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Exposure to Community Violence and Social Maladjustment Among Urban African American Youth

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Abstract

Objective—Because of the evidence that children living in inner city communities are chronically exposed to violence, the goal of the present study was to longitudinally explore the reciprocal and perpetuating relationship between exposure to violence and child social maladjustment.

Method—Participants were 268 African American students (M age = 11.65 years, 40% males and 60% females) from six inner city Chicago public schools in high crime neighborhoods. Data was collected longitudinally over three years on measures of demographic information, exposure to community violence, and social adjustment. It was hypothesized that high levels of exposure to community violence, would be related to higher reports of social maladjustment (both cross-sectionally and longitudinally) and these variables would interact transactionally, leading to a greater risk of exposure to violence.

Results—These hypotheses were tested using Structural Equation Modeling (SEM) and results revealed that exposure to community violence was not consistently linked to social maladjustment. Transactional results revealed that there are certain periods in development in which being more socially maladjusted may put a youth in risk for more exposure to violence.

Conclusions—Results of the present study have important implications for interventions for inner-city youth exposed to violence.

African American youth living in low-income inner-city neighborhoods face daily social and economic disadvantages that put them at heightened risk for adjustment difficulties and psychopathology. While the challenges are numerous, the most significant stressor may be the violence that these children are exposed to in their communities. Exposure to pervasive community violence disrupts a child's psychological development and may lead to difficulties interacting with and relating to others.

With these objectives in mind, the current study examined the reciprocal effects of low-income, inner city youth's exposure to violence and social adjustment. The impact of

violence goes beyond the period immediately following the exposure and produces long-term negative effects on the children exposed. Specifically, because of the evidence that children living in inner city communities are chronically exposed to violence, this study longitudinally explored the reciprocal and perpetuating relationship between exposure to violence and child social maladjustment over a 3-year period with a large-scale community sample.

Exposure to Community Violence

Children's exposure to community violence has become a major public health problem in the United States (Finkelhor, Turner, Ormrod, Hamby, & Kracke, 2009). Although a variety of risk factors are associated with exposure to violence, minority children living in low-income, inner-city neighborhoods seem to be disproportionately affected (Stein, Jaycox, Kataoka, Rhodes, & Vestal, 2003). Moreover, children living in inner-city communities seem to be repeatedly and chronically exposed to violence due to the pervasive amounts of violence occurring in their neighborhoods (Richters & Martinez, 1993). This exposure has been characterized as occurring through both witnessing violence and violent victimization, with some statistics reporting that 60–70% of inner city youth have been victimized by at least one violent act and 80–90% have witnessed violence in their community (Bender & Roberts, 2009). Moreover, the violence experienced by these children is often severe. For example, Bell & Jenkins (1993) surveyed elementary school children in Chicago and found that three out of four children had witnessed a robbery, stabbing, shooting or killing. These statistics illustrate the need for researchers and policy makers to fully examine the role of exposure to violence in the lives of children. In addition to the obvious threats to a child's physical and mental health, repeated exposure to violence over time, as is seen in inner city neighborhoods, may alter a child's developmental trajectories and result in more negative outcomes (Garbarino, Kostelny, & Dubow, 1991).

In the community violence literature, researchers have attempted to distinguish between witnessing violence and violent victimization. While the former refers to an indirect exposure, (e.g. viewing a violent act), the latter encompasses actually experiencing an event, such as an assault or a robbery. Not surprisingly, it appears that community violence may have differential outcomes based on the type of exposure. While some researchers have found that both witnessing and victimization have harmful effects on a child's development (Richters & Martinez, 1993), it appears that actually becoming a victim of community violence may be more detrimental (Fitzpatrick & Boldizar, 1993). Yet, many studies do not attempt to fully examine the differences in the types of exposure (Salzinger, Feldman, Stockhammer, & Hood, 2002). Thus, this study examined the effects of witnessing violence and violent victimization separately.

Social Adjustment/Maladjustment

The middle school years are characterized by developmental transitions, which are even more challenging in inner-city neighborhoods plagued by violence. Of all areas of mental health, such as depression, anxiety, and behavior problems, social adjustment is one of the most significant areas of well-being, as it has both concurrent and predictive effects for child

psychopathology (Dougherty, 2006). Thus, this study will focus on children's difficulties with adjustment in the social realm, or in other words, social maladjustment.

