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Witnessing violence

The perception of operators and children



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Associação de Mulheres
Contra a Violência



Municipality of
Mola di Bari



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ARTEMISI 
associazione

**“Perché dolore è più dolor, se tace”
Giovanni Pascoli (*Il prigioniero*)**

“Because pain is more pain, if silent”
Giovanni Pascoli (*Il prigioniero*)

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Introduction and Aims - A Project on witnessing violence

By: Donata Bianchi, Roberta Luberti, Francesca Moscati (Artemisia Association - Florence)

Characteristics of the phenomenon and research objectives

Why do we have a project to investigate the perception of witnessing violence by children and by adults who in their professional roles offer protection and listening/counselling services?

Noticing ill-treatment and abuse is a process of slow acquisition of consciousness about daily situations, even where appearances would never cause suspicion, because people that either ill-treat or abuse often succeed in preserving their social normality and "presentability".

When violence does not happen in a marginal context, and the context is already socially and humanly degraded, its recognition implies the overcoming of stereotypes and commonplace situations within the family, and in parent-child relationships, and also the myth about social serenity, in order to formulate the hypothesis that a child's malaise has its origins in violent episodes. It could also be thought that the crisis within the parents' relationship might not be a conflict (which implies substantial equality among the parties) but a real, overwhelming relationship of dominance, with the chronic victimization of one of the parties.

Perception of the world and of events moulds our behaviour, our thoughts and our planning ability. Therefore it is important to understand what children and adults perceive, especially if the latter are teachers, social workers and law enforcement officers, i.e. people who could act as "helping witness", about whom Alice Miller wrote, suggesting all the adults keep alert for violence against a child and are available to listen and support such children.

If the general topic of violence in childhood, is focused on by operators and institutions – a topic that has become what in sociology is defined as a social problem, that is "something that the majority of people perceives and recognizes as a reiterated process that creates worry and constitutes an attack, a threat for the community, claiming everyone's attention as an indication of violation of fundamental human rights and of social disorganization" (Sociology Dictionary, Utet, 1997) – the same cannot be said for all the forms of violence against children, and definitely not for the situations of witnessing violence.

In Anglo-Saxon countries research and studies dating from the 1970s – corresponding to a growing awareness about violence to women and minors – refer to the phenomenon of this kind of childhood ill-treatment (witnessing violence), and its effects on a short, medium and long-term basis.

The English Department of Health, in the 1999 edition of the guidelines for the surveying of child abuse situations and the adoption of measures of protection, "Working together to Safeguard Children", written in order to orientate the services for putting into effect the Children Act of 1989 and the Protection of Children Act of 1999, defines domestic violence as a specific situation of ill-treatment and evolutionary risk. In the document operators are stimulated to consider the frequent interrelation between domestic violence and other forms of ill-treatment and abuse and, vice versa, between violence which hurts children and violence to a parent. The document also illustrates the criteria and procedures that the various public workers (police, social services, healthcare) and private subjects (antiviolence centre, Forum against domestic violence) must follow when they receive a report of domestic violence. One of the most interesting aspects of the document is its integrated approach to the protection of the adult victim and of the minors who witness violence by evaluating the resources and

the point of view of those who take care of the adult victims, but also of those who take care of minors (Bertotti, Bianchi, 2005). On this subject, the programs for the treatment of abusers contain, as an essential condition, integrated collaboration between centres against violence to women, services for the protection of minors, psychiatric services for adults, services for drug and alcohol addiction, law enforcement agencies, and magistrates (Gondolf, 2005).

Threats, persecution and aggression can continue for years after separation.

A 1983 report by the USA Department of Justice stresses that separation increases the threat to life for women and children.

The persistence of persecution, even after separation, continues to damage the victims, hindering attempts to recover and maintaining the nucleus/victim in a condition of submission and loss of hope regarding the possibility to getting away from the situation of violence and psychological torture (Luberti, 2005).

From research carried out by courts, it appears that – particularly in cases of domestic violence - those who ill-treat their families use the legal system as a means to carry on the ill-treatment and the control over the former partner and children, often through legal battles for custody or for visiting rights (Zorza, 1995; Jaffe, Lemon, Poisson, 2003, Luberti, 2005).

