

"I Know What Love Means." Gender-Based Violence in the Lives of Urban Adolescents

SARA B. JOHNSON, M.P.H.,¹ SHANNON FRATTAROLI, Ph.D., M.P.H.,¹
JACQUELYN CAMPBELL, Ph.D., R.N.,³ JOSEPH WRIGHT, M.D., M.P.H.,²
AMARI S. PEARSON-FIELDS, M.P.H.,⁵ and TINA L. CHENG, M.D., M.P.H.⁴

ABSTRACT

Objectives: In focus groups designed to probe violence and fighting, urban youth emphasized the impact of gender-based violence in their lives. We used this opportunity to qualitatively explore how gender-based violence affects the lives of urban adolescents.

Methods: Thirteen structured focus group interviews were held with youth from three high-violence settings: a large, urban high school, a training center for disadvantaged youth, and a school for adjudicated youth. Participants were 120 urban, predominant African American youth and young adults ages 14–22. Seven focus groups were conducted with females and six with males.

Results: Participants did not talk about violence without discussing the gender-based violence they experienced in a number of social roles: as witnesses to family violence, as victims of intimate partner and dating violence, or as peer observers of harassing and violent behavior. Male participants felt that other males used violence as a way of maintaining a sense of power over their partners. Participants of both genders struggled to identify the boundaries between playing, harassment, and abuse. Female participants suggested that females sometimes wanted males to hit them, interpreting this violence as a sign of commitment. Similarly, females struggled to determine if gender-based violence could be a reflection of love.

Conclusions: Gender-based violence is a significant issue in the lives of urban adolescents. Youth experienced gender-based violence in a number of contexts and roles, and many had concluded that such violence was sometimes acceptable. Prevention strategies should start early and address the spectrum of youths' experiences.

¹The Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health, Baltimore, Maryland.

²Division of Emergency Medicine, Children's National Medical Center, and George Washington University Schools of Medicine and Public Health, Washington, DC.

³The Johns Hopkins School of Nursing, Baltimore, Maryland.

⁴Division of General Pediatrics and Adolescent Medicine, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland; *formerly at:* George Washington University School of Medicine and Public Health, Children's National Medical Center, Children's Research Institute, Washington, DC.

⁵Mautner Project, Washington, DC.

This project was supported by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention R49/CCR331657 and the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation Generalist Faculty Scholar Program (T.L.C.).

INTRODUCTION

IN THE LAST DECADE, more attention has been devoted to understanding relationship violence involving adolescents, specifically dating violence. Dating violence often links the violence youths experience in the families they grow up in with the violence some experience in the families they establish as adults.¹ Research on dating violence has traditionally used quantitative methods to assess prevalence and health effects.¹⁻⁵ Estimates of the prevalence of dating violence among adolescents range from 9% to 46%, depending on the definitions and methods used to identify cases.³ Urban youth may be particularly at risk. African American adolescents report higher rates of dating violence than youth of other ethnicities.⁶ Further, living in a neighborhood with high levels of poverty, violence, and social disorganization has been correlated with higher likelihood of dating violence.^{3,7}

Compared with other types of violence, urban youths' experience with family and relationship-level violence has received little attention in the literature. However, there is evidence that gender-based violence may be related to other kinds of violence that receive a higher profile. For example, peer violence and dating violence may be related. Boys who are involved in peer violence are more likely to be involved in dating violence and sexual aggression.⁸ Peer and dating violence are often included under the rubric of youth violence, and the two categories are often collapsed under the heading of school violence for incidents that happen in school. With these associations among types of violence in mind, this study is the first to our knowledge to report holistically on the broad spectrum of gender-based violence that urban youth experience, using their own words. We examine how a sample of youth talk about witnessing domestic violence and experiencing intimate partner and dating violence and how they grapple with distinguishing the boundaries between behaviors that are playful vs. violent and abusive. Youth shared these opinions and experiences in the context of discussions about fighting and violence.

Most studies of domestic violence and adolescents have relied on quantitative methods, particularly measurement surveys. These studies have largely sought to identify the consequences of witnessing such violence, which include a variety of emotional and behavioral problems.⁹⁻¹²

However, there have been few attempts to explore the effect of adolescents witnessing domestic violence using qualitative methods.¹⁰ Qualitative, exploratory methods are particularly appropriate in this case, as urban youths' experiences with gender-based violence have been insufficiently studied to inform hypothesis-driven quantitative research.

