionals who work with children in the field of domestic violence (Appendix 2:3), witnessing of such behaviours through sight or hearing can have a detrimental impact on the emotional and psychological well-being of the child or young person including:

- deterioration in self esteem,
- sense of loss,
- cognitive conflict,
- emotional detachment.

These emotional and psychological impacts have been noted to affect how children and young people cope with and exercise their behaviours. Exposure to violence and the effects on their emotional and psychological well-being has been significantly related to Post Traumatic Stress Disorder or PTSD (Hester et al 2007:84), which involve adverse behaviours among children including anxiety, stress, depression, trauma symptoms as well aggression, anti-social behaviour and even delinquency (Gorman-Smith 2004; Buehler and Gerad 2002; Appendix 1a: 2). The severity of each behaviour can vary depending on situational factors such as whether the children and young people have been re-housed, are living in refuge, whether they have moved schools, lost friends and so on. As originated by Achenbach and Edelbrock (1978), most commonly the behaviours exhibited by children and young people in this context are categorised in two ways; the internalization of behaviours and externalization of behaviours.

3.3 Effect on Behaviours: Internalization and social learning theory

According to research, the effects of inter-partner violence witnessed by the child or young person can cause significant internalized behaviours, whereby the emotional and psychological effects of the violence have caused common problems including anxiety (Wierson, Forehand and McCombs 1988), social withdrawal (Jouriles, Barling and O'Leary 1987) and depression (Peterson and Zill 1986) for children and young people.

It is of our own ignorance that some people choose to presume that a child is 'just' being quiet rather than experiencing significant stress and emotional problems (Calder 2004:57). It is this ignorance that increases the child's felt isolation alongside their psychological and emotional disturbances. It is arguable that the lack of mature coping strategies a child has, alongside the failure of others to recognise when a child needs help, is what puts them at greater risk of experiencing such traumatic and indeed clinical behaviours. For example, Davis and Carlson (1987) found in their study regarding children of 'battered' women that 68% of preschool children and 53% of school age children in their sample had depression that was of a clinical concern (Geffner et al 2003).

The internalised behaviours of depression, anxiety and social withdrawal are interestingly typical of what the abused mother (victim) often goes through (WHO 2000; Hester et al 2007; McCue 2008). According to the Home Office, 75% of domestic violence cases result in mental health consequences to women (Home Office, 2001). These behaviours are not surprising in relation the physical and emotional harm that domestic violence may cause. The

victim may be fearful of when the man may next strike causing anxiety. Depression may come from thoughts and feelings that they can't get themselves and their children out of the abusive home. Furthermore, the stress, anxiety and depression caused by their situation may lead them to avoid social environments, withdrawing themselves from anything which may lead them to be noticed, questioned, embarrassed or shamed.

One may question however, how do these behaviours in the child occur? When analysing the environment the child is subjected to, the reasons for why they may have symptoms of depression, anxiety and social withdrawal become apparent:

Anxiety
Constant reminders around their home may keep them anxious and fearful of when the violence may next occur; there may be broken furniture, blood stained carpets/walls as well as other reminders around the home, even cuts and bruises physically apparent on their parent, signifying the child's lack of control (McGee 2000:62,66).

Withdrawal
The child is silent and withdrawn. They will have learnt that silence and not being outspoken is the best way to behave if they don't want to get beaten or they do not want to see or hear their mothers beaten (Appendix 1). This can be taught verbally and/or visually through associative learning means (Lieberman 2000:41-55). For example if they witness their father repeatedly violating their mother there are two responses; the mother stays quiet and does not respond-the consequence maybe that the father does not continue to be violent, the atmosphere may calm. The second response may consist of a volatile reaction from the mother, screams, shouts and/or crying-the consequence is that their father will continue to violate. Therefore the child learns and associates that being loud, outspoken and overtly emotional will increase the violence, so the child may become quiet and withdrawn with the hope that the violence will reduce.

Depression
The depression may stem from their insignificance, their silence, their feeling of powerlessness and the feelings of guilt for not protecting their mother. Feelings of powerlessness and guilt may increase the child's emotional and psychological trauma, particularly if there are no significant internal or external supports (McGee 2000:76, 77).

We can apply these behaviours to social learning theory, which is based on the principle that behaviours observed as a young person will become learned and modelled as if the behaviour they have observed is the norm (Siegal and Welsh 2009:95) . For example if the normal social behaviours of an abused mother in the home involve depression, anxiety, quietness, such behaviours are likely to be modelled by the child, because of their attachment (psychological, emotional and biological) but also because they haven't had the opportunity to learn any other behaviours. Social learning can also be applied by observing an actual activity and seeing what it achieves which is sometimes referred to as associative learning (Lieberman 2000:41). For example, children and young people who internalise their behaviours may do so because they have learnt from their parents relationship that when the mother is quiet and withdrawn the abuse is less likely to occur.

A case study which demonstrates this kind of 'social learning' behaviour has been highlighted by a case brought forward to the Domestic Violence Integrated Response Project (DVIRP), a support network based in the East Midlands (UK) which offers supports including the 'Break-Thru' programme for children aged 7-16 years who have witnessed and

or experienced domestic violence. An 8 year old boy was referred to the 'Break-Thru' programme for therapeutic sessions after he had witnessed domestic violence. He saw his father hit his mother on a weekly basis. If he attempted to intervene his father would hit him too. Due to this the boy 'learned' to stay upstairs where he would hear the abuse instead (Appendix 1). This learning process is one which demonstrates the influence in staying quiet, withdrawing from difficult situations, as arguably this boy learnt that these internalized behaviours were the best way to act in order to reduce trouble.

But what about those children who model and socially learn from the perpetrator's behaviour? There has been significant research carried out surrounding the 'cycle of violence' thesis and the social learning theory of aggressive behaviour (Walker 1979; Straus 1990; Grusec 1992; Bandura 1997) because there is concern that children may learn from their parent, who is the perpetrator, that using such modes of behaviour is the only means of achieving what they want (Calder 2004:23).

3.4 Effects on behaviour: Externalization and social learning theory

A significant impact on children and young people who have witnessed domestic violence considers how the child's experience influences their externalized behaviours. Geffner et al (2003:27-28) highlight how all but one study examining impacts of domestic violence found that children who were exposed to domestic violence on a regular basis externalised significant behavioural problems, most commonly: aggressive, hostile, disruptive and anti-social behaviours compared to children from non-violent homes, similar to that of the perpetrator (in this case the father). However one must consider that the significance of such externalised behavioural problems demonstrated in these cases will vary according to support mechanisms in place during and post domestic violence and other situational circumstances at the time of the study. For example some children and mothers were placed in refuges at the time of the studies (Geffner et al 2003:32) where a sudden change of home, school, friendships and adjustment to refuge living were most probable and likely to affect their behaviours differently to those who still live with the perpetrator.