In Italy, awareness of this phenomenon was raised by the participation of antiviolence centre staff at the 1998 International Conference in Singapore on violence in the family and the 1999 “Stop Domestic Violence” conference in Ipswich, where the witnessing of violence was defined as ill-treatment of a primary kind, such as physical and psychological ill-treatment, sexual abuse, neglect, and where it was emphasized that the protection of the children could not be separated from the protection of their mothers (Trout, 1999).

Moreover collaboration between some centres against violence to women and centres for the protection of minors was fundamental, created in particular through a dedicated scientific commission, C.I.S.M.A.I. (Italian Coordination of the Services against ill-treatment and abuse to infancy), that led to a national conference on the topic (Florence, 2003) and to the drawing up of the document “Minimum intervention requirements in cases of witnessing violence from ill-treatment to the mothers” (C.I.S.M.A.I., 2005).

Regarding the spread of this type of ill-treatment to the detriment of children in Italy, the Artemisia Association from Florence has carried out research among 28 Italian antiviolence centres, coordinated by Teresa Bruno (2003). The results showed that during the 1999-2001 period, 15.120 women applied to such antiviolence centres, reporting ill-treatment lasting an average of seven and a half years. In 80% of cases the partner was responsible for the ill-treatment. Considering the average number of children per woman, in this period of time (and only referring to the cases that reached the antiviolence centres), 22.226 children would have been victims of witnessing violence.

However, even nowadays, in spite of the frequency of cases of witnessing violence, the existence and the gravity of the problem are systematically underrated from a social, legal and psychological point of view.

In fact, there are theoretical and methodological difficulties concerning the organization of the phenomenon in its various forms, regarding the different types of ill-treatment to which the children are exposed, and the systematization of the study of the characteristics and effects of this type of violence.

Moreover, at an operating level, all too often this kind of ill-treatment is not recognized as such, with cases unrevealed, and consequently prevention, protection and care work is not carried out.

The C.I.S.M.A.I., in the cited document, has given the following definition to this kind of ill-treatment:

“Minors witnessing domestic violence is defined as a child having experience of any kind of ill-treatment (actions of physical, verbal psychological, sexual and economic violence) committed on referring persons, or other adults or minors who are affectively significant persons. This definition includes violence by minors on other minors and/or family members as well as ill-treatment and abandoning of pets.”

In the families where the mother is ill-treated, children witness directly, indirectly, and/or perceiving the effects of:

- Physical violence¹
- Psychological violence
- Oral violence
- Economic violence
- Violence inherent to the area of sexuality

Not only the actions of physical and sexual violence, but also the threats to treat badly, to abandon, to kill, to commit suicide, etc, so frequently found in domestic violence situations, have an impact on the children that must not to be underrated.

In more serious situations of domestic violence, both the children and their mothers can be murdered². Research on childhood mortality has demonstrated that in a meaningful

¹ Actions of physical violence such as: pushing, throwing onto the bed, prevention of physical movement, hitting or trying to hit with objects, putting hands round someone's neck, jerking, biting, slapping, kicking, punching, pulling someone's hair, dragging, burning parts of the body with cigarettes, closing in a room, segregation in the house, throwing out of the house, throwing out of the house during the night, preventing or forcing to eat, forcing to eat a certain kind of food; preventing medical treatment; forcing to take medicine; preventing sleep; tying, chaining, suffocating, threatening with firearm or knife, use of firearms or knives, setting fire to; killing.

Psychological violence such as: breaking/damaging victim's property, threatening suicide; ridiculing, devaluating, denigrating, insulting; isolating from other familial and friendship relations; controlling all encounters and activities; threatening to beat, torture, abandon or kill; threatening to begin new relationships, persecution via jealousy, threatening to hurt other members of the family or to hurt and abandon pets.