This study is an outgrowth of a larger project designed to identify community-based interventions to prevent adolescent assault injury. In this project, we used focus groups to explore urban youths' experience with violence and fighting. The findings from the larger study have been published elsewhere.¹³ In the process of exploring these topics, it was readily apparent that gender-based violence impacted the lives of the youth in this study. Participants did not discuss violence without talking about gender-based violence: as child witnesses to family violence, as victims of intimate partner and dating violence, or as peer observers of harassing and violent behavior. Although the focus groups were not specifically designed to address this topic, we found youths' insights into the problem of gender-based violence and its relationship to other types of violence they experience compelling. This study helps to provide a rich and, to our knowledge previously unreported, perspective on an age group and population that is rarely included in such analyses.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

Definition of gender-based violence

For the purpose of this study, we defined gender-based violence as violence that takes place between members of the opposite sex, who may or may not have a romantic relationship, and that is driven by their understanding of gender roles.

Study design

We conducted 13 focus group interviews^{14,15} with urban adolescents and young adults between 1996 and 1998 in Washington, DC. The first part of this study was designed to explore youths' perceptions of the causes and consequences of violence in their lives and communities and the strategies they used to stay safe. A second set of 7 focus groups explored the most prevalent experience with interpersonal violence in this group—fight-

ing. In both sets of focus groups, youths devoted substantial time to talking about gender-based violence. We report here the themes from our analyses of these focus group discussions.

Sites, recruitment, and participants

Prior to the launch of the study, we identified three sites to represent high violence settings within Washington, DC. They included a large, urban high school that had experienced several violent student deaths, a training center for disadvantaged youth, and a school for adjudicated youth. We conducted six male focus groups, one at each of the sites for both parts of the study. With female participants, we conducted three focus groups in part one (two at the high school and one at the training center) and four groups in part two (two at the high school and two at the training center).

At the two alternative schools, because of their small size, all students ages ≥ 14 were invited to participate, and students who completed the consent process were included. At the high school, school administrators distributed consent forms to all students in several classes they selected; focus groups included all students ages ≥ 14 who returned completed consent forms. We obtained parental consent for minor students, and all students completed an assent process. Each participant received \$20 for participating. The Children's National Medical Center Institutional Review Board approved the study protocol.

Procedures

The larger study, from which this study emerged, was designed to assess violence and fighting.¹³ We created two semistructured focus group interview guides, one for each part of the study. The first guide explored definitions, meanings, types, and causes of violence; strategies for staying safe; and suggestions for violence prevention interventions. The second guide probed social norms about fighting, consequences of fighting, and instances where fighting was necessary. Focus group moderators and observers, who were members of the project staff, received 6 hours of training on the use of the guides by a qualitative methodologist. The guides were pilot-tested with a group of urban peer health educators.

Groups ranged in size from 6 to 10 participants and lasted 1.5–2 hours. Each group was gender

segregated and facilitated by a same-sex moderator and an observer.¹⁶ The moderators used the protocols to ask open-ended questions and to probe responses. All focus groups were audiotaped and transcribed. Observers took notes and documented nonverbal aspects of the discussions. Before each group, participants completed a brief survey that included demographic information.

Analysis

We used a three-step process to analyze the focus group data, using grounded theory as our analytical approach.¹⁷ First, an experienced primary coder (S.B.J.) open-coded data and consulted with a secondary coder (S.F.), an expert in qualitative methodology. Next, we conducted detailed coding and developed a coding manual. Finally, we conducted thematic analysis of the coded data to identify patterns and themes. We reconciled differences in thematic organization through discussion among authors (S.B.J., S.F., T.L.C.).^{18,19} Data were analyzed after stratifying by gender in order to identify gender-specific themes. The differences revealed using that stratified analysis are reflected in gender-specific reporting of results. We used The Ethnograph software²⁰ to aid in data management. This analysis is based on demographic survey data, focus group transcripts, and observers' notes, which provided situational and contextual detail.

RESULTS

A total of 120 youth ages 14–22 years (mean 17.2) participated in the 13 focus groups. Ninety-seven percent of participants were African American, and 44% were male. Participant sociodemographic characteristics are summarized in Table 1.