Historically scientists have questioned the motivation behind aggressive behaviour. Albert Bandura (1997), in particular, proposed a social learning theory that focuses on externalised aggressive behaviour and how it can be implanted by roots of observational learning. This theory considers that when children witness adults committing violent acts this will influence children to imitate or model this violent behaviour too (Myers 2008:352-353). Similar outcomes of observational learning have been found in other studies and research surrounding the effects of domestic violence upon behaviour.

The case study regarding the 8year old boy brought forward by DVIRP, as discussed previously, highlighted that the boy displayed externalised behaviours including anger for which he had no outlet; this resulted in him copying his father's behaviour and being aggressive by hitting his mum and breaking household possessions (Appendix 1). This case, along with other such cases which are demonstrated through research by the likes of McGee (2000) and Abrahams (1994), highlight that children's role models (parents) do heavily influence behaviours; if the child had not witnessed his father's violent behaviour he may not have externalised aggression, he may have been able to diffuse his anger through alternative methods.

Not only do such 'learnt' externalised behaviours affect familial relationships, it has been suggested that children living in homes with heightened hostility are likely to resolve their own interpersonal difficulties, for example with peers, by imitating and utilizing the modes of

aggression and hostility they have picked up from the home (Straus 1990), thus potentially leading them into 'drug and alcohol abuse, running away and juvenile delinquency' (McCue 2008:22-23). Delinquency was shown in its extreme form by the media attention that surrounded the Sheffield Crown Court case on the Edlington attack where grievous bodily harm with intent was committed by two brothers aged 10 and 11. The barrister on the case implied that the two boys may have learnt such extreme violence and criminal behaviour from their parents. The barrister highlighted that the two boys had been subject to a 'toxic' home life as they witnessed extreme domestic violence in the home; for example they saw their father threaten to 'slice their mothers face to bits with a knife' (BBC News 21/1/2010).

On the contrary one must recognise that this case is an extreme form of externalization behaviour that has influenced a criminogenic life path, but there is no clear evidence to suggest the criminal acts carried out by the two boys were the sole consequences of learnt behaviour and such behaviours are not representative of all children who have been affected by witnessing domestic violence. However those who do exhibit hostile behaviours, whether it be on a low scale level or an extreme level are likely to affect important stages of their life, including the school learning process and involvement in peer socialisation; arguably two key aspects of developing 'the self' during childhood (Gutman and Brown 2008).

Alongside the effects of externalised behaviours as a young person, researchers have also paid close attention to the impact of domestic violence on children and young people as they make transitions into adulthood. Many studies have found evidence for the intergenerational 'cycle of violence' theory which argues that adults who externalize violent and abusive behaviour have most likely witnessed violent and abusive behaviour as children (Straus et al 1980; Walker 1984).

3.5 Critique of social learning theory

Social learning theory and the adoption of Walker's 'cycle of violence' analogy are central concepts and themes which have been adopted in research and practice (Mihalic and Elliot 1997:21). Research clearly shows that internalised behaviours (depression, anxiety, fear, withdrawal etc) and externalised behaviours (aggression, violence, delinquency, anti-social behaviour etc) can be taught through social learning processing.

Although social learning theory is perfectly viable for reasoning between the links of domestic violence and the impact it has upon children's behaviours, flaws must be recognised. First of all, one may argue that social learning theory does not apply to all children who have been subjected to witnessing violence in the home, as statistics suggest that 70% of children do not follow the 'cycle of violence'; the recorded rate of intergenerational transmission of violence is at 30% (Kaufmen and Ziegler 1987). Contrary to this argument, one should recognise that 30% is still a significant figure for children who externalise behaviours, and that these figures do not account for the proportion of children who will later suffer from learnt internalised behavioural issues. Statistics also do not account for those children who were able to reduce their violent behaviours before adulthood through accessing sufficient informal (friends, family, neighbours) and formal (Social Services, YOS, Police, Schools) interventions and support.

Government should recognise when implementing future policy and support mechanisms for children and young people affected by domestic violence that official statistics do not reflect the true scale of domestic violence as its hidden nature means many cases will remain unreported due to fear, but also those that are reported may lack validity due to problems of honesty and memory reconstruction.

Secondly, critique can be given to an apparent gender bias in social learning theory, as most research concentrates on victimised boys as those who are most likely to become perpetrators (Calder 2004:23). While most research highlights high relevance of disturbance in boys, some researchers have found many disturbances in girls (Geffner et al 2003:31) exemplified through some girls committing criminal offences and exhibiting anti-social behaviours after witnessing persistent domestic violence (Appendix 2:4). Therefore this suggests, as pro-feminists would argue, that the impact of domestic violence upon children and young people cannot be generalised according to socially constructed gender stereotypes such as the machismo man and the feeble woman.

Finally, it is essential to recognise that some of the behaviours discussed can be externalised or internalized by children and young people who haven't been subjected to domestic violence in the home. While social learning theory cannot be generalised, advocates such as Straus (1980, 1991) still highlight the theory's helpfulness in drawing attention to the increased risk children are at if they witness domestic violence.

3.6 Alternative theoretical explanations

There are many other theories which attempt to account for human behaviour. However, in relation to domestic violence there seems only a significant few which are comparable with social learning theory. A common question to be asked about behaviours is whether they are characterised by nature or nurture?

Historically human nature has been examined through biological theories which have looked at how genetics and hereditary determines a person's aggression; for example, due to a person's genotype they are more likely to be aggressive in their relationships than other people without this gene; thus genes determine a person's nature. However such theories have been criticised because of increasing recognition of the power of social environments which can influence human behaviour. If a person is predisposed to an aggressive genotype, social environments have been known to reduce the likeliness of that person exhibiting their aggressive genotype (Hines and Saudino 2004). This therefore supports the idea that learning from social environments (nurture) can be influential upon children and young people's behaviour, even if an individual is born with an aggressive genotype.

Although many traditional biological theories have been discredited, recent research into human biology has become important for reasoning and the understanding of violent behaviours. The research concentrates on brain quality and functioning rather than inherited genotypes. Research has highlighted that brain injuries are significant in those who are violent and have suffered childhood psychological trauma compared to those who have not (McCue 2008:14). It can be argued that this research suggests that children who go through trauma as a child are more likely to lack the ability to deal with stress later on in their lives (Perry 1997), increasing their risk of externalising violent behaviours, and or indeed internalised behaviours such as depression. The prevalence of such behaviours may however be determined by the length of exposure: the longer the exposure, the more damage and stress will be caused to the brain, therefore affecting the severity of behaviour.

Although this biological research is in its infancy it clearly marks that there is some relationship between child brain developments and child psychological trauma as a causal factor in behavioural problem. Arguably if the child has no concept of what is good and bad behaviour, and their brain functioning quality has been damaged by trauma, then they are at increased risk of exerting irrational behaviours.