Economic violence such as: preventing the mother from having access to economic resources, hiding any information on the patrimonial situation, prohibiting, hindering or boycotting access to and maintenance of a job, not fulfilling maintenance obligations established by law and sentences, taking advantage of someone's job in the family business without giving any salary or making legal contributions, taking control of the woman's money, causing debt because of own non-fulfilment, taking advantage of every protection of the law damaging the victim (chattels, hereditary issues, real estate headings, productive activities). Economic violence is associated, in the majority of cases, with physical and psychological violence, and constitutes a strategy of isolation, control, a way to prevent the victim from being independent. Particularly underestimated is a serious aspect of domestic violence that also involves children (for example when the father refuses to give the money directly to the mother, and gives it only to the children; when the mother uses the children in order to ask the partner the money for household expenses, because he refuses to give the money directly to her; when the mother steals the money from the children's money box because she does not have money for the daily necessities, etc).

Violence inherent to the area of sexuality, such as: ridicule, devaluation, insults on sexual aspects; blackmail and threats in order to obtain sexual performance; forcing someone to prostitute himself; threatening to rape and to abuse; rape; causing rape by a third party.

² *“Although 70% of homicides of wives and former wives are preceded by ‘domestic violence’ committed by the partner (Campbell et al., 2003), these homicides are not related to ill-treatment: the first imputable to ‘too much love’, ‘passion’, a*

proportion of cases of murdered children, the mothers were also victims of domestic violence. The homicide of the children can happen not only before the separation of the parents, but also after it, and during the visits of the father programmed by the court (Humphreys, 2005).

Witnessing intra-familial violence, compared to the other forms of child abuse, is characterized as ill-treatment whose presence is an effect derived from the preliminary acknowledgment of the violence directed at another person who cohabits with the minor and/or who constitutes for him/her an affectively significant person (C.I.S.M.A.I., 2005).

It constitutes a form of abuse to childhood, whose presence demands that the observer is aware that a traumatic event has effects not only on the direct victim, but also on all who witness the event, as happens also in other traumatic events such as: attacks, incidents, massacres, etc; in fact, the victims of such events are not only those directly hit, but also those who witnesses who are impotent. In the event of witnessed intra-familial violence, the aggravating circumstance is the fact that the victim is a subject in evolutionary age and that the actors are reference persons, affectively significant to the child.

The identification of a social problem should lead to the acknowledgment of the below needs and to the assumption of the related responsibility by social policy and the system of services. That can happen only if there has been a preliminary and punctual acquisition of awareness and responsibility regarding the problem of direct intra-familial violence (in its various forms) and the necessity to also help and protect those who, inside a familiar nucleus, have been witnessing the violence committed on others.

C.I.S.M.A.I. document "Minimum requirements for action in cases of witnessing violence from ill-treatment of the mothers" emphasizes that it is essential to distinguish situations of conflict (without denying the damage to children that can derive from these situations) from situations of ill-treatment of one spouse by the other and to avoid situations where serious and repeated actions and/or abusive behaviour to the mother are identified as "conflict" or "quarrel" between spouses.

The fact that the ill-treatment is not named and described colludes with the social minimization of the phenomenon and with the underestimation of the impact of violent actions and behaviour on the victim, but also on witnesses, and has negative effects on physical and mental protection (C.I.S.M.A.I., 2000, 2005; Luberti, 2002, 2005; Bertotti, Bianchi, 2005; Gruppo di studio attinente all'area "La tutela e la cura del soggetto in età evolutiva in difficoltà" dell'Osservatorio Nazionale, 2002).

When the term conflict is used, in particular in social services reports, to connote violent situations, the descriptive level of the ill-treating relationship is lost, contaminated and confused with intra-psychic aspects. That hinders not only the understanding of the phenomenon, but also the activation of an appropriate intervention. In spite of the greater awareness that interrupting violence on minors cannot confuse the external and inner levels of the subject, confusion still persists from a terminological point of view. Such confusion concurs to feeding the distortion of a correct understanding of the facts through continuous "psychologization"; such confusion points out a difficulty regarding

'raptus' of the man, the second ones imputable to 'conflicts' between the married couple. Not to see the continuity between the two phenomenon turns out to be mortally dangerous for the women involved" (Romito, 2005).

