Published in final edited form as:

Parent Sci Pract. 2011 ; 11(4): 308–325. doi:10.1080/15295192.2011.613726.

Parenting Control in Contexts of Political Violence: Testing Bi-directional Relations between Violence Exposure and Control in Post-Accord Belfast

Christine E. Merrilees,
University of Notre Dame

E. Mark Cummings,
Department of Psychology, 118 Haggard Hall, University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, IN 46556.
Edward.M.Cummings.10@nd.edu

Marcie C. Goeke-Morey,
Catholic University of America

Alice C. Schermerhorn,
Indiana University

Peter Shirlow, and
Queens University, Belfast

Ed Cairns
University of Ulster

SYNOPSIS

Objective—The goal of the present study is to examine bi-directional relations between youth exposure to sectarian and nonsectarian antisocial behavior and mothers' efforts to control youth's exposure to community violence in Belfast, Northern Ireland.

Design—Mother-child dyads (N=773) were interviewed in their homes twice over 2 years regarding youth's exposure to sectarian (SAB) and nonsectarian (NAB) community antisocial behavior and mothers' use of control strategies, including behavioral and psychological control.

Results—Youth's exposure to NAB was related to increases in mothers' use of both behavioral and psychological control strategies over time, controlling for earlier levels of these constructs. Reflecting bi-directional relations, mothers' behavioral control strategies were associated with youth's reduced exposure to both NAB and SAB over time, whereas psychological control was not related to reduced exposure.

Conclusion—Only nonsectarian community violence was associated longitudinally with mothers' increased use of control strategies, and only behavioral control strategies were effective in reducing youth's exposure to community antisocial behavior, including both sectarian and nonsectarian antisocial behavior.

Correspondence should be sent to E. Mark Cummings, Department of Psychology, 118 Haggard Hall, University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, IN 46556; Edward.M.Cummings.10@nd.edu, phone: 574-631-4947, fax: 574-631-1825.

Mothers' behavioral control is related to reduced youth exposure to sectarian and non-sectarian violence, and adolescent exposure to non-sectarian violence is related to increased use of behavioral and psychological control.

INTRODUCTION

Violence can take many forms, with a substantial body of research establishing the detrimental effects of violence within public (community) and private (marital and domestic) space (Margolin & Gordis, 2000; Proctor, 2006); however, less is known about the context of political violence and its effects on children and the family. The current study expands the analysis of violence by examining relations between non-political and political violence and parenting over time in the context of highly segregated and deprived communities in Belfast, Northern Ireland. Drawing from social ecological theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) and a model that describes the key influences of the environment of political violence on child development (Cummings, Goeke-Morey, Schermerhorn, Merrilees, & Cairns, 2009), parenting dimensions of control are examined as precursors of and reactions to youth exposure to community violence.

Conflict in Northern Ireland

The ongoing conflict between communities in Northern Ireland is often mischaracterized as a war centering on religion; however, inhabitants and experts agree that the conflict is rooted in issues of nationality and the constitutional position of Northern Ireland with religion acting as a general proxy for national identity (Cairns & Darby, 1998; McGrellis, 2005). A majority group wants Northern Ireland to remain part of the United Kingdom (generally Protestants, Unionists, and Ulster Loyalists), and the minority seeks Irish unification and the removal of Northern Ireland's constitutional place within the United Kingdom (generally Catholics, Nationalists, and Republicans). Although the conflict dates back over several centuries, contemporary studies of the conflict typically focus on the 30-year period (1968–1998) of violence known as the “Troubles.” This period was characterized by frequent, violent armed confrontations between various combinations of State forces, illegal paramilitary groups, and civilians. Since the Troubles began, more than 3,600 people have been killed, around 20,000–30,000 imprisoned, and some 50,000 reported as injured (Cairns & Darby, 1998; Cairns, Wilson, Gallagher, & Trew, 1995; McEvoy & Shirlow, 2009).

The Belfast Agreement, signed in 1998, led to the return of devolution and the creation of a power-sharing administration between Unionists and Nationalist/Republicans. However, in the succeeding 12 years, despite a fall in deaths, there were growths in paramilitary social control violence, and in certain places, generally those that are socially deprived and highly segregated in religious terms, continuation of sectarian rioting and confrontation between the 2 predominant communities (MacGinty, Muldoon, & Ferguson, 2007). It has been suggested that there has been an alteration in the meaning and nature of violence since 1994 and a return to the type of violence more common in the late 1960s and early 1970s. There has been a growth in intercommunity rioting in the 2000s due to contestations over parading and interface disputes and also attacks on symbolic sites such as churches, Orange Order halls, and Gaelic Athletic Association premises (Shirlow & Murtagh, 2006). In 2009–2010, sectarian crimes grew by 25.7% (PSNI, 2010), and evidence suggests that the majority of sectarian crimes are not reported to the police (Shirlow & Ellison, 2008). Both sectarian and nonsectarian community antisocial behavior remain significant issues, especially for people living in the interfaced areas of Belfast (McGrellis, 2005). Interfaced areas are defined as adjacent communities (one Catholic, one Protestant) living along a disputed territorial border that is usually defined by security walls and other physical constructs that aim to reduce contact between these communities (Shirlow & Murtagh, 2006).

With regard to the knowledge and perception of violence, there are now somewhat differing levels and experiences between generations. Young people aged under 16 are less likely than their parents to have experienced the same levels of militarization and threat from political violence. Parents will generally have a much greater array of experiences of

conflict-related violence but unlike their children would not have experienced, during their childhoods, the same levels of violence related to common assaults, drugs, and other forms of nonsectarian violence that have actually grown since 1998.

Community Violence and Youth

Cross-sectional and longitudinal studies have supported links between exposure to community violence and increased internalizing and externalizing symptoms in children and adolescents (Foster, Kuperminc & Price, 2004; Garbarino, Dubrow, Kostelny & Pardo, 1992; Gorman-Smith & Tolan, 1998, Kelly & Hall, 2010; Margolin & Gordis, 2000; Richters & Martinez, 1993). Change in child exposure to community violence is related to increased maladjustment over time (e.g., Kennedy, Bybee, Sullivan, & Greeson, 2010; McCart, et al., 2007). Given that these relations are now well-established, a next step is to elucidate processes accounting for risk. A second generation of research is needed (Feerick & Prinz, 2003; Prinz & Feerick, 2003) to test and provide theoretical models for the processes and risk and protective factors at play in contexts of community violence (e.g., Foster & Brooks-Gunn, 2009).