Social adjustment can broadly be understood as the interaction between an individual and their social environment (Clare, Corney, & Cairns, 1984). In children, Crick and Dodge (1994) have conceptualized social adjustment as the degree to which children get along with their peers, engage in adaptive competent social behavior, as well as the extent to which they do **not** demonstrate aversive, incompetent behavior. In this way, a socially adjusted child is characterized by positive social interactions and friendships with peers, social maladjustment often includes aggression, social withdrawal, or peer rejection. Therefore, an understanding of social adjustment includes a child's own positive and negative actions, in addition to the reactions of others to the child.

From this description of social adjustment, it is not surprising that differences have arisen in how to correctly measure the construct. Researchers have made use of a variety of measurements, such as ratings of aggression or loneliness, rankings of peer sociometric status, and role-playing (Crick & Dodge, 1994). Despite the differences in method, each emphasizes the importance of peer relationships in measuring a child's social functioning. While each method has its strengths, all fail to capture the complexity of social maladjustment. A child who has social problems may range from one who acts out to one who does not know how to make friends to one who gets teased often. Each child is having trouble in the social realm, but looks very different. Furthermore, there seems a need to distinguish between merely peer relationships and overall adjustment in the social realm. Thus, this study will address these weaknesses by using a multidimensional approach to a child's social functioning. Namely, this construct of social maladjustment will be measured through parent report of child social problems, aggression, and withdrawal.

The area of social adjustment has become central in the understanding of child development, as children's relationships with their peers are especially important to overall long-term adjustment (Gifford-Smith & Rabiner, 2004; Laursen et al., 2007; Parker & Asher, 1987). According to a meta-analysis done by Parker and Asher (1987), poor social adjustment in childhood is related not only to criminality and school truancy, but also more severe psychopathology, such as schizophrenia. Thus, quality peer relationships and peer acceptance are related to positive adjustment in children, whilst school-age social difficulties and peer rejection are associated with negative outcomes.

Exposure to Violence and Social Adjustment

In addition to the internalizing problems, externalizing problems, and post-traumatic stress symptoms that have been consistently associated with violence exposure in the research literature (for a review, see Fowler, Tompsett, Braciszewski, Jacques-Tiura, & Baltes, 2009), exposure to high levels of community violence may result in behavioral and emotional difficulties that significantly impact social relationships. Children exposed to all types of violence demonstrate problems in connecting with their peers or interacting appropriately in social situations, as a result of feelings of uncertainty about themselves and their relationships with others (Lynch, 2003). To support this idea, researchers have found

that college students exposed to violence report interpersonal problems (Scarpa et al., 2002), peers reject children who have been maltreated (Bolger, Patterson, & Kupersmidt, 1998), and domestic violence decreases children's ability to connect in relationships (Katz, Hessler, & Annett, 2007). Consistent with these results, community violence is associated with peer rejection and mistreatment (Schwartz & Proctor, 2000).

Additionally, there is some evidence that the relationship between social maladjustment and community violence exposure may be reciprocal in nature, such that not only does exposure to community violence lead to social problems, but also that socially maladjusted adolescents may be at increased risk for violence exposure (Kelly et al., 2008). As discussed above, children exposed to violence may exhibit certain characteristics, such as aggression, withdrawal, or emotional dysregulation, that prevent them from forming the positive social relationships that protect them from future violence exposure (Hammack et al., 2004). In turn, they may be more likely to place themselves in contexts that are risky and associated with violence exposure (Gorman-Smith and Tolan, 1998). An example of this is seen in children who are victims of violence and as a result begin to act violent towards others, leading them to be more likely to be exposed to violent contexts (Kelly et al., 2008; Halliday-Boykins and Graham, 2001).

Because school-age social difficulties prefigure negative developmental outcomes and early maladjustment predicts later disorders, understanding the effects of exposure to violence on social adjustment is essential to improving developmental trajectories of these children. Furthermore, since social support has been established as a protective factor for violence exposure, this area of adjustment is an important target for intervention (Hammack et al., 2004).

Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1: It is expected that high levels of exposure to community violence, both victimization and witnessing, will be related to higher reports of social maladjustment. We expect these relations to hold both cross-sectionally and longitudinally. **Hypothesis 2:** We expect our longitudinal data to interact transactionally such that social maladjustment will lead to a greater risk of exposure to violence.