Romito (2005) also notes that the exercise of violence demands the activation of a complicity network that involves actors and social institutions, also when children are killed as a retort to the wife's desire to separate. The author asserts that violence, also when it is associated to serious psychological disturbances of the aggressor, needs legitimization or social tolerance in order to be completed, but also insufficient attention to the destiny of the potential victims.

the maintenance of a descriptive level of the ill-treatment, perhaps also determined by the need of social operators to contain the heavy background lifestyles revealed by contact with violence cases. The lack of description of the facts has negative, sometimes also fatal, effects on the victims (Bessi, 2001; Luberti, 2001; Luberti, 2005; Black, 2005; Diano, 2005; Humphreys, 2005; C.I.S.M.A.I., 2000, 2005).

In spite of progression of recent years and the actual interest in the topics of intra-familial violence³, also at an institutional level, the physical and mental survival of too many children still depends almost completely on the care of the relatives – when there are some – that activate paths of protection and care. However, relatives still receive insufficient support from institutions and are damaged by indifference, suspicion, social depreciation, attacks by lawyers and other experts, and by insufficient knowledge of diagnostic and evaluative methodologies of the part of consultants. Social workers involved in these cases often have to concentrate on the development of the auto-protective abilities of the victims, as a substitute for obligatory legal action, usually omitted by institutions, and as the only way of protection and repair against judicial proceedings that are conducted superficially and marked by adult-centred prejudgments.

Psychological persecution also constitutes a form of ill-treatment within the family. However, in order to charge such a crime to the abusers and to put into effect some kind of protection for the victims (which is usually insufficient and short-term anyway), it is necessary to show many medical reports about serious blows and attempted murder. All this is accompanied by heavy social prejudgments, stereotypes on the pretext and provocation of the victims and by the equal subdivision of responsibility between the person who beats, persecutes, rapes and abuses and the person who is beaten, persecuted, raped and abused, without understanding the psychological and social problems of the victims who, according to superficial judgment, are (generically) considered to be able to exit from the violence, possibly “without disturbance”.

It is necessary to reflect upon the reason why, when confronted with bruises, bony and dental fractures, lacerations and breach of inner organs (which is not difficult to find) there is still hesitancy or omission in the activation of protective paths, starting from the naming of the actual facts.

Regarding the protection of the victims, the C.I.S.M.A.I., in a document written in 2006, demanded legislative provision that in cases of violence to the mother, the crime perpetrated on minors of ill-treatment because of witnessing violence should be considered. In case of violence to the mother, the C.I.S.M.A.I. emphasizes the importance of the introduction of an obligatory communication to the Juvenile Court, by the Civil Judge of the separation (if the facts have been communicated during the separation) or by the Public Prosecutor of the ordinary Court (if the facts have been reported and have initiated a criminal prosecution), in analogy with what is provided by the art. 609 decies c.p. 1° paragraph.

However, it is obvious that these very necessary legislative changes must be accompanied by cultural and social changes, that presuppose, first of all, willingness to listen to the victims.

³ The document (2002) of the Study Group related to the area “Protection and cure of the subject in evolutionary age”, coordinated by the C.I.S.M.A.I. experts Marinella Malacrea and Franco Occhiogrosso, presiding judge of the Juvenile Court of Bari, and organized by the National Observatory for Infancy and Adolescence, emphasizes the underestimation of the extension and gravity of the phenomenon, and the need to set up data collection systems. This latter point has been assumed in the National Plan of action and intervention for the protection of the rights and the development of subjects in evolutionary age 2002-2004.

The Questionnaires⁴

From the above-stated points it is easy to understand the importance of increasing awareness, not only of the workers who are close to the children (such as teachers and professional and institutional employees with the function of protection), but also of other kinds of operators that can come into contact with the phenomenon of witnessing violence in some way.

This Project is completely structured around surveying and research activities, but it can be also considered a contribution to awakening knowledge of the phenomenon, because the questionnaire and the interview were an opportunity for reflection - for some workers the first one - on this kind of ill-treatment.

In order to elaborate all these research tools, we considered all the national and international knowledge covering the phenomenon, using clear terminology, in order to understand the ill-treatment, the revelation, the evaluation, the protection and the care of the victims, as above mentioned.

The results of the Project will provide suggestions on systems for raising awareness of the phenomenon through training initiatives addressed to operators, with the purpose of transmitting sociological, legal and psychological knowledge, but also of developing emotional and relationship abilities.