Alongside social learning and biological theoretical explanations, psychodynamic theorists (S. Freud, A. Freud, Erikson, Mahler and Winnicott in Dare 1985) also present notions of why those previously traumatised in childhood (witnessed domestic violence) are likely to exhibit violence later on. This theory highlights the importance of dealing with their intra-psychic conflicts and cognitions (thought processes) in relation to their childhood trauma to enable healthy development (Cooper 1999:50). Those who do not deal with their childhood traumas are likely to become emotionally and psychologically unstable, putting future partners and relationships they have at risk. For example, a man who witnessed domestic violence as a child may exhibit the anger and frustration which he feels towards his abusive parent to his partner instead (Calder 2004:23). This shows that without early interventions children later on in their lives may end up appearing as the cause of violence instead of the consequence of violence (Romito 2008:70).

Studies have suggested that cognitive functioning becomes delayed at the time of exposure to violence, affecting developmental skills and therefore competence to deal with cognitions (Onyskiw in Geffner et al 2003:29). This suggests that those 30% who go onto aggress have suffered the consequence of this process: the inability to deal with their cognitive functioning over their emotional and psychological problems. Psychodynamic theory can also be applied to those who do not aggress but suffer from internalised behaviours such as depression. The inability to deal with such cognitions and intra-psychic conflicts may refer to the lack of stability and support the child is both receiving from internal sources (parenting abilities) and external sources (e.g. education systems).

Aside from theoretical explanations of how behavioural problems may be induced in those children who have witnessed domestic violence, it is important to remember that theory cannot provide a comprehensive account of all incidences of domestic violence; all cases are individual and have their own unique differences. To avoid generalisation of domestic violence cases and how they impact upon each child, a plethora of important factors should be considered; including age and gender of the child, the length of time each child was exposed to domestic violence and when the violence began, whether there were any existing supports during and post their exposure to the violence, and the strength of the parent-child relationship (attachment) during and post domestic violence.

3.7 Summary

It is clear to see after examining existing studies, interviews and theoretical perspectives that children and young people subjected to extreme forms of violence compared to those who are not, are far more *likely* to go through significant changes in their behaviour but the seriousness of which are determined by a magnitude of variables. One can see that experiences of witnessing domestic violence can damage their psychological state and social well-being causing internalised and externalised behaviours such as depression, anxiety and aggression increasing their risk of mental health issues and even offending, particularly if support is inexistent. Theoretical perspectives are not used to make light of this social problem or reduce its significance, they merely help to demonstrate the consequences of what may happen to the child when there is little or no external support; the damaging effects of domestic violence may increase, causing deeper, and sometimes persistent behavioural problems which are likely to affect their adjustment in other social settings as a child but also their transition into adulthood. The following chapter aims to explore the adjustment difficulties children and young people may face in social settings outside of the home by analysing how the effects of domestic violence can hinder a child or young person's schooling life, and how equipped the school system is in responding to their disturbance.

CHAPTER THREE

The behavioural effects of domestic violence on education and the school response

4.1 Overview

'Education, education, education' (Blair 1996) is not just a rhetoric that has been used by our New Labour government as the key to success; it is widely acknowledged that education can help provide economic and social capital in order to maintain stability and happiness (Rothstein 1998). For children, compulsory education emphasises the importance of organisational skills (deadlines, school uniforms, the use of bells and forming orderly cues), social skills (joining in classroom discussions debates and break-time interaction), academic skills (through Maths, Science's and English Language) and basic cultural and moral knowledge (through History, Literature, Geography, Music and Foreign Languages) designed to support them in leading a successful, law abiding life path. Those who fail to adhere to educational norms by truanting, excluding themselves or being disruptive in school are great causes for concern for teachers and parents (Munn and Lloyd 2005).

While research directly linked to the effects of domestic violence upon children's education is rather limited, some researchers (Gullotta et al 1992; Russell and Finnie 1990; Melhuish et al 2001) have highlighted that negative experiences within the home can affect a child's competence in other social settings, including school. Parent-child relationships and familial settings that are positive and securely attached have been linked with pro-social behaviour (Eberly and Montemayor 1998), whilst negative parent-child relationships and poor familial attachments which involve hostility are linked to negative social behaviours (Paley et al 2000). Therefore it is arguable that those children who have lived in an environment involving familial disturbance (domestic violence) are likely to conduct negative social behaviours outside the home, increasing the likelihood of school difficulties. It is also recognised that if children do not conform with the norms of school practices and fail to gain academic qualifications, they are at increased risk of later employment issues (Abrahams 1994; Fergusson et al 2002; 2005; Lamb 1994), involvement in crime (Fergusson et al 2002, 2005; Farrington et al 1986; Henry et al 1999) and mental health problems (Fergusson et al 2005). While the aim of this chapter is not to discuss the later risks (unemployment, mental health and criminal activity) of educational disruption, it is important that these risks are recognised by policy makers and are implemented in the education system so schools can help to reduce subsequent risks factors later in life.

After analysing the possible effects of witnessing domestic violence on the child's behaviour in the previous chapter, this chapter shall focus on analysing the effects that these negative internalised and externalised behaviours have on the child's education and how policy practices in school can support these vulnerable children and young people.

4.2 Internalised and externalised behaviours: Impact on schooling

Learning

As previously discussed the internalised behaviours of anxiety, social withdrawal and depression, and externalised behaviours of a disruptive and aggressive nature appear more prevalent in children who have been affected psychologically and emotionally by domestic violence than is evident in comparable groups (Wierson, Forehand and McCombs 1988;

Jouriles, Barling and O'Leary 1987; Peterson and Zill 1986; Geffner et al 2003). Many of these children cannot detach these behaviours from social settings outside of the home, influencing their rate of concentration in school, damage to peer and adult relationships, alongside increase susceptibility to poor overall academic achievement (Cole et al 2005; McGee 2000).

The internalised or externalised behaviours which may be affecting the child or young person may be the result of what they learnt in the home (as discussed in chapter two). When they are placed in other social settings, such as school, their symptoms are likely to be exacerbated by their lack of knowledge and fear for what might be happening in the home, or how and what their parent is feeling and/or doing whilst the abusive partner is at work (McGee 2000:79, 80);

'And if [Dad] beat Mum up I would be at school thinking....What if I go home and Mum isn't there? What if something's happened?' (Hannah aged 15 in McGee 2000:80).

Internalised behaviours of fear and anxiety caused by home circumstances have been found to affect rate of concentration and involvement in school practices (Abrahams 1994). Children who have been traumatised and suffer from internalised behaviours are more likely to become totally withdrawn from their class; their state of mind becomes 'dissociated' whereby they become completely disconnected from the environment they are in (the classroom), which results in them missing out on large amounts of information (Cole et al 2005:37). This withdrawal may significantly hinder their academic development and success, particularly because there is potential that educational support by some parents in an abusive relationship is likely to be weaker than in comparable relationships affecting home study.