Method

Participants

The data were collected from six inner city Chicago public schools in high crime neighborhoods, as determined by Chicago Police Department statistics derived in the year before the study's inception. A sample of 268 African American students (M age = 11.65 years, 40% males and 60% females) participated in the study. Children's exposure to violence was assessed longitudinally over three years, from sixth-grade to eighth, during the school years of 1999–2000 to 2001–2002. Two hundred fifty-four seventh graders (M age = 12.57 years, 41% males and 59% females) participated in the second year of the study and 222 eighth graders (M age = 13.58 years, 41% males and 59% females) participated in the third year. Data collection began during the 1999–2000 school year.

Most of the participants came from lower-income households. Median family income in the participants' households was between \$10,000 and \$20,000 according to parents or guardians. Additionally, 69% of participants came from households headed by single mothers and 31% of participants' parents were unemployed (Ortiz et al., 2008).

Procedure

Consistent with previous studies of similar samples (e.g., Allison et al., 1999; Cutrona, Russell, Hessling, Brown, & Murray, 2000; Gaylord-Harden, Cunningham, & Zelencik, 2011; Cooley-Quille & Lorion, 1999; Ozer & Weinstein, 2004), 58% of eligible youth recruited across the six schools during the first year of the study agreed to participate, which required returning both a child assent form and a parent/guardian consent form. Previous research has shown that high-risk, low-income minority samples, such as this one, are difficult to engage in research due to the levels of disorganization and stress in their lives, resulting in barriers such as time constraints due to work schedules, lack of childcare, or general life crises (Allison et al., 1999; Breland-Noble, Bell, Burriss, & Poole, 2012).

Students were informed at the outset of games, gift certificates or sports equipment they would receive as a reward for participation. Data collection began when the students were in 6th grade (Time 1, N = 268), and continued in 7th grade (Time 2, N = 254) and 8th grade (Time 3, N = 222, resulting in retention rates of 94.78% and 82.84% at Time 2 and Time 3, respectively).

Data were collected longitudinally for one week each year over three years on students with a series of questionnaires. These were administered to students in small groups at the school. The students were also sent home with a packet of forms for parents to complete. These same procedures with the same participants were used for all 3 years of data collection.

Measures

Demographic—Information on the following demographic variables was assessed: gender, parent and child age, parent and child race/ethnicity, SES (as assessed by family income), parent education attainment, parent occupation, number of people in home, and religious affiliation.

Exposure to Violence—Each participant completed a self-report questionnaire based on the 'My Exposure to Violence Interview,' (Buka, Selner-O'Hagan, Kindlon, & Earls, 1997). The adolescents indicated how frequently they had been exposed to violence in the past year, both as a witness and as a victim, on a 5-point scale from 'never' to 'four or more times.' The witnessing subscale was composed of 13 items such as 'Have you seen someone get stabbed with a knife?' or 'Have you seen someone else get chased by someone who wanted to hurt them?' The summed response of these items was employed to represent Witnessing Violence. The Victimization by Violence subscale was derived from 12 items such as 'Have you been mugged/stuck up?' and 'Have you been hit, kicked, or beat up by someone?' The summed response to these items was taken to be the level of victimization.

Social Maladjustment—Social maladjustment was measured yearly using a combination of items from the Child Behavior Checklist (CBCL; Achenbach, 1991) Social Problems, Withdrawn, and Aggressive Behavior Subscales. These were combined to create a total ‘Parent Report of Child Maladjustment Scale,’ allowing for a comprehensive approach to a child’s social adjustment. The CBCL Social Problems Subscale includes 8 items, such as ‘Doesn’t get along with other kids’ and ‘Gets teased a lot.’ The Withdrawn Subscale includes 9 items, such as ‘Withdrawn, doesn’t get involved with others’ and ‘Would rather be alone than with others.’ The Aggressive Behavior Subscale includes 19 items, such as ‘Argues a lot’ and ‘Gets in many fights.’ One of the parents/guardians rated their children’s behaviors for these items on a 3-point-scale (0 to 2) of *not true*, *sometimes true*, and *very/often true*. The three subscales together demonstrate good internal consistency over all three years, as measured by Cronbach’s alpha (.91, .92, .90) and no item-total correlations less than .30.

Results

Descriptive Analyses

The means and standard deviations for reports of exposure to violence (witnessing and victimization), and both parent report of social maladjustment at all three assessment points were examined. These numbers, along with the correlations among the variables are presented in Table 1.