Participants made gender-based violence a major topic of discussion in all of the focus groups, which were designed to assess causes of violence and fighting. They focused on their experiences witnessing domestic violence in their families, on experiencing or witnessing dating violence among their peers, and on their difficulties discerning when playful teasing behavior becomes violent and when violence turns abusive. Males discussed the topic primarily as observers, whereas females drew on their own personal experiences and those of friends. In addition, females spent

TABLE 1. SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF FOCUS GROUP PARTICIPANTS (N = 120)

Characteristic	n	% ^a
Age, years		
14–16	46	39
17–19	62	53
20–22	10	9
Sex		
Male	53	44
Female	67	56
Grade in school		
8th	1	1
9th	5	4
10th	32	27
11th	33	28
12th	11	9
Other ^b	35	30
Race/ethnicity		
Black/African American	116	97
Hispanic	2	2
White	1	1
Asian	1	1

^aPercents may not total to 100 due to rounding.

^bStudents in nontraditional school settings without grades.

more time talking about gender-based violence than males did. Quotations that further illustrate selected study themes are reported in Table 2.

Reasons for abuse

Across focus groups, participants focused on males as the perpetrators of gender-based violence, although many groups acknowledged that

females were sometimes violent. Participants discussed several reasons why men might abuse women. Males described gender-based violence as an emotional catharsis that could help relieve frustration. Male participants felt that men used violence against their partners to bolster their self-esteem and sense of power. A male participant observed: “[men] feel as though they have to have that dominant role where the girl won’t disrespect them. If their girlfriend’s not giving them this image like [they’re] almighty powerful, they want to put this image up to make the girl have less confidence in herself and more confidence in her boyfriend or husband.”

Both male and female participants believed that a male sometimes used violence against his partner to punish her for being disrespectful. One young woman described this connection: “If a girl says something smart to a boy, he feels as though he can hit her, especially in a boyfriend-girlfriend relationship.” Jealousy was also cited by both genders as a reason for violence. For example, females thought it was relatively common for males to threaten to “whip” their partners if they talked to another male: “[if a] girl talk to another boy, boyfriend ride up, girl jacked up big time.”

Difficulty identifying the boundaries of play, violence, and abuse

Participants discussed the difficulties people their age faced in differentiating violence from flirting. One male participant explained: “We

TABLE 2. SELECTED STUDY THEMES AND RELATED QUOTATIONS, BY GENDER

Study theme	Quotation
Males	
Difficulty identifying the boundary between teasing, harrassment, and abuse	<i>Male participant:</i> “Some females, when they ain’t in a good mood . . . they might get mad at us [for slapping them “playfully”], but they ain’t all about calling the police . . . but it’s still sexual harrassment”
The definition of “abuse”	<i>Male participant:</i> “You know when I meant ‘abuse.’ . . . I’m talking about actually using your fists, punchin’ a kid in the face, or your wife in the face and leaving bruises on their body.”
Females	
Females accepting abuse as a sign of love or commitment	<i>Female participant:</i> “Some girls think that when a boy hits them or give them a bruise or something—they think it’s cute because they really like the boy or whatever, so they think that the boy really loves them. . . .”
Females “baiting” males to hit them	<i>Female participant 1:</i> “I see a lot of teenage girls getting beat by their boyfriends and not being accused.” <i>Female participant 2:</i> “A lot of girls like attention.”

might make a pass at 'em [girls] . . . We'd probably say somethin' . . . [or] smack her ass. . . She probably say 'stop playin' or somethin' like that. . . ." Similarly, female participants discussed how girls their age might confuse violence with playfulness: "Some of these girls think if they, like, get hit by a boy and they have a bruise, they be like, 'oh girl, he's just playin.'" Several participants explained that, at some point, violence against a partner met the threshold of abuse. For example, one male participant equated abuse with physical evidence in the form of bruises.

Female participants, in particular, were conflicted about whether gender-based violence could, in fact, be a reflection of love. "Some girls think that when a boy hits them or gives them a bruise . . . they think it's cute . . . they think that the boy really loves them. . . ." Others thought that in order to tolerate abuse, the victim must love her partner. The following exchange illustrates the confusion participants felt about the line between love and violence. Participant 1: "If you love somebody, you would never do nothin' in the world to harm them . . ." Participant 2: "if [a woman's] getting beat and she stays there . . . that's love, she loves him." Participant 1: "You don't understand, love means . . ." Participant 2: "I know what love means."