Externalised behaviours may also cause damage to the child or young person's learning process. According to Cole et al (2005:34) a traumatised child may exert aggressive or disruptive behaviours in the classroom to their teachers and peers. While other children in the class (and some teachers) may perceive this behaviour as troublesome and irrational, these externalised, aggressive behaviours maybe a result of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (Hester et al 2007) which can often be triggered by the actions, comments or tone of peers and teachers themselves.

'...whenever I hear the teacher shouting, I just used to cover my ears' cause I don't want to hear no one shouting...it was like bells ringing in my head' (Karina aged 16 in McGee 2000:81).

Some children who illicit aggressive behaviour towards a peer or teacher maybe doing so in frustration or defence because a particular tone, comment or action was expressed by them in the manner that the perpetrator did in the process of abuse they witnessed in the home. This illustrates how domestic violence can be detrimental to the communicative skills of children and young people because they gain *'distorted perceptions of the intentions, feelings, and behaviours of others...'* (Rogosch and Cicchetti 1994 in Cole et al 2005:34) within the school environment.

Social Exclusion and Impact on Attendance

Not only are children likely to suffer academically because of their behavioural symptoms, their relationships with peers and other adults are also likely to be affected. Internalised behaviours such as depression, anxiety and withdrawal are symptoms which can exclude the

child or young person from their peers; their '*post-traumatic symptoms or behaviour... may acutely disturb a developing close relationship with a best friend, create a sense of isolation from peers, or lead to social ostracism*' (Pynoos et al 1996:134). This 'social ostracism' is further increased when children have to move schools because they need to be re-housed or take shelter in a women's refuge away from their violent home. This disconnection from both the academic and social life at school may lead children and young people who have been traumatised at home (in this case by domestic violence) to become socially excluded from the norms of school life.

Social exclusion may influence attendance rates as some children (varying between ages) who become socially excluded from their peers and school practices may truant by staying at home or even wander the streets. According to research on the effects of domestic violence (McGee 2000; Jaffe et al 1990), children would often prefer to stay at home because they are too frightened to leave their mothers side, so will refuse to go to school or feign illness so they can stay at home. McGee's (2000) study, comprising of fifty-four interviews with children and forty-eight interviews with mothers across England and Wales to gain insight into their experiences and effects of domestic violence, found that children were often resistant to attending school;

'I didn't like the thought of her being on her own with him, so I stayed at home all the time' (Marilyn aged 15 in McGee 2000:81).

During interviews conducted with practitioners from Women's Aid for this thesis, it was noted that practitioners often witnessed and heard of many children becoming anti-social by 'bunking off' school because they could not socially adjust to the school routine (Appendix 4:10). Numerous studies alongside data collected from interviews that were conducted with the Police and the YOS in the East Midlands have highlighted that anti-social behaviours such as truancy are early risk factors for facilitating a drift into delinquent and criminogenic behaviours (Farrington 1986; Bowles et al 2006; Robins and Robertson 1996), particularly as children who have been affected by domestic violence are vulnerable to being groomed by older more professional criminals (Appendix 2:12, Appendix 3).

Conversely some children and young people feel it is necessary to truant so they can become their mother's carer. Data collected from Women's Aid highlighted that many children grow up quickly because they have to carry out household duties such as cooking, cleaning, washing and even toilet duties if the mother is bed ridden with physical pain and/or injury. Such a relationship they highlighted *does* have a detrimental effect on the child or young person's education, particularly if they have spent a period of time out of school. Children may think school is unnecessary and indeed not a priority at that time in their life. Many lose the motivation and the strength needed to go back to school for facing questions, the catching up of school work, trying to fit back in with friends or the exclusion that was apparent to them before, and then face going home to their home or to a refuge where they are reminded of their violent background (Appendix 4:10).

School as a 'Safe Haven'
On the other hand it must be recognised that some children who have witnessed domestic violence in the home are not affected in their attendance and academic achievements. Some children will build resilience and get on with school practices as the school environment can become their 'respite from the violence' (McGee 2000:81). It has been found (McGee 2000; Appendix 1a, 2, 3 and 4) that some children who have been subjected to the stresses of

domestic violence actually perform better than many of their peers. Some children would prefer to be at school before it even opened and would stay for as long as they could in order to complete their academic work.

'And I used to make myself have detention so I could stay later, so I would miss the last bus' (Jackie aged 19 in McGee 2000:81).

While some children and young people may seem resilient, this does not mean to say they are unaffected by their home circumstances; school can give children and young people the opportunity to avoid and deny the reality of their circumstances. The school often becomes a child's 'safe haven' (Appendix 2:9) where they are able to escape reality. However avoidance and denial of their circumstances as a coping strategy (Dempsey et al 2000) can be further damaging to the child or young person's mental health and behavioural difficulties. Psychodynamic theorists (as highlighted in chapter one) stress the importance of dealing with intra-psychic conflicts and cognitions (thought processes), such as dealing with the effects of domestic violence, early on to enable healthy development (Cooper 1999:50)

4.3 School Responses: Policy and Practice

History and Development
Schools in England have been largely undeveloped compared to countries such as the USA and Canada in relation to their awareness of domestic violence and the effects of domestic violence upon children (Mullender 1994). However awareness grew in the UK during the 1970s and 1980s when the WLM and Women's Aid groups pioneered multi-agency work to provide more professional support to women and children coping with domestic violence (Harne and Radford 2008: 170-172). Women's Aid groups began to recruit feminists from varying professions in the 1980s including law, health and local authorities (housing) so they could create outreach services for women and children and present conferences in local areas, including schools, to raise the profile of domestic violence (Malos 2000; Hester et al 2007:213). Women's Aid was seen as the main instigators of a multi-agency development and awareness of domestic violence in the country, influencing the school curriculum; for example teaching practices of violence-free conflict resolution (Debonnaire 1994 in Hester 2000:213). By the 1990's developments by Women's Aid and furthermore calls for an interagency approach by the Metropolitan Police had influenced the Home Office to take up a multi-agency approach in order to help reduce crime (Harne and Radford 2008:178).

Arguably, the developments by Women's Aid and the Criminal Justice System (CJS) helped to give rise to many more inter-agency initiatives in the 21st century. Statutory duties are now placed upon welfare services, such as schools, to safeguard and promote the welfare of their pupils under the Education Act (2002), the Children Act (1989, 2004) and the *Every Child Matters* agenda (Department for Education and Skills 2003). Such duties include staff responsibilities to identify what the Department of Health (DH) describe as 'children in need' (Humphreys et al 2000:3), and refer those children and young people who are at risk of harm to the appropriate organisation. Education staff should create a safe learning environment including the arrangement of child protection measures for mental health, safety, as well as educating children about managing risks and improving resilience through aspects of the curriculum (HM Government 2006:67 and 2007:28, 29). These duties are now regulated by Local Safeguarding Children Boards (LSCBs), under the Children Act 2004 that requires each local authority to set a LSCB to ensure greater coordination between agencies on child protection matters (HM Government 2006:204) following the inter-agency failures

highlighted in the Laming Inquiry (2003) regarding the death of Victoria Climbié, at the hands of her aunt and aunts partner due to a catalogue of failures by the social services (Hester et al 2007:238,239).