Exposure to Violence and Social Maladjustment

To explore the relationship between the variables of exposure to violence and social maladjustment, structural equation modeling (SEM) was employed. Specifically, LISREL 8.80 (Joreskog & Sorbom, 1996) was used to test the different path models. These path models allowed us to examine the direct effects of exposure to violence to social maladjustment (Question 1). In the first path model, exposure to violence at 6th, 7th, and 8th grade was allowed to predict social maladjustment at 6th, 7th, and 8th grade. In order to test the hypothesis that there is a transactional relationship between community violence exposure and social maladjustment (Question 2), a second path model was estimated in which the relationships between social maladjustment and violence exposure were added.

These two models were tested separately for witnessing violence and violent victimization, resulting in a total of four models (2 with the direct effects alone and 2 with transactional effects added). Imputation of missing cases was completed using expectation maximization algorithm whereby missing cases were obtained through multiple imputations using available data. This method is preferred to mean replacement because it allows variables to retain variance whereas mean imputation reduces it. In cases where more than 50% of the data was missing, LISREL required deletion of cases for the final analyses. Thus, the final number used in path models may differ slightly from those used to obtain descriptive statistics.

Social Maladjustment and Community Violence Exposure

Witnessing violence (Figure 1)—Witnessing violence in 6th grade was significantly positively associated with report of social maladjustment in 6th grade, unstandardized path coefficient = .01, $SE = .00$, $p < .05$ and 7th grade, unstandardized path coefficient = .01, $SE = .00$, $p < .05$. Witnessing violence in 7th grade was significantly negatively associated in 8th grade, unstandardized path coefficient = $-.01$, $SE = .00$, $p < .01$. Mixed support was found for hypothesis one; more witnessing in 6th grade predicted to worse social adjustment in 7th grade, while more witnessing in 7th grade predicted to better social adjustment in 8th grade.

Victimization by Violence (Figure 2)—Victimization in 7th grade was significantly negatively associated with social maladjustment in 7th grade, unstandardized path coefficient = $-.01$, $SE = .01$, $p < .01$ and in 8th grade, unstandardized path coefficient = $-.02$, $SE = .01$, $p > .05$. No relations from 6th to 7th grade were found. Hypothesis one was not supported; the negative path from 7th to 8th suggests that more violence victimization in 7th grade predicted to better social adjustment in 8th grade.

Transactional Relationship between Maladjustment and Community Violence Exposure

Social maladjustment and witnessing violence (Figure 3)—Social maladjustment in 7th grade was significantly positively related to witnessing violence in 8th grade, unstandardized path coefficient = 2.35, $SE = .92$, $p < .05$. Furthermore, witnessing violence in 7th grade was significantly negatively associated with social maladjustment in 8th grade, unstandardized path coefficient = $-.01$, $SE = .00$, $p < .05$. Fit statistics for this model demonstrated generally acceptable fit, RMSEA = .14, SRMR = .063, NNFI = .76, CFI = .86, GFI = .93, indicating that the proposed model was a good way to conceptualize the data.

Hypothesis two was supported; more social maladjustment in 7th grade predicted increased witnessing of violence in 8th grade.

Social maladjustment and victimization by violence (Figure 4)—Results indicated that social maladjustment in 7th grade was significantly positively related to victimization in 8th grade, unstandardized path coefficient = 2.38, $SE = .44$, $p < .01$. Furthermore, victimization in 7th grade was significantly negatively associated with social maladjustment in 8th grade, unstandardized path coefficient = $-.01$, $SE = .00$, $p < .01$. Fit statistics for this model demonstrated generally acceptable fit, RMSEA = .16, SRMR = .071, NNFI = .73, CFI = .84, GFI = .92, indicating that the proposed model was a good way to conceptualize the data.

Hypothesis two was supported; more social maladjustment in 7th grade predicted increased victimization by violence in 8th grade.

Discussion

The broad purpose of this study was to investigate the relationship between exposure to community violence and the social maladjustment within and across the middle school years (i.e., 6th to 8th grade) in a low-income urban sample of African American youth. Specifically, by looking in the relationship over time, this study also had the goal of

examining the transactional or ‘self-perpetuating’ relationship between exposure to community violence and social maladjustment.

Exposure to Violence and Social Maladjustment

The first goal of the present study was to build on previous research that has linked exposure to community violence to a variety of negative effects, such as internalizing disorders, behavior problems, and PTSD (Fowler et al., 2009), by examining the outcome of social maladjustment. This outcome has been largely overlooked in the community violence literature, yet research from other types of trauma suggests that it may be important to examine. Peer relationships and social functioning are not only important in the middle school years, as adolescents begin to develop self-concept and identity in relation to others, but social adjustment is also closely linked to development of psychopathology (Dougherty, 2006; Parker & Asher, 1987).