Youth as witnesses and victims of gender-based violence

Participants described gender-based violence from several perspectives: as social commentators, as peer observers to harassing and violent behavior, as witnesses to violence in their families, and as victims of violence themselves. As social commentators, male participants discussed the genesis of gender-based violence, particularly violence as learned behavior in families. "A lot of men that beat on women . . . they seen it done in their family, and it's just something normal to do . . ." Despite the cycle of violence males alluded to, female participants noted that not everyone who grows up in an abusive household goes on to commit acts of gender-based violence.

Male and female participants revealed that exposure to gender-based violence through peer interactions was a source of their authority on this issue. Based on their observations, male participants explained violence toward women as resulting from character deficits of male perpetrators, such as lack of self-esteem and domineering tendencies.

In several female focus groups, participants discussed how witnessing parental violence impacted them and described the trauma of witnessing their mothers' abuse. One young woman relayed how her mother failed to acknowledge that her violent relationship impacted her daughter. "They be like . . . 'don't worry about me [mother]. They don't understand that what you [mother] go through, I [daughter] go through. I go through a little bit worse cause I'm sittin' there thinkin' about it every night. . . ." Many females talked about their struggle to hide their pain from their mothers in order to spare their feelings. "You can't let your momma or whoever see that you're beat [down]. That ain't gonna do nothing but bring harm to them and have them start thinking about it. . . ."

There were discussion and agreement among participants that if they lived in an abusive household, they were generally unable to intervene to help themselves or their parent: "There's nothin' you can do about it really . . . 'cause if your mother or whoever let [her children] go through that, you have to go through it." Some participants discussed the resistance they encountered when they did try to encourage a parent to leave, especially when their parent used protecting their children as a reason for staying.

Although fewer individuals talked about their own experiences as former victims of domestic violence, several had firsthand experiences with the topic. They used their own experiences to help others understand why women might stay in a violent relationship and the intricacies involved in leaving: "I've been through it. . . . He beat me for two years and it wasn't that I loved him; it was I was scared that he was goin' to kill me." At least one victim of domestic violence chose to leave her abuser when she felt her own child was in danger.

Victim blaming

A major topic of conversation among female focus group participants was whether there were situations in which females were partly or completely responsible for violence perpetrated against them by males. Specifically, females consistently agreed that many girls their age "do things to boys to try to make them want to hit them." One participant observed: "It's understandable why men abuse women. . . . Some women do not know how to be quiet." Some par-

ticipants believed that when women were victims of violence, they often justified the abuse as having been deserved based on something they said. Many girls thought that accepting abuse was a good way to secure the interest of a man with whom they were seeking a relationship.

DISCUSSION

This study provides a perspective on gender-based violence from the point of view of adolescents who experience this violence in several roles: as social commentators, peer observers, child witnesses to parental violence, and victims.

Participants in this study demonstrated that they are struggling with the boundaries of appropriate behavior involving members of the opposite sex and are grappling with love and relationships in general. Our findings underscore existing research that suggests that adolescents often confuse abuse with love, feeling that violence indicates a commitment that will ultimately benefit the relationship.^{3,21} The issue of intention, specifically the line between playful and abusive behavior, is difficult for adolescents, and may also be difficult for their teachers and parents to recognize.²² This ambiguity may make it difficult for adults to know what guidance to give adolescents. In addition, adults may inadvertently support or reinforce social norms supportive of gender-based violence.

Both males' and females' perspectives on gender-based violence were informed by watching their peers navigate their own relationships. This social learning process may be particularly important for gender-based violence.²¹ There is evidence that having friends who are involved in violent relationships is among the strongest predictors of later involvement in dating violence.²³

Males' perspectives of gender-based violence

This study provides a rare opportunity to understand urban male adolescents' perspectives on gender-based violence expressed in their own words. They are particularly insightful about why men abuse women. Males' comments about relationship violence were notably reflective and nonjudgmental. Unlike female participants, they discussed gender-based violence from the perspective of observers, rather than victims, perpetrators, or members of abusive households. They

talked about power and control, catharsis, and wanting to be respected in a relationship. The males in our focus groups offered revealing insights into the motivations behind male use of gender-based violence. Their observation that a man may use violence against his partner as a means of undercutting her self-esteem and promoting his indicates a more self-aware perspective than might be expected in this age group. Their experiences echo the literature that suggests that unhappiness about power dynamics is an important predictor of relationship violence among adults.²⁴