Critique

Despite the introduction of these pro-active policies that place emphasise on the importance of child welfare and inter-agency communication on all statutory agencies, much criticism has developed surrounding the competency and effectiveness of the support given to vulnerable children in schools; in particular, with reference to teacher's abilities to identify children's needs and those who are at risk (Hester et al 2007; Appendix 1a, 2, 3, 4). However Christine Blower, the secretary of the National Union of Teachers, argued that matters of child protection should 'chiefly be the job of specialist services - not teachers' (The Times 18/11/2008). Although schools may be seen as a logical location for the provision of interventions (Maughan 1994) and maybe a preventative measure in the process of the cycle of violence, Christine Blower brings to light the contradiction of policy and practice that educational institutions face. While policies (Children Act 2004, Education Act 2002, Every Child Matters 2003) place statutory duties upon school teachers to safeguard children *no* practical staff training has been given to help teachers understand and identify children who are at risk (Home Affairs Committee 2008:173).

One can argue that without the training and competency to be able to identify the needs of a child who is suffering from internalised or externalised behaviours, school practices and policies may actually worsen a child's mental health and behaviours problems. According to the sanctions written out by government guidelines for schools, teachers have legal rights under The Education and Inspections Act 2006 (DCSF 2009:2) to discipline a child's disruptive by removing the child from a class or group, sending a letter home to parents/carers regarding their behaviour, confiscating property deemed inappropriate for school (for example a mobile phone), giving the child a detention. Furthermore the schools have a statutory right to suspend or even exclude children. If teachers are not equipped with the skills to identify mental health issues and the reasons behind certain disruptive behaviours; for a child who has witnessed domestic violence these sanctions are likely to have greater impact on any existing mental and behavioural difficulties. School interventions, such as detentions or even exclusions could be damaging to a child's behavioural and emotional well-being by working to increase any frustrations and angers, as well as increasing their isolation from normal social settings. The Education and Inspections Act highlights that for the first 5 days of the child's exclusion parents are solely responsible for them; only after the 5th day will the school become involved again (DfES 2006b:2). This ostracises children from school, which for some is considered their 'safe haven', increasing the risk posed to children who are living in violent homes.

Sanctions such as these should rarely be given to children who are at risk. Universal services (such as schools) play a pivotal role in the promotion, prevention and early detection of emotional vulnerabilities and mental health issues (DCSF and DH 2010:15). This role is undertaken under guidance from Children and Adolescent Mental Health Service (CAMHS) initiatives and statutory duties set by the Education Act 2002 and the Children Act 1989/2004, which enable educational professionals (Teachers, Education Welfare Officers, School Nurses etc) to identify harm and refer to other statutory agents (such as the social services) as and when appropriate (DCSF and DH 2010:15). Arguably, sanctions that socially

exclude children and young people from school practices restrict a vulnerable child from receiving support that will safeguard them and promotes their welfare.

Conversely if the reasons behind these behaviours are not disclosed (domestic violence) by the child or parent then how do teachers realise that these sanctions are inappropriate and their duties to safeguard and promote the child's welfare are to be applied? Service efforts are often restricted by identification matters and gaining access to this population because of the secrecy and hidden nature of the crime (Groves 1999:122). Many parents, as well as children, may not wish to disclose their family circumstances to professionals for fear of their family being blamed and or forced to split up, ending in children being taken into care (McGee 2000:189; Abrahams 1994:81). These attitudes highlight the need for better teacher training on identifying of abuse and risk assessment.

Recognition
Although there have been increasing developments and recognition for better support and training in schools to help raise the profile of such a hidden crime, conflicts between policy agenda and the practical implementation of support are arguably hindering the development and profile of domestic violence in education. The House of Commons Committee on Home Affairs in (2008) recognised such conflicts between policy and practice and have made specific recommendations for further improvement of the relationship between the two. These recommendations include; specific accredited training to be introduced for all education professionals on issues of domestic violence, a designated contact point for those witnessing or experiencing domestic violence to be created in each school, and the implementation of modules on domestic violence in all PGCE and professional development training courses under routine inspection by Ofsted (Home Affairs Committee 2008: 174-178).

In light of these recommendations the profile of schools as an educator and support mechanism for children and young people experiencing domestic violence and trauma has risen. These positive developments seem ever more needed now as research conducted across England, Wales and Scotland for the NSPCC has found that domestic violence is significantly affecting young people. According to the research, a quarter of girls in their study had experienced some form of physical violence from their relationships and three quarters of these girls (some as young as thirteen) stated that such physical violence had negatively impacted upon their welfare (Barter et al 2009:5). Such research has contributed to raising the profile of domestic violence and its effects upon children and young people in education, influencing change within the national school curriculum. Since this NSPCC survey was conducted proposals for teaching about positive relationships and the outcomes of unhealthy ones have been successfully made. From 2011 these proposals will be implemented as sex and relationship education (SRE), which will be brought in as a compulsory measure through the personal, social, health and economic (PSHE) curriculum (HM Government 2009a). SRE will aim to teach about appropriate intimacy and positive relationships (BBC News 25/11/2009) and will help to give children the knowledge, skills and confidence to make informed, safe choices in their lives and future relationships (DCSF 2008:2) in a bid to curb domestic violence.

These developments may help young people involved in domestically violent relationships to understand the effects such violence may have on their well-being, helping children to identify when they are living in homes with an unhealthy, hostile atmosphere. Despite these developments for the vulnerable population, the government have been criticised for being

too interventionist by Margaret Morrissey of the Parents Out-loud campaign group (BBC News 25/11/2009) bringing to light the concept of the 'nanny state', a conceptual stigma which highlights the interventionist nature of government (Huntington 2004).

While the profile of domestic violence and the effects that it can have on children and young people is rising within school environments, there is a potential concern that the development of effective policies surrounding the implementation of interventions for children affected by domestic violence in school may regress as political agendas and policies that try to grasp public confidence may take precedence as a new general election draws close in 2010.

4.4 Summary

One can see that despite limited research on how the effects of witnessing domestic violence directly affects children and young people's education, it is evident that the effects that domestic violence has on a young person's emotions and behaviours is likely to affect adjustment in other social settings such as the school environment; in terms of the learning process and peer socialisation, leading to problems such as social exclusion and truancy. While it is recognised that schools are a logical location for the provision of interventions (Maughan 1994) for emotional and behavioural difficulties, the contradiction between polices and practice place restrictions on the degree to which effective interventions can be accessed by children who are affected by domestic violence.