Empirical studies have also indicated relations between exposure to intra-state war and terrorism and psychological problems (for review see Barber, 2009; Cairns, 1987; Giacaman, Shannon, Saab, Arya, & Boyce, 2007; Macksoud & Aber, 1996; Punamäki, 1989). At the same time, findings are inconsistent regarding the link between exposure to sectarian conflict and psychological symptoms within Northern Ireland (Muldoon, 2004; Muldoon, Trew, & Kilpatrick, 2000). Initial studies examining youth exposure to political violence and mental health in Northern Ireland suggested that youth living in segregated communities were highly traumatized (Fraser, 1974), and later studies suggested children remained resilient despite the assumed increased risk due to the prevalence of violence (Fee, 1980; Joseph, Cairns, & McCollam, 1993; McWhirter, 1983, as cited in Cairns, 1996). Recent studies have documented increased adjustment problems, including depressive symptomatology, substance use, and psychotic symptoms (McAloney, McCrystal, Percy, & McCarton, 2009) and decreased behavioral competence for youth exposed to sectarian violence and conflict (Muldoon & Trew, 2000).

Community Violence and Parenting

Parents' efforts at controlling youth behavior and exposure to community violence are among the most potentially appropriate, and perhaps most promising when optimally employed, parenting strategies for supporting children in these contexts. Behavioral control has been examined as a precursor to violence exposure (Proctor, 2006) based on the notion that when parents are efficacious in their attempts at setting limits, their children are less likely to be exposed to negative elements of their environments. Behavioral control refers to parents' use of direct means of controlling their children, such as making and enforcing rules. Conceptually, this would seem to be an adaptive parental control strategy, which has also been described as parental monitoring (Crouter & Head, 2002; Dishion & McMahon, 1998; Patterson & Stouthamer-Loeber, 1984). This form of control also includes parents' attempts to monitor their children's whereabouts, what they are doing, and with whom they are spending their time. Greater community violence exposure is associated with less monitoring (Mazefsky & Farrell, 2005; Sullivan et al., 2004) and more negative parenting behavior generally (Lynch & Cicchetti, 2002). Knowledge and monitoring mediated the link between neighborhood disorder and child outcomes (Chung & Steinberg, 2006), again suggesting that these parenting dimensions are important adaptive responses by parents in contexts of violence.

Specifically within the context of political violence in Northern Ireland, a handful of studies examined behavioral control and other parenting strategies. Comparing parental control in three samples from the United Kingdom, Whyte (1983) found that boys from Catholic communities were more heavily supervised than boys from Protestant areas of Belfast or boys living in London. McKenna (1979) also found that Catholic mothers scored higher than Protestant mothers on a measure of control. These studies were conducted during the height of the Troubles, a time during which Catholic working-class areas tended to experience more violence than other areas. These results further suggest that mothers responded to the increased violence in their communities by adopting strategies defined by more behavioral control.

By contrast, psychological control can be regarded as a psychologically unhealthy and non-optimal strategy to control children's behavior and exposure to political violence. Psychological control refers to the indirect means through which parents attempt to control their children (Barber, 1996, 2002). Psychological control is posited as a negative and intrusive way of controlling the child as it impinges on identity and autonomy development, which are critical goals for developing adolescents (Allen, Hauser, Bell, & O'Connor, 1994). With regard to findings in other contexts of political violence, Barber (1999) examined links between parenting and Palestinian children's experience with the First Intifada. Experience with the Intifada was related to greater psychological control by parents, but it was not associated with behavioral control. These findings may suggest that the high level of ideological commitment to the cause is shared within families who lived through the Intifada, and that following the conflict parents attempted to use psychological control to maintain that commitment (Barber, 1999). Punamäki, Quota, and El Sarraj (1997) also examined relations between parenting and children's experience with war. They found that negative parenting, which included strictness, punishment and rejection, and lack of intimacy and love, acted as both mediators and moderators in the links between child exposure to war-related trauma and child outcomes.

Within contexts of marital conflict and community violence in U.S. samples, parenting variables have been shown to be highly influential in determining the effects on children and adolescents (Chung & Steinberg, 2006; Krenichyn, Saegert, & Evans, 2001; Proctor, 2006). One hypothesis is that parenting and the parent-child relationship change when parents become overwhelmed by the stress of living in an environment defined by conflict. For example, parents with limited emotional resources due to the stress of community violence may have less time and energy to devote to parenting and use less optimal parenting strategies. A spillover hypothesis (Cox, Paley, & Harter, 2001; Erel & Burman, 1995) has been supported within the marital conflict literature with studies showing that parents experiencing marital distress are more likely to use negative parenting tactics such as more psychological control and less behavioral control with children (Almeida, Wethington, & Chandler, 1999; Fauber, Forehand, Thomas, & Wiersen, 1990; Schoppe-Sullivan, Schermerhorn, & Cummings, 2007). The spillover hypothesis has also been supported within the context of other forms of parental stress originating from external sources, such as parents' work environments (Reppetti & Wood, 1997). When parents are pushed beyond their "stress absorption capacity," the likelihood of maladaptive parental control strategies is increased (Garbarino & Kostelny, 1993, p. 215).

Sectarian and Non-Sectarian Violence

Although researchers have long called for nuanced examination of the effects of contexts of political violence on developing children (Cairns & Dawes, 1996), few studies have examined both political and non-political forms of violence exposure in the same study. One reason for this may be the fact that there is a dearth of research examining child development and exposure to violence in postaccord societies, a period during which non-

politically related violence is likely to increase as state and non-state bodies decrease their presence in society. It is possible that the link between exposure to violence and psychological control might be stronger for sectarian or political violence because of the meaning attached to this type of act. Sectarian community antisocial behavior occurs between ethnic groups, specifically between Catholics and Protestants in this case. Nonsectarian antisocial behavior refers to antisocial behavior that may be found in any community, regardless of political context, and is not specifically between ethnic or cultural groups. Following the findings of Barber (1999), mothers' responses to their children's experiences of sectarian antisocial behavior and violence may more likely include messages about group-based responses and the commitment to defending group identity. In other words, in contexts of intergroup conflict, individual needs may be trumped by group needs, and these autonomy-restricting messages may come through mothers' use of psychological control.