Previous studies demonstrate that among high school students, the self-reported prevalence of physical dating violence is similar among males and females.^{4,5,21} Nonetheless, the idea of males as victims was not salient to male participants. This may be because female victims are more likely to report severe violence and injuries and, therefore, may see the problem as more relevant to them.¹ There also may be some stigma associated with males portraying themselves as victims in a group of their peers.

Females' perspectives on gender-based violence

The need for attention from the opposite sex is acute during adolescence.²¹ Developmental processes may make abuse a risk worth taking, from the adolescent perspective, to feel loved or proud of being attached. Females, across focus groups, consistently talked about some young women's desire for males to be violent toward them, as such actions are perceived as a demonstration of love. This interpretation of violence toward female partners has been made by young women since domestic violence was first studied in this country in the late 1970s.²⁵ It is discouraging that today's young women echo a sentiment that was thought to be part of an old era of rigid sex roles.

Females in this study were more likely to discuss the burden of living in abusive households, including the pressure they felt to conceal the effect the abuse had on them. They recognized that growing up in an abusive family could create a cycle of perpetration for males who learned violent coping strategies from their fathers. It is interesting to note, however, that females did not discuss or acknowledge a cycle of violence for victims, despite evidence that adolescents whose parents are violent toward one another are more

likely to be involved in dating violence themselves.³ The fact that the females in our focus groups who grew up in violent households did not express concern for their own involvement in violent relationships points to the need for awareness building or anticipatory guidance in this community.

Implications

Adolescents in this study illustrate the fact that experiences with and attitudes toward gender-based violence are established early in life. Participants' attitudes toward violence are shaped and reinforced by interacting with peers, watching their parents and other adults, and through their personal experiences. Our results highlight the need for interventions that seek to change social norms about gender-based violence and for those interventions to start early in life. In addition, such interventions should employ strategies that incorporate youths' peers and caregivers, whose behaviors they are likely to watch and model.

These focus groups reveal that adolescents have sophisticated insight into gender-based violence. Although these focus groups were designed to probe community-level violence and fighting, gender-based violence was a substantive topic of discussion. Participants did not talk about violence without discussing relationships and gender-based violence. This suggests that they see gender-based violence as fundamentally intertwined with other kinds of violence in their lives. Their insight is impressive, as even adults rarely make these connections.²⁶ The fact that youth do not separate gender-based violence from other kinds of violence in their lives is an important finding, as interventions often treat them as separate issues. Youth do not appear to subscribe to this dichotomy. The results of this study reinforce the need to balance measurement surveys with more exploratory, qualitative, research techniques to ensure a complete picture of the role of violence in urban youths' lives.

Limitations

Our focus groups were not designed to address gender-based violence; this is both a strength and a weakness of this study. The topic was not explored as systematically as it would have been with a protocol designed to probe gender-based violence. However, respondents' candid, unsolicited discussion of gender-based violence across

focus groups underscores the importance of this issue in their lives. It is also possible that the gender differences we observed, with respect to both the nature of perspective and disclosure of violence, could be an artifact of the moderation rather than the participants' viewpoints. Perhaps the data would have looked different if moderation had been designed to probe gender-based violence.

Another potential limitation of the data is that they were collected in the late 1990s. It is possible that temporal changes have made the data less relevant over time. As a qualitative, theory-building study, this design did not produce findings that are generalizable to the population level. Nonetheless, this approach allowed us to reveal and explore a topic that would not have emerged from research relying solely on quantitative survey methodology.

CONCLUSIONS

The results of this study indicate that gender-based violence is a significant and salient issue in the lives of urban adolescents. Although it is tempting to focus on community-level violence in their lives, youth emphasize the role of violence in their relationships. Dating and relationship violence, as well as witnessing domestic violence at home and observing peers' harassing and violent behavior, all had a significant impact on the youth in this study. This study illustrates that youth experience gender-based violence in a number of contexts and roles. Thus, prevention strategies will need to adopt a multifaceted approach to adequately address this issue among urban adolescents.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We thank Bill McKinney for his assistance with the focus groups and the youth who participated in the groups.