Although the school environment can be damaging to some children and young people who have witnessed domestic violence, one should not fail to give recognition to children and young people that cope with the effects of witnessing domestic violence *without* suffering from stunted educational achievements. Research should not be generalised as any effect may vary depending on age, gender, length of exposure, rate of external support, rate of resilience and the strength of parent-child attachment during and post the violence. Despite issues surrounding generalisability, one must also realise the likelihood of coping with the effects of domestic violence and making successful transitions into adulthood without sufficient support and protection from welfare services (education, health and social services) are slim.

CONCLUSION

5.1 Overview

After reviewing research, theory and practice one can see that witnessing domestic violence can have a significant impact upon a child or young person, and the effects on their behaviour can be detrimental to key stages of their life such as schooling. The lack of training and resources given to services and their staff to help identifying this vulnerable population, mean these children and young people are continually silenced during their experiences. Although government has begun to recognise domestic violence as a serious issue, they seem heavily under resourced to provide effective policies and intervention strategies to support children and young people affected by domestic violence, arguably conveying the message that domestic violence is acceptable. The lack of resources to help identify and provide effective support contradicts the positive developments government have brought forward. For example the '*Every* Child Matters' (2003) agenda was introduced by government to highlight the commitment of their services in protecting and promoting the welfare of every child and young person. However since 2003, few developments have been made to address the protection and promotion of welfare for children affected by domestic violence, arguably showing that in fact, every child *does not* matter.

On the other hand one cannot ignore that identifying the effects of domestic violence upon children and young people are complicated; while some behaviours presented by children affected by domestic violence can become viewed as typical of their age, other children that come from safe, non-violent homes may present behaviours which may lead staff to think they are at risk. This is why comprehensive funding and resources need to be channelled in to a range of services including education, health and social services so that strategic training and education can be given to workers to equip them with the knowledge and skills to identify the right signs of traumatic experience in the child or young person's behaviour to help aid successful transitions into adulthood.

Although domestic violence is a major issue in society causing harm to many women, men and children, recognition must be given to the many interventions introduced since 1997 when New Labour came to power. Child protection measures were increased through the Children Act 2004 and the introduction of LCSB and MARACs, alongside increasing educational awareness with proposals for domestic violence to become a compulsory aspect of PSHE in secondary schooling by 2011. According to the British Crime Survey (BCS) and police recorded crime rates, since 1997-2008/09 domestic violence reporting's have more than halved by 67% (HM Government 2009b:9), suggesting that domestic violence is being taken more seriously and the increase in protection for 'children in need' is proving relatively effective. However is this really the case?

A recent Home Office Statistical Bulletin (2010) reflecting results from the BCS estimates that domestic violence effects one in three women (HM Government 2009:34), a higher rate than previous data which reported one in four women are affected (Mirrlees-Black 1999). So while statistics since 1997-2008/09 show that domestic violence incidents are reducing, the likelihood of women becoming victims of domestic violence has increased. The reason for a decline in reporting of domestic violence is not known; however mother's fears of becoming involved and failed by the Criminal Justice System (CJS) are particularly apparent, along with the fears that social services will separate the family and take their children into care

(Humphreys 2000; McGee 2000). If the likelihood of a woman becoming a victim has increased, but the rate of reporting has declined, both women and their children are likely to remain silenced and continually exposed to domestic violence in their homes.

The hidden nature of the crime in the 21st century, as showed by the juxtaposition of official statistics, demonstrates that it is imperative that recommendations are made in the hope that existing and future governments will take note of the needs of children and young people that have or are currently living in the context of domestic violence. If the government takes note of existing recommendations and the evidence of research, then there is room to resource effective support mechanisms for those who are affected, and have been silenced by their experiences of domestic violence.

5.2 Recommendations

The following recommendations are running themes found during my interviews conducted with professional practitioners in the field, alongside the themes and recommendations discovered through reviewing existing literature and research.

Training
Professional practitioners in all agencies in contact with children (particularly health, education, housing, police, probation and social services) need the appropriate training to give knowledge, raise awareness and equip them with the right skills to communicate with children and effectively identify when a child or young person has been harmed by witnessing domestic violence, now acknowledged in section 120 of the Adoption and Children Act (2002). Being trained with the right skills to identify is imperative as this is arguably the greatest barrier which comes between children and women receiving support. Many children are reluctant to disclose the domestic violence because they fear being judged, shamed and the idea of forced family separation (Abrahams 1994:81; Groves 1999:122; McGee 2000:189). Because of this barrier training to identify and prepare staff with the most up-to-date research on the effects of domestic violence upon children and young people is vital in order to help, support and stabilise this vulnerable population. As McGee highlighted, this training should be ongoing (McGee 2000:228) throughout the course of their working life, so that practitioners are up to date with new and forthcoming legislation, policy and research that identify such children. While Women's Aid advocates already offer training to practitioners, they do not have the funding or resources to implement ongoing training for staff in all of the appropriate services.

Education, education, education
Educational support is vital for children and young people who have been affected by witnessing domestic violence so that social exclusion or roots of truancy are prevented. In order to provide effective support, schools need to address;

- the training of their staff, so they are appropriately equipped with the skills to identify children who are in need of support.
- The curriculum, so that domestic violence is taught appropriately and not minimised for its seriousness.
- Onsite support to address the specific needs of the child or young person, particularly support that will address internalised and or externalised behaviours that may affect their transition into adulthood.

Research carried out for the NSPCC highlighted that services offering therapeutic support to children and young people harmed by domestic violence should be identified as a priority area for development by central government and local authorities (Stanley et al 2009:8). A placement for this therapy would be appropriate in schools, as it means a child who wants to access this support will not need to take detrimental time out of their school learning process. Therapeutic support is not currently offered on a national scale within schools. In the East Midlands children who access DVIRPs 'Break-Thru' scheme which offers therapeutic support for children specifically affected by domestic violence, need to take time out of school to access the service (Appendix 1a:10). This scheme is under resourced and so they do not have enough staff to support the service demand, putting many children on a waiting list, or consequently deterring children from accessing help (Appendix 1a:32). If government were to signpost a therapeutic support team on a national level within all schools, this service would benefit all children needing help for trauma and would unlikely keep children waiting. Understandably this intervention would be extremely costly to government expenditure, so government may want to pilot this idea of intervention first to see how successful and effective it is so that valuable resources are not drained.

Other developments to address domestic violence in schools however are beginning to improve. For example steps are being made in order to educate children's perceptions of violence, such as the proposals for Sex and Relationship Education (SRE) to become compulsory in secondary school, which will raise awareness of domestic violence, while educating pupils about appropriate intimacy and what positive relationships are (HM Government 2009a; DCSF 2008). It is important that government keep such mechanisms of knowledge as a central theme in their development of future domestic violence plans to help change the attitudes and stigma attached to domestic violence in forthcoming generations, and to allow the school to be an appropriate welfare service in which children and young people feel able to disclose information. It is important that training is given to education staff, with particular emphasis on the importance of their role and duty to identify and refer children at risk within the school environment, so that conflicts and stigmas attached by some school staff to the idea of 'school as social work' are reduced.