Integrated Threat Theory (ITT; see Stephan & Stephan, 2000) distinguishes different types of threats, of which the most relevant to the present study are "realistic threats", which impact directly on the welfare of the in-group, and "symbolic threats", which include threats to the in-group's value systems, belief systems, and way of life. In Northern Ireland what may be seen by the casual observer as "mindless violence" may be seen by some as "political violence" and thus have an impact on local residents out of proportion to their obvious size because they are seen as threatening in realistic and/or symbolic terms.

Distinguishing political violence from community violence is not straightforward. Hoffmann and McKendrick (1990, p.14) suggested that the essential nature of political violence is that it is an act of destruction "that impacts on power relations". At the same time it is clear that what may be seen by one group in a conflict as an act of destruction impacting on power relations may be seen by their opponents as "normal" behavior. This means that, while it can be said with some certainty that political violence must always involve intergroup as opposed to interpersonal behavior, it is in essence always going to be a "social construction" (Cairns, 1996). It is for this reason that, as a first step in the larger longitudinal project, focus groups were conducted to discover from the participants' words the degree to which child exposure to sectarian/political and nonsectarian/community violence could be differentiated.

Examining transcripts using a grounded analysis revealed that mothers in these communities clearly differentiated between community violence and antisocial behavior that had a political or sectarian motivation from ordinary to nonsectarian violence and antisocial behavior (Taylor et al., 2010). Themes also emerged to suggest that mothers' responses to perceptions of sectarian incidences in the community differed from their responses to non-sectarian incidences. More specifically, mothers voiced responses to sectarian incidences in their communities that centered on collective responding as a community. Their responses suggested that, in reacting to sectarian antisocial behavior and violence, people within the community pulled together, acting as part of the larger group. This response makes sense in this context as sectarian violence in Northern Ireland is targeted at individuals based on their ethno-political identification as Catholic or Protestant. Furthermore, in comparison to nonsectarian community antisocial behavior, sectarian antisocial behavior has been shown to have differential effects on family functioning in the form of increased marital conflict and parental monitoring in a cross-sectional sample (Cummings, Merrilees, Schermerhorn, Goeke-Morey, Shirlow & Cairns, 2010).

In summary, only a handful of studies has examined parenting within contexts of political violence, with scant investigation of relations between multiple forms of violence exposure, and multiple parenting control strategies over time. This is important because it is not clear whether either or both of these contexts of community violence cause parents to adopt

particular parenting control strategies, or whether parenting strategies (e.g., behavioral or psychological control) reduce youth exposure to either or both of these contexts of community violence. Based on the broader literature on *behavioral control* and exposure to community violence (e.g., Mazefsky & Farrell, 2005; Sullivan et al., 2004), it was hypothesized that higher levels of children's exposure to community antisocial behavior would be linked with lower levels of behavioral control. Reflecting an alternative hypothesis, based on the few studies conducted within Northern Ireland on this issue, another possibility was that children's exposure to community violence would be related to higher levels of control. Using 2 waves of data to test for relations over time, controlling for earlier levels of these constructs will help tease apart the direction of effects. With regard to *psychological control*, it was hypothesized that higher levels of children's exposure to community antisocial behavior would be related over time to higher levels of psychological control. Finally, drawing from the limited literature examining psychological control within contexts of political violence, it was expected that higher levels of psychological control would be linked over time with higher levels of *sectarian* community antisocial behavior, but not with *nonsectarian* community antisocial behavior.

METHOD

Participants

Participants were drawn from a multi-wave project examining the multiple influences of the social ecology that affect children and families in post-accord Northern Ireland. All families lived in interface areas of inner-city Belfast. Data for the current study were drawn from the third and fourth years of data collection based on when measures of interest were added to the survey battery. Data collection for the third wave began about 10 years after the signing of the Belfast Agreement. The total number of families in the third wave of data collection was 773. Eighty percent ($N=618$) of the wave 3 families participated in wave 4. Participants did not participate in the later wave of data collection for the following reasons: refused to participate (15%); moved with no available forwarding address (34%); called multiple times with no successful contact (37%); other reasons (14%). Given that only 2 waves of data are analyzed in the current study, we will use time 1 to refer to the third wave of data and time 2 for the fourth wave. The fourth wave of data collection occurred one year after the third wave.

The mean age of youth at time 1 was 13.61 years, ($SD=2.09$; *range*: 8–18), and the sample includes 377 boys (49%) and 396 girls (51%). Mothers' mean age was 38.59 ($SD=6.18$; *range*: 27–62). Thirty-eight percent ($n=292$) of mothers were married or living as married; 19% were separated or divorced ($n=148$); 2% were widowed ($n=17$); and 38% ($n=292$) were never married.

Several variables guided the selection of neighborhoods (electoral wards) from which participants were drawn. The first goal was to ensure representative sampling of Catholics and Protestants. The second goal was to limit differences in socioeconomic status; thus, families were chosen from all working class, socially deprived neighborhoods. Participants reported a median annual income between £22,000 and £28,000. At the same time we were interested in choosing neighborhoods with varying levels of sectarian violence historically.

Data used for selection of study areas were derived from the Northern Ireland Housing Executive and the 2001 Northern Ireland Census of Population. The census was based on Northern Ireland's 582 electoral wards with an average population of around 3,500 residents per ward. In addition, most wards in Northern Ireland, and all wards in Belfast, are divided into Super Output Areas (SOAs) with average populations of around 600, across Northern Ireland. These small scale SOAs, given their low populations, generally contain

homogeneous populations regarding religious/community background and socioeconomic conditions. Our study areas are located in 11 of Belfast's 48 wards and are constructed around 28 SOAs. The levels of religious segregation within the study areas are high when measured by their share of Catholics. Based on our sources of data, 47% of all residents within the Belfast Urban Area were Catholics and around 50% were Protestants. In effect, if all things were equal and there was no religious segregation, each study area would be expected to have relatively equal populations by religion. In reality, around 68% of residents in Belfast live in wards that are at least 81% Catholic or Protestant, and it is the case that SOAs are generally more segregated when compared to wards (Shirlow & Murtagh, 2006). Within the predominantly Protestant areas in this study (as measured by SOA) the population that was Protestant ranged from 90% to 97%. In the predominantly Catholic study areas the percentage share of Catholics ranged from 91% to 99%. In each instance the study areas were grossly overrepresented with regard to the percentage share of either group living within the wider Belfast Urban Area, but were indicative of the level of religious segregation within highly deprived communities in the city.