The questionnaire for operators: interview of privileged witnesses

The scientific literature and the research on ill-treatment and abuse of minors also identify among the factors of protection and support to resilience the social context and the response that children receive from social services and institutions (Di Blasio, 2005). In fact, the kind of response, in terms of timeliness and adequacy, that the victim receives from the social system (is listened to, is believed, is discredited, his/her vicissitude comes to be minimized, etc) can influence, in a positive or negative way, the damage derived from ill-treatment and abuse. An operator will intervene when he thinks that it is within his province to understand the hardships of a minor and to give him the necessary support. Since the discovery of witnessing violence is a process derived from the preliminary acknowledgment of domestic violence, it has been considered that the more the violence is perceived as a private problem, the less the social services will be called on to prepare strategies and preventative and protective action.

The construction of tools able to estimate the knowledge and the perception of witnessing violence by social workers (and in general by all the workers that can come into contact with potential victims) is aimed at investigating the configuration and contents of the phenomenon, and its social representations. These latter, in fact, influence aims and modes of intervention (or non-intervention) by social services and institutions, and more generally by society.

Therefore, it is useful to explore the thoughts and knowledge of the operators about the following thematic areas:

- Understanding of the phenomenon and its effects - which are their thoughts about the possible causes, the effects and the factors that can reduce it
- Direct experiences - cases brought to their attention, interventions carried out, evaluation of efficacy of the support offered

⁴ The questionnaires for children and social workers were carried out respectively by Francesca Moscati and Donata Bianchi of the Artemisia Association of Florence; the interview outline to privileged witnesses was elaborated by Simona La Rocca of the Lelio Basso Foundation and by Roberta Luberti of the Artemisia Association. The questionnaires were shown to and discussed with the other partners during the workshops.

- Emotional impact and professional involvement - lived during the situations, representation of his/her professional functions for the protection of children, level of personal assumption of responsibility regarding the problem
- Knowledge of prevention and protection measures, related to the legislative situation of the different countries involved in the Project

Choosing to put questions that involve the person who was answering the questionnaire is linked to the awareness that the protection of children is an aim that requires action strategies on multiple dimensions: social, legal, healthcare, educational and also cultural. In fact, domestic violence also has roots in cultural backgrounds that tolerate, while they do not support explicitly, the submission of weak subjects and the disownment and violation of their fundamental rights. Therefore, it is also important to promote a cultural change that goes through the personal assumption of responsibilities, regarding a problem that involves everybody as adults.

The analysis of questionnaire and interview results, therefore, offered reasons for reflecting on the development and qualification of the activities till now privileged, in order to strengthen the abilities of operators and the efficacy of the intervention, that is, training, integration and coordination between institutions and services and the elaboration of guidelines for the definition of tasks and legal obligations.

The questionnaire for children

In the past, research on the topic of domestic violence, and on its perception by the children involved, was mostly carried out through perceptions reported by ill-treated mothers that approached antiviolence centres. Through their perceptive filter a first definition of the reality lived by the children who witnessed violence was possible and Osofski defined it as "invisible".

However the maternal reading is not always completely realistic, often introducing contamination and distortions linked to maternal stress and to the damage that the violence produces to the mothers regarding the relationship with their children and their abilities to care for and attend to their needs. Frequently, ill-treated mothers show defensive behaviour (more or less aware) that minimizes, and sometimes also denies, the involvement of the children in situations of domestic violence and the damaging effects that witnessing domestic violence produces on the children.

The world of the perception of children regarding the problem of domestic violence has been revealed through intervention which is increasingly focused on children, in an always greater condition of awareness and knowledge of the phenomenon and with acquired experience regarding the effects that violence produces on the victims on a short, medium and long term basis.

We can think about the increase in clinical experiences, abroad but also in Italy, focused on the treatment and repair of the damage of witnessing violence caused to children.

However, if something has been done in the clinical field, there has been little diffusion of research on a sample of children which is not necessarily "clinical".

The primary aim of the questionnaire for children used within this Project was to investigate their perceptions regarding the family (in particular the family that experiences violence), using a method that was not invasive or destabilizing for the children that took part to the Project.