Contrary to our hypotheses, the present study found that exposure to community violence was not consistently linked to social maladjustment. In fact, results demonstrated when the relationship between exposure to community violence and social maladjustment was significant, it was more often in the opposite direction of what was hypothesized, such that children experiencing more violence exposure had lower levels of social maladjustment, particularly in the 8th grade. The only positive relationship between violence exposure and social maladjustment was found for witnessing violence and social maladjustment in 6th and 7th grades. Children who reported witnessing more violence in 6th grade were rated as more socially maladjusted in both 6th and 7th grade by their parents.

These results suggest that urban African American youth in low income and high violence neighborhoods may not be rejected by their peers or have difficulty forming social relationships, but their negative experiences may actually help them connect with others. Specifically, the socialization experiences of these children may mean that more violence exposure is related to more positive interactions with others through the ‘social cohesion’ that is often found in disadvantaged neighborhoods (Jencks & Mayer, 1990). In other words, exposure to violence may become normative and not lead to problems in social adjustment.

Moreover, some have theorized that youth exposed to chronic violence adapt to it rather than be overwhelmed by it. Children living in high crime areas become psychosocially desensitized from repeated exposure to violence which protects them from emotional distress and the consequent negative effects (Garbarino, Kostelny, & Dubow, 1991). Ng-Mak and colleagues (2002, 2004) describe youth exposed to violence as developing a pathologic adaptation to violence, such that consistent exposure leads to beliefs that normalize violence. This is contrary to the traumatic stress paradigm of violence that many researchers have suggested, which assumes that children exposed to greater levels of violence will have worse outcomes. As children in violent communities move through development, they begin to realize that if they normalize the violence they are seeing in their everyday lives, they will become less affected by it (Ng-Mak, Salzinger, Feldman, & Stueve, 2002). While the mechanisms through which this adaptation to violence occurs in children are still unknown, specific coping or cognitive mechanisms may allow a child to become gradually desensitized to the realities of their violent environment (Ng-Mak.,

Salzinger, Feldman, & Stueve, 2004). Other researchers have found that as youths moved through adolescence, their use of approach coping strategies increased, especially within the context of family and peer stressors (Griffith, Dubow, & Ippolito, 2000). Consistent with this, the present study found greater number of these relations by 8th grade, such that witnessing or victimization by violence in 7th grade predicted increased positive peer relations in 8th grade for 3 of the 4 models. In this way, a child who experiences a greater amount of violence may be seen as 'well-adjusted' or having few social difficulties with peers.

The process of pathologic adaptation to violence is gradual and is more consistently found in child-reported distress, which further helps explain the results of the present study (Ng-Mak, Salzinger, Feldman, & Stueve, 2004).

Self-Perpetuating Cycle

In their development, children not only are affected by, but also affect their environments. The complexity of child development means variables often relate in intricate ways, such that many variables may have bidirectional or transactional relationships. In this way, this study also aimed to examine the possible transactional relationship between exposure to violence and social maladjustment. It was hypothesized that not only would exposure to violence cause children more social difficulties, but that this social maladjustment would lead children to be exposed to more violence. The results were more consistent with this hypothesis than for the previous one; the models supported the notion that social maladjustment predicted to increased exposure to violence, such that social maladjustment in 7th grade was related to both increased witnessing and victimization in 8th grade. Furthermore, witnessing violence, more than victimization, was enhanced by peer maladjustment.

While these results are complex, they build on previous research that found a reciprocal relationship between victimization and peer rejection (Kelly et al., 2008). It may be that children who have poor relationships with peers early in middle school may be at risk for witnessing violence because they do not have the social support that may protect them from exposure or they may be seeking out dangerous situations (Kelly et al., 2008). Further research should attempt to clarify these transactional and reciprocal relationships, as well as try to understand what other variables may be explaining their interactions.