Wards were also chosen based on a multiple deprivation measure. This index is measured against all 582 wards in Northern Ireland and is based on a score of 1 indicating the most deprived ward and 582 indicating the most affluent ward. Multiple deprivation rankings are determined by income, employment, health, education, proximity to services, crime, and the quality of the living environment. All of the areas in this study are located in wards within the worst fifth of all wards in Northern Ireland, and 13 of the 18 study areas are located within the worst tenth (range from rank of 2 to 94, of 582 wards in Northern Ireland).

To ensure variability in historical experience with the Troubles, other data were used including police records regarding sectarian violence that is only available over the past 5 years, and the volume and spatial distribution of politically motivated deaths within the city. The demographer also considered the spatial location of interface "peace" walls, as families living in communities adjoining an interface are likely to experience higher levels of violence compared to families that live with buffer zones between their community and the other community. The chosen study areas contained 48.2% of all politically motivated violence in Belfast between 1968 and 2008. The average number of deaths for the study areas (by ward) was 44.6, compared to 16.7 for all wards in Belfast. The number of deaths within the study area ranged from 6–101. All of the study areas were interfaced (i.e., had at least one boundary between it and a community of the alternate political/religious persuasion).

Eighteen specific neighborhoods were identified with 35 to 40 families selected for participation from each area. Stratified random sampling was used to identify families across the chosen neighborhoods so that equal numbers of boys and girls would be represented in the sample. Interviewers from an established market research firm in Northern Ireland surveyed addresses in the designated communities and selected families with a child in the age range of 7–17 years. If the family included more than one child in the designated age range, the youngest child was asked to participate. Prior to data collection, community leaders in each of the 18 areas received letters describing the study and target sample. Interviews were conducted in participants' homes. All questionnaires were administered as interviews, which lasted approximately 1 hr for the mother and 30 min for the child. Families received £40 for their participation.

Measures

Exposure to community antisocial behavior—Questionnaires assessing adolescent exposure to sectarian and nonsectarian community antisocial behavior were designed for the study. Focus groups were conducted with mothers in Belfast. Based on these focus groups

and references to existing measures of community violence, items were created and refined by the research group, including members who are experts in this area. The final versions used in the current study were based on the items that were pilot tested in a 2-wave study conducted in Derry, Northern Ireland. These studies resulted in 2 scales measuring youth exposure to sectarian (SAB) and nonsectarian (NAB) antisocial behavior (Goeke-Morey et al., 2009). The SAB is a 12-item scale assessing youth exposure to sectarian-motivated antisocial behavior such as stones or objects thrown over walls, houses or churches paint bombed, or someone killed or seriously injured by a member of the other community. Participants were instructed to report about knowledge of antisocial acts that had occurred over the previous 3 months. Cronbach's alphas were .95 and .94 for mother and youth report respectively, at both time 1 and time 2. The NAB is a 7-item scale assessing youth exposure to nonsectarian antisocial behavior such as drugs being used or sold, robberies, or individuals killed or injured unrelated to political motivations. For both the NAB and the SAB mothers and their children responded with a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from (0) *not in the last 3 months* to (4) *everyday*. Cronbach's alphas for the NAB were .86 (mother report) and .89 (youth report) at time 1. At time 2 alphas were .87 and .88 for the NAB.

Psychological control—Children completed the Psychological Control Scale (PCS; Barber, 1996), an 8-item measure assessing mothers' tendency to control their children's psychological and emotional experiences through methods such as love withdrawal and constraining of the child's verbal expressions. Example items include "Your mother is a person who is always trying to change how you feel or think about things." and "Your mother is a person who brings up your past mistakes when she criticizes you." Respondents answer with a 3-point Likert scale ranging from (1) *not at all like her* to (3) *a lot like her*. Psychological control has been identified as an important predictor of youth adjustment, including internalizing and externalizing problems. Adequate reliability and validity of the PCS have been demonstrated (Barber et al., 2005). Cronbach's alphas for the current sample was .92 at both time-points.

Parental behavioral control—Mothers' behavioral control was measured with 5 commonly used items assessing parental regulation of their children. Items were adapted from a scale used by Kerr and Stattin (2000). Both mothers and children provided reports of mothers' behavioral control. Example items include "Must you have your mother's permission before you go somewhere without her" and "Must you ask your mother before you can make plans with friends?" Respondents answered using a 7-point scale ranging from (1) *never* to (7) *always*. Stattin and Kerr (2000) reported alphas of .82 and .77 for adolescent and parent reports respectively. They also reported adolescent response test-retest reliability of $r(36) = .86$. Alphas at time 1 were .88 for mother and .89 for youth reports of control. At time 2 alphas were .92 for both mother and youth reports.

RESULTS

Analysis Plan

As a first step, exploratory factor analysis was conducted to determine the factor structure of the sectarian and non-sectarian antisocial behavior items. Preliminary analyses were also conducted to compare families that participated in time 2 to those families who did not participate at time 2. To test the main hypotheses, structural equation modeling (SEM) was conducted in AMOS (Arbuckle & Wothke, 1999). SEM allows for the simultaneous testing of links between variables including multiple related outcomes. Indices that were used to assess fit include the chi square discrepancy value, the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA; Browne & Cudeck, 1993), the normative fit index, and the comparative fit index (CFI; Bentler, 1990). In general, scores closer to 1 for the CFI

(Bentler, 1990) and NFI (Bentler & Bonett, 1980) indicate good fit, with scores below .90 indicating poor fit. For the RMSEA, values below .05 indicate good model fit; however, some researchers interpret values below .08 to indicate acceptable fit. Full information maximum likelihood estimation was used, which adequately estimates parameters with missing data under the assumption that the data were missing at random. Children's age and gender were included as predictors of all variables in the model. Error terms for the same measure and same reporter were allowed to correlate over time. These variables and correlations were removed from Figure 1 for the sake of space.