The fact that the sample of children that answered the questionnaire was not a clinical sample constituted an element of complexity for its construction, since the questions

could not be excessive or directly evocative of former trauma, but at the same time able to mobilize scenarios and thoughts regarding the topic of domestic violence.

Being addressed to children of an extended age range (5-11 years), the questionnaire was formulated in a simple and direct way, in order to be accessible for everybody.

It is necessary to remember that the sample includes children in different stages of cognitive development and the questions were constructed paying attention to the evolutionary level of some cognitive functions, in particular memory and attention.

The questions are all multiple choice: such choice was designed to make it easier for the children to answer and to facilitate a statistical elaboration procedure for the quantification of answers, especially as the sample to whom the questionnaire was administered was extended.

It is also necessary to remember that the questionnaire had to be accessible and easily completed for minors living in different countries and cultures. The questionnaire proposes an external element of identification, that of a dog that lives with its family.

This option was thought useful because usually animals are easily and spontaneously assumed by the children as objects they can identify themselves with. That allows tricky subjects to be contacted, leaving the child (with its defensive structure) the opportunity to identify himself, more or less massively, with the proposed personage, also permitting avoidance strategies for a topic perceived as excessively disturbing.

After a first part of the questionnaire, that gathers personal identifying data (age and sex of the minor, structure of the family in which the minor lives, pets) a second part proposes two different familiar situations: in the first situation the familiar atmosphere is described as positive "everyone gets along well", in the second situation there is a generic conflict condition, that is where "old dogs quarrel a lot".

In the first part of the questionnaire, inside the scenario of the family with a positive atmosphere, the questions have been structured in a way that wants to capture the perception of some aspects that connote the family (for example the perception of the two subsystems parents-children, the isolation and the dimension inner-outside) and the background associated to the single parents and the youngest pup.

These first aspects are necessary to familiarize the child with the questionnaire through a series of easier contents; but they can also be useful if compared to the answers supplied in the second part of the questionnaire where the family is described as having a conflict situation between adults. In this stage, the questionnaire has been equipped with answers structured in a way that allows the children to identify themselves and to choose the level of gravity of the conflict between adults of the dog family, supplying the answers with different options: a set of opportunities that goes from the introduction of a conflict in a couple with a final resolution, up to the structuring of violent situations. Through the use of animals it has been possible also to describe, in a less destabilizing way for the children, the manifestation of anger and aggressiveness associated with violence between adults: therefore the violence in the married couple has been introduced in a direct but still very tolerable way, through the image of dog mum and dog dad biting and scratching themselves.

Going deeper and deeper into the perception of the children about the domestic violence, the children themselves have the opportunity to define (when dog mum and dog dad adopt aggressive behaviour) who is the initiator of the violence and who instead is the victim inside the married couple.

The questions are constructed in such a way as to open, at a first approach, an interest over the reactions of the personage with whom the child presumably identifies himself: the questionnaire proposes therefore a series of behavioural reactions, some of which

are frequently adopted by the children in domestic violence situations, such as watching, trying to reconcile the parents, hiding or looking for help.

In a second moment, questions are focused on the emotional dimension. The emotional background associated to the two familiar situations proposed has been shown through the emoticons. These were chosen as useful tools to reduce the weight of intercultural aspects, whilst allowing the simple and immediate capture of the emotional aspects and the experience associated to some topics related to the family.

Moreover, in its final part, the questionnaire seeks to identify the perception of children about the kind of context (in particular intra or extra familiar) where, in the childhood perception, the appearance of violent behaviour of the adult is more frequent.

Another aim is to find the meaningful references for the children where a difficult situation to face has been created.

The research and the practice regarding children who witness domestic violence are still in an initial stage and need to be developed.

The development of a questionnaire for children with the aim of surveying their perception of domestic violence (a questionnaire that will surely have to be refined after the outcome of its administration to the children) can represent a very meaningful intervention regarding the acquisition of tools to help face the uneasiness and trauma caused by witnessing intra-familial violence and lead to a transmission of knowledge regarding a problem which is still hidden for the greater part. It can promote, even if indirectly, the construction of a tool for the survey of situations of minors at risk.