Limitations and Strengths

Before attempting to understand the implications of the results, there are several limitations that should be considered. First, the sample used in this study was a group of African American adolescents growing up in low-income, high violence neighborhoods in Chicago. While the experiences of these youth are certainly important to examine, the findings of this study have limited external validity. Future research should examine similar models with diverse samples, including age, ethnicity, and culture. Moreover, while our recruitment rate was similar to other research with high-risk, minority samples (e.g. .g., Allison et al., 1999; Cutrona, et al., 2000; Gaylord-Harden, Cunningham, & Zelencik, 2011; Cooley-Quille & Lorion, 1999), there is still a possibility that self-selection in our sample may result in it not

being fully representative. In addition to the noted difficulty in engaging low-income African American populations (Breland-Noble, Bell, & Poole, 2012), it is possible that this response rate resulted from the requirement that participants return both assent and parental consent forms, low attendance of the students, or even suspicions of clinical research being conducted in African American communities (Allison et al., 1999). Thus, future research in these communities should strive to use community-based participatory research (CBPR) strategies in order to increase recruitment and reduce bias. The final limitation of the study concerns the research design and statistical analysis. While the study followed the participants longitudinally over three years, causal inferences are still difficult to be drawn from these data, as none of the variables were manipulated. Furthermore, no alternate models using all variables were tested. It is very possible that other variables or constructs that were not measured in this study may help explain the relations between exposure to violence and social adjustment.

A major strength of this study is in both its design and analysis. Few studies have been able to follow such a large sample of at-risk youth over a time period of several years in their attempt to understand outcomes. While this study cannot prove causality, the longitudinal design of the present study over a three-year-period furthers our knowledge about the developmental course of children exposed to violence. Additionally, very few researchers have examined the differences in witnessing violence versus being victimized by violence in the same study, especially longitudinally. As the results from this study were inconsistent, it appears that effects of violence proximity may vary by outcome measured (Fowler et al., 2009), demonstrating that this is an important distinction for both researchers and clinicians to make when understanding outcomes. Child development is complex and sophisticated methods of analysis are needed to capture this complexity. The present study used SEM to examine the hypothesized transactional models, which is considered a superior analytical approach (Iacobucci, Saldanha, & Deng, 2007). Finally, the transactional model examined in the present study was a start in understanding how variables may interact with each other (Lynch, 2003).

Research, Clinical and Policy Implications

In summary, this study was one of the first to examine the transactional relationship between community violence and social adjustment in a sample of low-income, urban African American youth. Results suggest that the relationship between community violence exposure and social adjustment is very complex. Children who are exposed to community violence, both through victimization and witnessing, appear to be coping in some way that allows them to adapt to community violence, buffering their risk for maladjustment. This finding is important for clinical prevention and intervention work, in that we should not only focus on reducing the risk of psychopathology for violence-exposed youth, but also factors that may promote resilience. Finally, it seems there are certain periods in development in which being more socially maladjusted may put a youth at risk for more exposure to violence. This transactional relationship between exposure to violence and social maladjustment suggests that both clinical and community-based preventions should target socially maladjusted youth in order to help promote positive adjustment and remove them from the cycle of violence that is too common in low-income, urban communities.

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Figure 1.
Witnessing violence and social maladjustment.
Solid lines indicate significant ($p < .05$) relationships. Dashed lines indicate nonsignificant ($p > .05$) relationships.

Figure 2.

Victimization by violence and social maladjustment.

Solid lines indicate significant ($p < .05$) relationships. Dashed lines indicate nonsignificant ($p > .05$) relationships.

Figure 3.

Transactional model: Social maladjustment and witnessing violence.

Solid lines indicate significant ($p < .05$) relationships. Dashed lines indicate nonsignificant ($p > .05$) relationships.

Figure 4. Transactional model: Social maladjustment and violent victimization. Solid lines indicate significant ($p < .05$) relationships. Dashed lines indicate nonsignificant ($p > .05$) relationships.

Table 1

Correlations, Means, and Standard Deviations.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Gender										
2. Witnessing 6 th	-.04									
3. Witnessing 7 th	.08	.12*								
4. Witnessing 8 th	.09	.21**	.36**							
5. Victimization 6 th	-.06	.60**	-.05	-.03						
6. Victimization 7 th	.08	-.04	.62**	.22**	-.03					
7. Victimization 8 th	.06	.25**	.27**	.61**	.00	.37**				
8. Social Maladjustment 6 th	.04	.13**	-.07	-.03	.08	-.10	-.07			
9. Social Maladjustment 7 th	.04	.16**	-.04	.08	.08	-.19*	.19**	.06		
10. Social Maladjustment 8 th	.05	.10	-.13*	.05	.08	-.17**	-.03	.00	.00	
Mean	1.63	3.34	2.56	2.80	1.50	1.06	.86	.27	.26	.26
SD	.48	4.09	3.73	3.57	2.95	2.22	1.78	.22	.21	.19

Note.

* p<.05,

** p<.01.