Factor Analysis

The factor analysis was conducted with principal axis factoring and a promax rotation. Four tests of the factor analysis were conducted (mother time 1, child time 1, mother time 2, child time 2). For each test, the 2 factor structure was found to best fit the data. The factor analysis suggested the SAB and NAB items loaded onto their respective factors with no cross-loadings above .50. Factor loadings for all items ranged between .58 and .95. Within wave and within reporter factor correlations ranged between .38 (mother wave 2) and .52 (child wave 2) suggesting between 14% and 27% shared variance. The factor loading pattern for the 2-factor solution for both child and mother report at time 1 can be seen in Table 2.

Preliminary Analyses

Means, standard deviations, and bivariate correlations for all variables are included in Table 1. T-tests were conducted to test for differences between families who did and did not participate at time 2. No significant differences emerged.

Results for Control Variables

Age was a significant predictor of behavioral control at time 1 ($\beta = -.59, p < .001$) and time 2 ($\beta = -.26, p < .001$) with mothers using less behavioral control with older youth. At time 2 mothers used more behavioral control with girls than boys ($\beta = .13, p < .001$), and mothers used more psychological control with boys than girls at time 1 ($\beta = -.12, p = .001$) and time 2 ($\beta = -.14, p < .001$). In comparison to boys, girls were exposed to less SAB at time 1 ($\beta = -.08, p = .049$) and time 2 ($\beta = -.09, p = .011$). Girls were also exposed to less NAB at time 1 ($\beta = -.08, p = .038$). Older children were exposed to more NAB at time 1 ($\beta = .15, p < .001$). No other significant relations emerged with age, gender, or mothers' reported household income.

Stability of Relations over Time

As indicated in Figure 1, all variables were available at both time points allowing for the examination of change over time in rank order. Both SAB ($\beta = .71, p < .001$) and NAB ($\beta = .83, p < .001$) showed high levels of stability over time. Behavioral control ($\beta = .64, p < .001$) and psychological control ($\beta = .36, p < .001$) were also significantly related over time.

Tests of Relations over Time

Examining relations between youth exposure to nonsectarian antisocial behavior and parenting control over time suggested that behavioral control predicted less exposure to both SAB ($\beta = -.12, p = .027$) and NAB ($\beta = -.10, p = .039$) over time. NAB at time 1 was also related to an increase in behavioral control at time 2 ($\beta = .14, p = .001$). These results suggest that mothers who believed their children were aware of higher levels of nonsectarian antisocial behavior used higher levels of behavioral control over time. Mothers also used more psychological control when youth had higher levels of exposure to NAB a year earlier ($\beta = .21, p < .001$). No significant relations emerged regarding relations between SAB and psychological control.

DISCUSSION

The goal of the present study was to better understand links between youth exposure to political and non-political or ordinary violence and parenting tactics of control within a society that has experienced protracted political violence utilizing a large sample of mother-child dyads in Belfast, Northern Ireland, and 2 waves of data. The study breaks new ground in articulating relations between sectarian and nonsectarian community violence and parental control strategies in contexts of political violence, including examination of these relations over time.

Over time mothers' adaptive parenting strategy of behavioral control was consistently linked with youth's reduced exposure to sectarian and nonsectarian antisocial behavior. The findings based on relations between time points are consistent with the existing literature suggesting that parents' use of monitoring or behavioral control is an adaptive parenting strategy in reducing youth exposure to negative experiences in their environments including community violence (Proctor, 2006). Suggesting beneficial effects of behavioral control, children whose mothers' had higher scores on behavioral control at time 1 had less exposure to non-sectarian antisocial behavior or sectarian antisocial behavior at time 2.

Child exposure to non-sectarian antisocial behavior was also related to greater use of psychological control over time. This finding could be interpreted 2 ways. The first interpretation is that, in the face of youth exposure to negative elements in their environment, mothers use all means of control to attempt to keep their children safe. The other explanation could be that, in the face of stress, mothers are able to use some adaptive strategies (i.e. behavioral control), but some of their capabilities are diminished, and the use of less adaptive strategies such as psychological control is an indication of the spillover process. Moreover, psychological control strategies were not effective in reducing youth's exposure to community antisocial behavior, consistent with the notion that psychological control is not an optimal or adaptive parental control strategy.

The longitudinal tests did not support the hypothesis that youth exposure to sectarian antisocial behavior would be related to a decrease in behavioral control. These results may be partially explained by the notion that in post-accord societies, ordinary or nonsectarian crime is likely to increase (Louw, 2007). Specifically within Northern Ireland, a decrease in surveillance by both paramilitary groups and the presence of state bodies such as the police may lead to an increase in nonsectarian or ordinary violence, especially within societies that previously had experienced the control of paramilitary groups in their daily lives (Higgins, Percy, & McCrystal, 2004). The concern that increased antisocial behavior by youth is in part due to the loss of the presence of paramilitary organizations was voiced by participants in the focus groups conducted in the first stage of the larger study from which these data were drawn (Taylor, Merrilees, Cairns, & Cummings, 2009). It follows then that this increased concern about non-sectarian violence may be more salient to mothers in these areas, resulting in more stress induced from child and adolescent exposure to this form of violence and more vigilance in response to this type of violence. Another possibility is that the impact of sectarian community violence may spillover in other ways, such as increasing marital conflict (Cummings et al., 2010).

Although relations between exposure to political violence and psychological control have been reported in other contexts (Barber, 1999; Punamäki et al., 1997), links between sectarian antisocial behavior and psychological control were not supported in the current study. The most obvious reason for this difference in findings could be the difference in the nature of political violence across contexts. Whereas the findings of Barber and Punamäki were found within the Israeli/Palestinian conflict, the post-accord period of Northern Ireland

is less violent at this time. One additional difference between these contexts, among many, is the direct experience many youth have had in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Although parents in Belfast were likely to have had experience with the violence that occurred during the Troubles, youth in Belfast today are experiencing a different form of sectarian antisocial behavior that does not include a military presence or daily threat of violence from paramilitary groups.

The results should be interpreted within the limitations of the current study. Attrition rates were higher than are ideally obtained in longitudinal research. Locating and interviewing families from socially deprived areas is a constant challenge for researchers and continues to contribute to attrition rates. It is also important to note that many of the effect sizes found in the present study were small, with many of the standardized coefficients falling between .10 and .20. Examining a large sample has the obvious statistical benefits; however, within communities that include multiple subpopulations based on characteristics that may be relevant to the research questions at hand (e.g., ethnicity), meaningful differences in scales and processes are more likely to emerge. It is possible that stronger relations between variables may be present if appropriate moderator variables are identified. Researchers must be careful to develop constructs being sensitive to cultural differences in the meaning of processes of interest.