Methodology

By: Sara Ferruzzi and Roberto Gambassi (Microcosmos Onlus - Siena)

Subjects

The research had 3 target populations: children aged between 6 and 11 years old, workers in the social, educational and health fields, privileged witnesses/observers of the phenomenon of witnessing violence.

Sample

The aim was to have a statistical sample of children and workers, able to extend (by inference) the sample estimates to the totality of the citizenship in object, with minimal errors due to the adoption of a valid sampling strategy.

The sample design for children was based on the localization of the investigated territory, the range and distribution by age and the school classes of the different institutes in Göttingen, Carrara, Lisbon (in the quarter called São Sebastião da Pedreira) and Mola di Bari. These data represent the "strata" or characteristics of the population and are the basis for choosing to adopt stratified sampling. The latter is able to guarantee a high inner homogeneity to the single determination and a big difference among the groups or strata. That means representativeness of the outcome analysis of the sample to extend the estimate to the whole population, with low chances of error, but also having licence to extend the comparisons and comments to the different strata and to the single determination. Therefore the strata are: the age (the different age band) and the localization on the Municipal territory.

In order to further reduce the inner strata variability, and therefore sampling error for the estimates, for the stratified sampling a "proportional" assignment criterion was chosen, the only one able to maintain unaltered in the sample the incidences of the single determination found in the previous prospect for the whole population.

All four partner cities in the project followed directions expressed by the Project Manager.

On these bases, with probable errors per strata fluctuating between 5% and 7%, a total sample of 965 children was used, able to assure a probable error in the estimate of percentages per strata between 4% and 6%. The global estimates should not exceed an error rate of 2-3%, with a minimum in Mola di Bari under the percentage point.

A sample of this large size assures a high statistical significance, with very low probability of errors and with the possibility of extending the estimates to the whole population of the four cities, also with analysis of the single strata.

Children

For each city, a representative sample was constructed and 965 questionnaires were administered to children aged between 6 and 13 (50,2% females - 49,8% males). The data refer only to the samples of Lisbon, Carrara and Mola di Bari because in Göttingen problems regarding the legal authorization for the administration of questionnaires prevented the carrying out of the project.

Operators/Workers

For each city (Lisbon, Carrara, Mola di Bari) 222 questionnaires were administrated to representative samples of workers (21,2% males and 78,8% females, average age 41 years).

Privileged Witnesses/Observers

The sample was built on the base of closeness and knowledge of the phenomenon: 31 privileged witnesses/observers were interviewed on the basis of a model of semi-structured interview.

Experimental Material

All the tools used for the survey were chosen and constructed referring to a shared definition of "witnessing violence" by C.I.S.M.A.I. (2003).

The questionnaires were proposed by Artemisia and were discussed and defined with the cooperation of all the partners, during the meeting in Florence and the workshop in Carrara. The Lelio Basso Foundation proposed the semi-structured interview, shared during the above mentioned meeting. A single version of the tools was issued in English, and then each partner translated it into their native language.

a) Children's questionnaire (see enclosures)

The children's questionnaire aimed at investigating, in a non invasive way, the children's perceptions of two kind of families: a serene one and its opposite, one where violence is enacted.

The questionnaire aimed at investigating the children's perception of the phenomenon of witnessing violence; it investigated the presence of psychological dynamics in child victims of the phenomenon and was constructed in a way that could be understood by all the children of the age band chosen for the survey.

It is a projective questionnaire, consisting of 14 multiple choice questions. The questionnaire is structured in 4 parts:

- 1) data on the subject and the constitution of their family
- 2) the child is asked to imagine a family of dogs where everyone gets along well and is also asked questions about this family and the feelings of each member
- 3) the child is asked to imagine a family of dogs where everyone quarrels and is also asked questions of the same kind about this family and the feelings of each member
- 4) the child is asked general questions about the topic of "old ones behaving badly with little ones" and the chances of calling for help

The main objective is to get a system reading, an objective that is possible with the construction of homogenous clusters of children.

b) Operators Questionnaire (see enclosures)

The questionnaire consists of 13 multiple choice questions preceded by the CISMAI (2003) definition of witnessing violence. The questionnaire investigates different aspects of the phenomenon, in the operator's opinion: the causes, how many times the operator had to deal with it, the emotional impact, the intervention carried out, the evaluation of the intervention, operator's professional competences necessary to intervene, actions for prevention and reduction of the risk.

c) Interview to privileged witnesses/observers

The semi-structured interview is divided into six parts: the first part regards the interviewee's personal data, the second investigates how the interviewee perceives/defines the phenomenon of witnessing violence, the third part asks to

evaluate cases observed or perceived, the fourth part evaluates the causes of the phenomenon, the fifth one investigates the interviewee's attitudes and behaviour, the sixth is about prevention and protection.