REFERENCES

1. Coker AL, McKeown RE, Sanderson M, Davis KE, Valois RF, Huebner ES. Severe dating violence and quality of life among South Carolina high school students. *Am J Prev Med* 2000;19:220.

2. Ackard DM, Neumark-Sztainer D, Hannan P. Dating violence among a nationally representative sample of adolescent girls and boys: Associations with behavioral and mental health. *J Gend Specif Med* 2003;6:39.
3. Glass N, Fredland N, Campbell J, Yonas M, Sharps P, Kub J. Adolescent dating violence: Prevalence, risk factors, health outcomes, and implications for clinical practice. *J Obstet Gynecol Neonatal Nurs* 2003;32:227.
4. Howard DE, Wang MQ. Psychosocial factors associated with adolescent boys' reports of dating violence. *Adolescence* 2003;38:519.
5. Howard DE, Wang MQ. Risk profiles of adolescent girls who were victims of dating violence. *Adolescence* 2003;38:1.
6. Watson J, Cascardi M, Avery-Leaf S, O'Leary K. High school students' responses to dating aggression. *Violence Vict* 2001;16:339.
7. Malik S, Sorenson SB, Aneshensel CS. Community and dating violence among adolescents: Perpetration and victimization. *J Adolesc Health* 1997;21:291.
8. Ozer EJ, Tschann JM, Pasch LA, Flores E. Violence perpetration across peer and partner relationships: Co-occurrence and longitudinal patterns among adolescents. *J Adolesc Health* 2004;34:64.
9. Attala JM, Bauza K, Pratt H, Vieira D. Integrative review of effects on children of witnessing domestic violence. *Issues Compr Pediatr Nurs* 1995;18:163.
10. Bennett L. Adolescent girls' experience of witnessing marital violence: A phenomenological study. *J Adv Nurs* 1991;16:431.
11. Henning K, Leitenberg H, Coffey P, Bennett T, Jankowski MK. Long-term psychological adjustment to witnessing interparental physical conflict during childhood. *Child Abuse Negl* 1997;21:501.
12. Herrera VM, McCloskey LA. Sexual abuse, family violence, and female delinquency: Findings from a longitudinal study. *Violence Vict* 2003;18:319.
13. Johnson SB, Frattaroli S, Wright JL, Pearson-Fields CB, Cheng TL. Urban youths' perspectives of violence and the necessity of fighting. *Injury Prev* 2004;10:287.
14. Morgan D. Focus groups as qualitative research, 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1997.
15. Stewart D, Shamdasani P. Focus Groups: Theory and practice. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1990.
16. Fern ER. Advanced focus group research. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2001.
17. Strauss AL. Qualitative analysis for social scientists. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
18. Boyatzis RE. Reliability is consistency of judgement. Transforming qualitative information. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1998:151.
19. Miles MB, Huberman M. Qualitative data analysis, 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1994.
20. The Ethnograph version 5.0.8. Windows. Denver, CO, 2001.
21. Wekerle C, Wolfe DA. Dating violence in mid-adolescence: Theory, significance, and emerging prevention initiatives. *Clin Psychol Rev* 1999;19:435.
22. Ricardo I, Fredland N, Campbell J, et al. Arts Based Initiative to Prevent Violence Against Women and Girls. Paper presented to the 18th Annual Meeting Final Program and Proceedings: The International Society of Traumatic Stress Studies, Baltimore, MD, 01; 2001.
23. Arriaga XB, Foshee VA. Adolescent dating violence: Do adolescents follow in their friends', or their parents', footsteps? *J Interpers Violence* 2004;19:162.
24. Kaura SA, Allen CM. Dissatisfaction with relationship power and dating violence perpetration by men and women. *J Interpers Violence* 2004;19:576.
25. Campbell J, Humphreys J. Nursing care for victims of family violence. Reston, VA: Reston Publishing Company, Inc., 1984.
26. Kline E, Campbell J, Soler E, Ghez M. Ending domestic violence: Changing public perceptions/halting the epidemic. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1997.

Address reprint requests to:
Sara B. Johnson, M.P.H.
624 N. Broadway, 5th Floor
Baltimore, MD 21205

E-mail: sjohnson@jhsph.edu