The results have implications for understanding mothers' control strategies and their relative effectiveness and use in contexts of political violence. The findings suggest relations over time between children's exposure to nonsectarian community violence and mothers' attempts to control children's behavior and exposure to nonsectarian community violence. At the same time, only behavioral control strategies were effective in reducing exposure to both sectarian and nonsectarian community violence over time. By contrast, psychological control strategies were not adaptive in either one of these contexts of community violence. The current study provides additional evidence that youth exposure to both nonsectarian forms of violence is related to caregivers' use of control. Going beyond cross-sectional studies documenting the importance of behavioral control and monitoring for children developing in contexts of risk, the current study provides evidence that mothers' use of behavioral control is related to decreased levels of exposure to nonsectarian and sectarian violence over time. As post-accord societies move forward, it is important for clinicians and policy makers working with families to be aware of the differences in effects of youth exposure to sectarian antisocial behavior and ordinary, nonsectarian antisocial behavior, and reciprocal relations with parenting characteristics at work in these contexts. Future research should continue to examine these links with extensions to psychopathology for all members of the family.

Acknowledgments

This research was supported by NICHD grant 046933-05 to the second author.

REFERENCES

- Allen JP, Hauser ST, Bell KL, O'Connor TG. Longitudinal assessment of autonomy and relatedness in adolescent-family interactions as predictors of adolescent ego development and self-esteem. *Child Development*. 1994; 65:179–194. [PubMed: 8131646]
- Almeida DM, Wethington E, Chandler AL. Daily transmission of tensions between marital dyads and parent-child dyads. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*. 1999; 61:49–61.
- Arbuckle, JL.; Wothke, W. Amos 4.0 user's guide. Chicago: SmallWaters Corporation; 1999.
- Barber BK. Parental psychological control: Revisiting a neglected construct. *Child Development*. 1996; 67:3296–3319. [PubMed: 9071782]

- Barber BK. Political violence, family relations, and Palestinian youth functioning. *Journal of Adolescent Research*. 1999; 14:206–230.
- Barber, BK. Reintroducing parental psychological control. In: Barber, BK., editor. *Intrusive parenting: How psychological control affects children and adolescents*. Washington, DC, US: American Psychological Association; 2002. p. 3-13.
- Barber, BK. *Adolescents and War*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; 2009.
- Barber BK, Stolz HE, Olsen JA. Parental support, psychological control, and behavioral control: Assessing relevance across time, culture, and method. *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development*. 2005; 70:1–137. [PubMed: 16359423]
- Bentler PM, Bonett DG. Significance test and goodness of fit, in the analysis of covariance structures. *Psychological Bulletin*. 1980; 88:588–606.
- Bentler PM. Comparative fit indexes in structural models. *Psychological Bulletin*. 1990; 107:238–246. [PubMed: 2320703]
- Bronfenbrenner, U. *The Ecology of Human Development: Experiments by Nature and Design*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; 1979.
- Brown, MW.; Cudeck, R. Alternative ways of assessing model fit. In: Bollen, KA.; Scott, LJ., editors. *Testing structural equation models*. Newbury Park: Sage Publications; 1993.
- Cairns, E. *Caught in the crossfire: Children and the Northern Ireland conflict*. Belfast: Appletree Press; 1987.
- Cairns, E. *Children and political violence*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell; 1996. 1996
- Cairns E, Darby J. The conflict in Northern Ireland: Causes, consequences and controls. *American Psychologist*. 1998; 53:754–760.
- Cairns E, Dawes A. Children: Ethnic and political violence: A commentary. *Child Development*. 1996; 67:129–139.
- Cairns, E.; Roe, M., editors. *The role of memory in ethnic conflict*. Basingstoke: Palgrave/Macmillan; 2003.
- Cairns E, Wilson R, Gallagher T, Trew K. Psychology's contribution to understanding conflict in Northern Ireland. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*. 1995; 1:131–148.
- Chung HL, Steinberg L. Relations between neighborhood factors, parenting behaviors, peer deviance, and delinquency among serious juvenile offenders. *Developmental Psychology*. 2006; 42:319–331. [PubMed: 16569170]
- Cox, MJ.; Paley, B.; Harter, K. Interparental conflict and parent-child relationships. In: Grych, JH.; Fincham, FD., editors. *Interparental conflict and child development: Theory, research, and applications*. New York, NY, US: Cambridge University Press; 2001. p. 249-272.
- Crouter, AC.; Head, MR. Parental monitoring and knowledge of children. In: Bornstein, MH., editor. *Handbook of Parenting Vol. 3: Being and becoming a parent*. 2nd ed.. Mahwah, NJ, US: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers; 2002. p. 461-483.
- Cummings EM, Goeke-Morey MC, Schermerhorn AC, Merrilees CE, Cairns E. Children and political violence from a social ecological perspective: Implications from research on children and families in Northern Ireland. *Clinical Child and Family Psychology Review*. 2009; 12:16–38. [PubMed: 19229611]
- Cummings EM, Merrilees CM, Schermerhorn AC, Goeke-Morey MC, Shirlow P, Cairns E. Testing a social ecological model for relations between political violence and child adjustment in Northern Ireland. *Development and Psychopathology*. 2010; 22:405–418. [PubMed: 20423550]
- Dishion TJ, McMahon RJ. Parental monitoring and the prevention of child and adolescent problem behavior: A conceptual and empirical formulation. *Clinical Child and Family Psychology Review*. 1998; 1:61–75. [PubMed: 11324078]
- Erel O, Burman B. Interrelatedness of marital relations and parent-child relations: A meta-analytic review. *Psychological Bulletin*. 1995; 118:108–132. [PubMed: 7644602]
- Fauber R, Forehand R, Thomas AM, Wiersma M. A mediational model of the impact of marital conflict on adolescent adjustment in intact and divorced families: The role of disrupted parenting. *Child Development*. 1990; 61:1112–1123. [PubMed: 2209181]