Funding

It is naive to think that the improvement of support and intervention for children and young people affected by domestic violence will become more effective without the necessary resources to train and educate workers, who come into contact with children on a daily basis (particularly education staff), and to implement new schemes into the school curriculum. Funding is imperative and was an apparent issue collated in all four interviews which were conducted with professional practitioners working in the field of domestic violence, particularly the voluntary organisations (DVIRP-Appendix 1a:32, Women's Aid-Appendix 4:30; YOS-Appendix 2:28, and Police-Appendix 3:34).

Funding from central and local governments should be re-addressed as this resource is crucial in order to enable government to encompass the recommendations above. If the funding for these recommendations of support and intervention can be put in place on a national level then there is hope in successfully identifying and stabilising many children and young people who have been affected by witnessing domestic violence. However, if government do not recognise the importance of further funding than many children and young people will continue to suffer what Coy et al (2009) describes as 'the post code lottery' of uneven intervention and support services for those affected by domestic violence in Britain.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Case study

Domestic Violence Integrated Response Project (DVIRP)-Break Thru Project

An 8-year boy was referred to the project as he had experienced and witnessed domestic violence at home. His father perpetrated the abuse, which involved physical, mental and emotional abuse.

During the assessment, it was recorded that this boy had seen his father hit his mother on a 'weekly' basis. If he attempted to intervene, his father would hit him too. Due to this the boy 'learned' to stay upstairs where he would hear the abuse going on.

At the time of the referral the parents had separated. However the effects of the abuse he had witnessed were evident. His mother explained how he had trouble sleeping and would often wake up due to the nightmares. He would then insist on sleeping with his mother. He did not like his mother leaving him alone and developed a negative perception of men. He was very protective towards his mother. He also displayed a lot of anger and aggression, with which he did not know what to do, resulting in him copying his father's behaviour and hitting his mum and breaking things around the house.

I worked with this boy for six weeks in a group setting. Although at first he was quiet, listening to other children share their experiences, he was able to open up and talk about what he had been through. He now understood that other children had been through similar experiences and that he was not to blame. He comprehended that swearing and putting people down is also a form of abuse.

He confided to the group how he had felt he could not protect his mother when his father would abuse her, but now understood that it was not his duty to do so. We discussed how the children could protect themselves if they were ever in a similar situation.

When we looked at feelings and how to deal with them he practiced techniques that helped him release anger in a safe way. His mother reported that his behaviour at home had improved and that he was talking to her more about the abuse. She also reported at the end of the therapeutic work that he was able to sleep better and started to let her 'protect' him again, instead of him trying to protect her.

The benefits of the therapeutic intervention were evident by the end of the programme and confirmed by the child and his mother.

Appendix 1a: Interview with a representative from DVIRP

(To maintain anonymity the interviewee's job role cannot be disclosed as this service is not implemented in all areas of the East Midlands)

The purpose of the interview is to gain information on how witnessing domestic violence/being an indirect victim can impact upon the child/young person's life. I only want to consider the impact of witnessing domestic violence through sight or hearing, not the effects of a child/young person being physical abused. For protection purposes your name and any names given in this interview will be anonomysed in the dissertation.

Impact on behaviour

1. How do you come into contact with children/young who have experiences of domestic violence?
2. At what stage do you come into contact with children who are suffering with the effects of domestic violence?
3. What forms of violence have the children commonly been subjected to?
4. What impact do you believe domestic violence has on children and young people? (Emotional, psychological and behavioural-internalized and externalized)
5. Are there any common trends in the behaviours you have witnessed?
6. Do you believe that these behaviours are all directly linked to the effect of domestic violence?
7. Do you think it is important gender is considered when looking at behaviours or is this irrelevant?
8. If so, in what way do you think it is important?
9. Do behaviours of these young people change between ages, cultures etc?

Effects on lifestyle

10. Do you think that witnessing domestic violence can affect the child or young person educational development and achievement?
11. If so, how do you think the impact of witnessing domestic violence may affect their educational developments?
12. What about their relationships with family and friends, are there significant affects to these relationships after experiencing domestic violence?
13. Do you think that domestic violence can influence a child's behaviour into being anti-social e.g. is the child/young person more likely to become deviant or commit crime than a child who hasn't experienced domestic violence?
14. Do you think domestic violence still affects children in their transition to adulthood?
15. If so how do you think they will be affected as an adult in terms of careers?
16. Do you think childhood experiences of witnessing inter-partner violence will affect their future partner relationships?
17. What about relationships with friends and family as adults?
18. If so in what ways do you think there relationships will be affected?

Agency Response

19. How are people aware of your service?
20. Is it a free service?
21. How long will they spend getting help from your service?
22. What form of help/intervention is carried out?
23. How is this done?
24. What is the status of your child protection measures in your service?
25. If the child drops out of the intervention, will the child/young person's progress be continued to be monitored?
26. From responses to the service, how effective would you say the service is?
27. How is the effectiveness of your service monitored?
28. What other services can a child who has experienced domestic violence access?
29. Government initiatives on recognising that children's voices should be heard have become prevalent over the last few years throughout the *'every child matters'* agenda.

Do you think that all agencies that deal with vulnerable and potential vulnerable children/young people have adopted this agenda in their practices?
30. If not, why not?
31. Would you make any recommendations for improvement in these services, including your own?
32. In your view how much of the young person's perspective is taken into consideration throughout domestic violence cases in England and Wales?
33. Is there anything else you would wish to say?

Appendix 2: Interview with the Operational Manager from an East Midlands Youth Offending Service.

The purpose of the interview is to gain information on how witnessing domestic violence/being an indirect victim can impact upon the child/young person's life. I only want to consider the impact of witnessing domestic violence through sight or hearing, not at the effects of a child/young person being physical abused. For protection purposes your name and any names given in this interview will be anonomysed in the dissertation.

Impact on behaviour

1. How do you come into contact with children/young who have experiences of domestic violence?
   At what stage do you come into contact with children who are suffering with the effects of domestic violence?
2. What forms of violence have the children commonly been subjected to?
3. What impact do you believe domestic violence has on children and young people? (Emotional, psychological and behavioural)
4. Are there any common trends in the behaviours you have witnessed?
5. Do you believe that these behaviours are all directly linked to the effect of domestic violence?
6. Do you think it is important gender is considered when looking at behaviours or is this irrelevant?
7. If so, in what way do you think it is important?
8. Do behaviours of these young people change between ages, class, cultures etc?

Effects on lifestyle

9. Do you think that witnessing domestic violence can affect the child or young person educational development and achievement?
10. If so, how do you think the impact of witnessing domestic violence may affect their educational developments?
11. What about their relationships with family and friends, are there significant affects to these relationships after experiencing domestic violence?
12. Do you think that domestic violence can influence a child's behaviour into being anti-social e.g. is the child/young person more likely to become deviant or commit crime than a child who hasn't experienced domestic violence?
13. Do you think domestic violence still affects children in their transition to adulthood?
14. If so how do you think they will be affected as an adult? (Consider careers and education)
15. Do you think childhood experiences of witnessing inter-partner violence will affect their future partner relationships?
16. What about relationships with friends and family as adults?