- Fee, F. Responses to a behavioral questionnaire of a group of Belfast children. In: Harbison, J., editor. *A society under stress: Children and young people in Northern Ireland*. Somerset: Open Books; 1980.
- Feerick MM, Prinz RJ. Next steps in research on children exposed to community violence or war/terrorism. *Clinical Child and Family Psychology Review*. 2003; 6:303–305. [PubMed: 14719641]
- Foster H, Brooks-Gunn J. Toward a stress process model of children's exposure to physical family and community violence. *Clinical Child and Family Psychology Review*. 2009; 12:71–94. [PubMed: 19434492]
- Foster JD, Kuperminc GP, Price AW. Gender differences in posttraumatic stress related symptoms among inner-city minority youth exposed to community violence. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*. 2004; 33:59–69.
- Fraser RM. The cost of commotion: An analysis of the psychiatric sequelae of the 1969 Belfast riots. *British Journal of Psychiatry*. 1971; 118:257–264. [PubMed: 5575927]
- Garbarino, J.; Dubrow, N.; Kostelny, K.; Pardo, C. *Children in danger: Coping with the consequences of community violence*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers; 1992.
- Garbarino, J.; Kostelny, K. Neighborhood and community influences on parenting. In: Luster, T.; Okagai, L., editors. *Parenting: and ecological perspective*. Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates; 1993.
- Giacaman R, Shannon HS, Saab H, Arya N, Boyce W. Individual and collective exposure to political violence: Palestinian adolescents coping with conflict. *European Journal of Public Health*. 2007; 17:361–368. [PubMed: 17142245]
- Goeke-Morey MC, Cummings EM, Ellis K, Merrilees CE, Schermerhorn AC, Shirlow P, Cairns E. The differential impact on children of inter- and intra-community violence in Northern Ireland. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*. 2009; 15:367–383.
- Gorman-Smith D, Tolan P. The role of exposure to community violence and developmental problems among inner-city youth. *Development and Psychopathology*. 1998; 10:101–116. [PubMed: 9524810]
- Kelly S, Hall L. Measuring anxiety in adolescents exposed to community violence: A review, comparison, and analysis of three measures. *Issues in Mental Health Nursing*. 2010; 31:28–38. [PubMed: 19951160]
- Higgins K, Percy A, McCrystal P. Secular trends in substance abuse: The conflict and young people in Northern Ireland. *Journal of Social Issues*. 2004; 60:485–506.
- Joseph S, Cairns E, McCollam P. Political violence, coping, and depressive symptomatology in Northern Irish children. *Personality and Individual Differences*. 1993; 15:471–473.
- Kennedy AC, Bybee D, Sullivan CM, Greeson M. The impact of family and community violence on children's depression trajectories: Examining the interactions of violence exposure, family support, and gender. *Journal of Family Psychology*. 2010; 24:197–207. [PubMed: 20438195]
- Kerr M, Stattin H. What parents know, how they know it, several forms of adolescent adjustment: Further support for a reinterpretation of monitoring. *Developmental Psychology*. 2000; 36:366–380. [PubMed: 10830980]
- Krenichyn K, Saegert S, Evans GW. Parents as moderators of psychological and physiological correlates of inner-city children's exposure to violence. *Applied Developmental Psychology*. 2001; 22:581–602.
- Louw A. Crime and perceptions after a decade of democracy. *Social Indicators Research*. 2007; 81:235–255.
- Lynch M, Cicchetti D. Links between community violence and the family system: Evidence from children's feelings of relatedness and perceptions of parent behavior. *Family Process*. 2002; 41:519–532. [PubMed: 12395572]
- MacGinty R, Muldoon OT, Ferguson N. No War, No Peace: Northern Ireland after the Agreement. *Political Psychology*. 2007; 28:1–11.
- Macksoud MS, Aber JL. The war experiences and psychological development of children in Lebanon. *Child Development*. 1996; 67:70–88. [PubMed: 8605835]
- Margolin G, Gordis EB. The effects of family and community violence on children. *Annual Review of Psychology*. 2000; 51:445–479.

- Mazefsky CA, Farrell AD. The role of witnessing violence, peer provocation, family support, and parenting practices in the aggressive behavior of rural adolescents. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*. 2005; 14:71–85.
- McAloney K, McCrystal P, Percy A, McCartan C. Damaged youth: Prevalence of community violence exposure and implications for adolescent well-being in post-conflict Northern Ireland. *Journal of Community Psychology*. 2009; 37:635–648.
- McCart MR, Smith DW, Saunders BE, Kilpatrick DG, Resnick H, Ruggiero KJ. Do urban adolescents become desensitized to community violence? Data from a national survey. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*. 2007; 77:434–442. [PubMed: 17696672]
- McEvoy K, Shirlow P. Reimagining DDR: Ex-combatants, leadership and moral agency in conflict transformation. *Theoretical Criminology*. 2009; 13:31–59.
- McGrellis S. Pushing the boundaries in Northern Ireland: young people, violence and sectarianism. *Contemporary Politics*. 2005; 11:53–71.
- McKenna A. Attitudes of Irish mothers to child-rearing. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*. 1979; 10:226–251.
- Muldoon OT. Children of the troubles: The impact of political violence in Northern Ireland. *Journal of Social Issues*. 2004; 60:453–468.
- Muldoon OT, Trew K. Children's experience and adjustment to political conflict in Northern Ireland. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*. 2000; 6:157–176. already.
- Muldoon OT, Trew K, Kilpatrick R. The legacy of the troubles on the young people's psychological and social development and their school life. *Youth & Society*. 2000; 32:6–28.
- Patterson GR, Stouthamer-Loeber M. The correlation of family management practices and delinquency. *Child Development*. 1984; 55:1299–1307. [PubMed: 6488958]
- Police Service Northern Ireland. PSNI Annual Statistical Report. Report No. 5 Statistics relating to the security situation. 2010. Retrieved on May 15, 2010 from http://www.psn.police.uk/5_statistics_relating_to_the_security_situation_200910_final.pdf.
- Prinz RJ, Feerick MM. Next steps in research on children exposed to domestic violence. *Clinical Child and Family Psychology Review*. 2003b; 6:215–219. [PubMed: 14620581]
- Proctor LJ. Children growing up in a violent community: The role of the family. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*. 2006; 11:558–576.
- Punamäki RL. Factors affecting the mental health of Palestinian children exposed to political violence. *International Journal of Mental Health*. 1989; 18:63–79.
- Punamäki RL, Qouta S, El Sarraj E. Models of traumatic experiences and children's psychological adjustment: The roles of perceived parenting and children's own resources and activity. *Child Development*. 1997; 68:718–728. [PubMed: 9306648]
- Repetti RL, Wood J. Effects of daily stress at work on mothers' interactions with preschoolers. *Journal of Family Psychology*. 1997; 11:90–108.
- Richters, JE.; Martinez, P. Children as victims of and witnesses to violence in a Washington, D.C. neighborhood. In: Leavitt, LA.; Fox, NA., editors. *The psychological effects of war and violence on children*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates; 1993. p. 243–278.
- Schoppe-Sullivan SJ, Schermerhorn AC, Cummings EM. Marital conflict and children's adjustment: Evaluation of the parenting process model. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*. 2007; 69:1118–1134.
- Shirlow, P.; Murtagh, B. *Belfast: Segregation, Violence and the City*. London: Pluto Press; 2006.
- Stattin H, Kerr M. Parental monitoring: A reinterpretation. *Child Development*. 2000; 71:1072–1085. [PubMed: 11016567]
- Stephan, WG.; Stephan, CW. An integrated threat theory of prejudice. In: Oskamp, Stuart, editor. *Reducing prejudice and discrimination*. "The Claremont Symposium of Applied Social Psychology"; Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers; Mahwah, NJ, US. p. 23–45.
- Sullivan TN, Kung EM, Farrell AD. Relation between witnessing violence and drug use initiation among rural adolescents: Parental monitoring and family support as protective factors. *Journal of Clinical Child and Adolescent Psychology*. 2004; 33:488–498. [PubMed: 15271606]