17. If so in what ways do you think there relationships will be affected?

Agency Response

18. How does the YOS as an agency under the CJS come into contact with children from such backgrounds?
19. When you come into contact with such children is there any work done with them to address their 'at risk' background and the impact of witnessing domestic violence?
20. If so, what interventions are carried out?
21. Do you think these interventions are effective?
22. If the child refuses intervention, is regard for the child/young person's safety still monitored?
23. If so how is it monitored?
24. Do you think support under the CJS is sufficient enough to meet the needs of such children?
25. Government initiatives on recognising that children's voices should be heard have become prevalent over the last few years throughout the *'every child matters'* agenda. Do you think that all agencies that deal with vulnerable and potential vulnerable children/young people have adopted this agenda in their practices?
26. If not, why not?
27. Would you make any recommendations for improvement in these services, including your own?
28. In your view how much of the young person's perspective is taken into consideration throughout domestic violence cases in England and Wales?
29. Is there anything else you would wish to say?

Appendix 3: Interview with the Police Domestic Abuse and Safeguarding Adults Coordinator, East Midlands.

The purpose of the interview is to gain information on how witnessing domestic violence/being an indirect victim can impact upon the child/young person's life. I only want to consider the impact of witnessing domestic violence through sight or hearing, not the effects of a child/young person being physical abused. For protection purposes your name and any names given in this interview will be anonomysed in the dissertation.

Impact on behaviour

1. How do you come into contact with children/young who have experiences of domestic violence?
2. At what stage do you come into contact with children who are suffering with the effects of domestic violence?
3. What forms of violence have the children commonly been subjected to?
4. What impact do you believe domestic violence has on children and young people? (Emotional, psychological and behavioural)
5. Are there any common trends in the behaviours you have witnessed?
6. Do you believe that these behaviours are all directly linked to the effect of domestic violence?
7. Do you think it is important gender is considered when looking at behaviours or is this irrelevant?
8. If so, in what way do you think it is important?
9. Do behaviours of these young people change between ages, cultures etc?

Effects on lifestyle

10. Do you think that witnessing domestic violence can affect the child or young person educational development and achievement?
11. If so, how do you think the impact of witnessing domestic violence may affect their educational developments?
12. What about their relationships with family and friends, are there significant affects to these relationships after experiencing domestic violence?
13. Do you think that domestic violence can influence a child's behaviour into being anti-social e.g. is the child/young person more likely to become deviant or commit crime than a child who hasn't experienced domestic violence?
14. Do you think domestic violence still affects children in their transition to adulthood?
15. If so how do you think they will be affected as an adult? (Consider careers)
16. Do you think childhood experiences of witnessing inter-partner violence will affect their future partner relationships?
17. What about relationships with friends and family as adults?
18. If so in what ways do you think there relationships will be affected?

Agency Response

19. If a child has committed an offence, will a possible 'at risk' background be checked?
20. If the investigating police officer finds that the child/young person are from an 'at risk' background is this considered in their case?
21. If so how is it considered?
22. According to the Crown Prosecution Service, they won't precede a case to court unless there is more than a 50% chance a conviction will be secured. Do you think this is good practice?
23. How do the police as an agency under the CJS come into contact with children from such backgrounds?
24. Once in your contact, are they referred to any other specialists?
25. If so who?
26. What happens to the child if a domestic violence case is dropped, are they monitored afterwards?
27. If so by who?
28. Are all Children/ young people eligible to receive support before reaching the criminal justice process?
29. If so, what services are available?
30. How accessible are these services in terms of knowledge, time to be seen and money?
31. Do you think support under the CJS is sufficient enough to meet the needs of such children?
32. Government initiatives on recognising that children's voices should be heard have become prevalent over the last few years throughout the *'every child matters'* agenda. Do you think that all agencies that deal with vulnerable and potential vulnerable children/young people have adopted this agenda in their practices?
33. If not, why not?
34. Would you make any recommendations for improvement in these services, including your own?
35. In your view how much of the young person's perspective is taken into consideration throughout domestic violence cases in England and Wales?
36. Is there anything else you would wish to say?

Appendix 4: Interview with senior refuge worker from Women's Aid, East Midlands

The purpose of the interview is to gain information on how witnessing domestic violence/being an indirect victim can impact upon the child/young person's life. I only want to consider the impact of witnessing domestic violence through sight or hearing, not the effects of a child/young person being physical abused. For protection purposes your name and any names given in this interview will be anonomysed in the dissertation.

Impact on behaviour

1. How do you come into contact with children/young who have experiences of domestic violence?
2. At what stage do you come into contact with children who are suffering with the effects of domestic violence?
3. What forms of violence have the children commonly been subjected to?
4. What impact do you believe domestic violence has on children and young people? (Emotional, psychological and behavioural)
5. Are there any common trends in the behaviours you have witnessed?
6. Do you believe that these behaviours are all directly linked to the effect of domestic violence?
7. Do you think it is important gender is considered when looking at behaviours or is this irrelevant?
8. If so, in what way do you think it is important?
9. Do behaviours of these young people change between ages, cultures etc?

Effects on lifestyle

10. Do you think that witnessing domestic violence can affect the child or young person educational development and achievement?
11. If so, how do you think the impact of witnessing domestic violence may affect their educational developments?
12. What about their relationships with family and friends/peers, are there significant affects to these relationships after experiencing domestic violence?
13. Do you think that domestic violence can influence a child's behaviour into being anti-social e.g. is the child/young person more likely to become deviant or commit crime than a child who hasn't experienced domestic violence?
14. Do you think domestic violence still affects children in their transition to adulthood?
15. If so how do you think they will be affected as an adult? (Consider careers)
16. Do you think childhood experiences of witnessing inter-partner violence will affect their future partner relationships?
17. What about relationships with friends and family as adults?
18. If so in what ways do you think there relationships will be affected?

Agency Response

19. How are people aware of your service?
20. Is it a free service?
21. How long will they spend getting help from your service?
22. What form of help/intervention is carried out?
23. How is this done?
24. What is the status of your child protection measures in your service?
25. From responses to the service, how effective would you say the service is?

26. How is the effectiveness of your service monitored?
27. What other services can a child who has experienced domestic violence access?
28. Government initiatives on recognising that children's voices should be heard have become prevalent over the last few years throughout the *'every child matters'* agenda. Do you think that all agencies that deal with vulnerable and potential vulnerable children/young people have adopted this agenda in their practices?
29. If not, why not?
30. Would you make any recommendations for improvement in these services, including your own?
31. In your view how much of the young person's perspective is taken into consideration throughout domestic violence cases in England and Wales?
32. Is there anything else you would wish to say?

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