- Taylor L, Merrilees CE, Shirlow P, Cairns E, Campbell A, Goeke-Morey MC, et al. Sectarian and nonsectarian violence: Community members' appraisals in a context of political conflict in Northern Ireland. 2010 Manuscript submitted for publication.
- Trew K. Children and socio-cultural divisions in Northern Ireland. *Journal of Social Issues*. 2004; 60:507–522.
- Whyte J. Control and supervision of urban 12-year-olds within and outside Northern Ireland: A pilot study. *The Irish Journal of Psychology*. 1983; 6:37–45.

Figure 1.

Examining bi-directional effects between non-sectarian antisocial behavior, sectarian antisocial behavior and mothers' use of psychological and behavioral control. Standardized path coefficients are reported. Error variances are omitted. Model fit: $\chi^2(62) = 56.48, p < .05$; $\chi^2/df = 3.84$; NFI = .95; CFI = .96; RMSEA = .061 (CI: .053, .069). * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

TABLE 1

Means, Standard Deviations, and Bivariate Correlations for All Study Variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1. Child age	-														
2. SAB – Child	-.01	-													
3. NAB – Child	.16***	.55***	-												
4. SAB – Mother	-.01	.74***	.35***	-											
5. NAB – Mother	.08*	.44***	.71***	.46***	-										
6. Beh Control – Child	-.43***	.06	-.07	.11**	.06	-									
7. Beh Control – Mother	-.43***	.17***	.06	.16***	.06	.54***	-								
8. Psych Control – Child	-.03	.14***	.21***	.03	.15***	-.07*	-.04								
Time 2															
9. SAB – Child	.01	.66***	.41***	.52***	.36***	-.01	.10*	.05							
10. NAB – Child	.16***	.35***	.75***	.29***	.60***	-.08	-.01	.18***	.53***						
11. SAB – Mother	-.02	.41***	.28***	.52***	.39***	-.02	.08*	.01	.67***	.43***					
12. NAB – Mother	.04	.33***	.62***	.35***	.72***	-.01	.06	.12**	.41***	.66***	.48***				
13. Beh Control – Child	-.54***	.09*	.02	.10*	.11*	.65***	.50***	-.01	-.02	-.09	.04	.04			
14. Beh Control-Mother	-.45***	.23***	.16***	.19***	.17***	.42***	.67***	.02	.20***	.08	.15***	.13**	.61***		
15. Psych Control – Child	.02	.08	.25***	.01	.15***	-.07	-.07	.40***	.09*	.31***	.04	.16***	-.10*	-.06	-
<i>M</i>	13.61	5.17	4.73	3.81	4.42	25.54	27.07	11.94	2.93	4.05	1.67	3.56	23.64	26.05	11.36
<i>SD</i>	2.05	9.07	5.98	8.01	5.50	7.39	6.71	5.29	6.90	5.74	5.56	5.30	8.13	7.66	5.13
<i>Range</i>	10–18	0–48	0–28	0–44	0–28	5–35	5–35	8–32	0–45	0–28	0–43	0–28	5–35	5–35	8–32

Note. SAB = Sectarian Antisocial Behavior; NAB = Nonsectarian Antisocial Behavior.

*
 $p < .05$.**
 $p < .01$.***
 $p < .001$.

TABLE 2

Factor Loading Patterns for 2-Factor Solutions of SAB and NAB

Item	Youth Wave 1		Mother Wave 1	
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 1	Factor 2
1. Someone beaten up by other community	.82	.43	.88	.48
2. Name calling by other community	.86	.40	.88	.46
3. Someone threatened by other community	.87	.41	.91	.46
4. Someone chased by other community	.90	.43	.93	.48
5. Someone shouted at by other community	.87	.44	.91	.46
6. Stones or objects thrown over walls	.88	.39	.92	.48
7. Houses or churches paint bombed	.84	.42	.92	.50
8. Windows put in by other community	.86	.42	.94	.50
9. Blast bombs or petrol bombs exploded	.75	.40	.90	.49
10. Children taunted by members of other community	.81	.35	.90	.45
11. Deaths/serious injury from violent/destructive acts by other comm.	.73	.42	.92	.50
12. Children from other community allowed to get away with things	.81	.39	.91	.46
13. Drunkenness	.42	.78	.40	.76
14. Drugs being sold or used	.44	.84	.46	.84
15. Fighting inside or outside of bars	.44	.89	.48	.89
16. Home break-ins	.42	.92	.45	.94
17. Robberies/Muggings	.41	.91	.47	.92
18. Murders	.34	.69	.42	.76
19. Stabbings	.35	.75	.41	.79