Procedure

The procedure for the administration of questionnaires and the interviews was settled and shared during the workshop in Carrara in September, in order to get the same characteristics for all the countries involved in the survey.

The children's questionnaire was administered by specialized workers, at school, in the presence of the teachers.

The operators' questionnaire was administered individually.

The interview of privileged witnesses/observers took 30-45 minutes and was carried out by specialized workers.

Data processing

The statistical data processing, initially, followed the traditional criterion for both the questionnaires: all the analyses of frequency of the proposed variables. The outcomes are shown in the form of sampling estimates of central tendency index and dispersion index of the quantitative variables.

Together with the interpretation of the outcome, crossing tables between the variables proposed and the structure variables were necessary, in order to highlight the difference of the inner response rate of the table itself. Each table has significance coefficients (Pearson) and test values (chi-squared distribution). Such an operation particularly regarded the children's questionnaire in order to get a deep knowledge of the data per age band and sex, and obviously, per city of the partners involved in the project.

Moreover, the analysis of each aspect of the children's questionnaire permitted the use of a new data processing technique. The interpretation of the information available aimed at obtaining a classification of the children interviewed per peer group. These groups are able to distinguish specific characteristics very different from the other subjects of the sample, to be subsequently evaluated in relation to the other aspects proposed by the questionnaire.

In order to carry out the above mentioned classification, it is necessary to choose two basic factors: the classification technique (clustering) and the variables to obtain homogenous groups of subjects, but with the maximum difference among the groups.

For the first of the two factors, the most important one, it was used the technique of Neural Artificial Nets (N.A.N.) a new technique centred on models developed in the field of cognitive sciences, whose structure draws its inspiration from the functioning of the nervous system of living beings. Its peculiarity is the presence of more than one elementary unit of elaboration/processing, called neurons, placed in different strata and linked by particular connections. Such neurons have non linear elementary functions (typically sigmoid to threshold, for example at hyperbolic tangent), so that the N.A.N. are in all respects distributed non linear models.

For the second of the two factors, all the questions available in the questionnaire were considered.

Interest is concentrated on the capability to discriminate the integrated reading from the attitudes and perceptions of the children, in order to construct a sort of specific n-dimensional profile of the subjects interviewed, but at the same time capable of examining homogenous behaviour regarding the axes/directions investigated.

The different parts into which the questionnaire was divided, facilitated the choice of the variables, once it was decided to construct nine distinct profiles/clusters. All the variables have a high discriminating capability, in the n-dimensional space and with non linear links.

The statistical measurement of the validation of the classification procedure is suggested by appropriate statistical tests. The descriptive capabilities of the single variables mapped in a crossover to the 9 groups/clusters allowing a picture of the discriminating characteristics among the groups/clusters to emerge and the measurement of their size with their respective unit of measurement. Moreover the descriptive capability per group/cluster is strengthened by the non linear link and by the absence of auto-correlation interference. This allows to identify for each group/cluster the best integrated analysis technique of the three aspects investigated.

For the neural distribution, through a specific test, it is possible to measure afterwards the distinction among groups/clusters. The Kolmogorov-Smirnov test demonstrated that all the variables used do not meaningfully differ ($p < 0,05$) from the normal distribution. Therefore it is possible to calculate the Kulback divergence (D) between two groups using the valid formula for Gaussian distributions, function of the vector of the averages of the groups/cluster, of the covariance matrix and of the identity matrix.

The measurement of the distinction among groups, testified by the percentages of superposition, shows that the classifying capability of the procedure exceeded 3% of the subjects only rarely; this is symptom of a high potential of groups/clusters inner homogeneity and at the same time of distinction among the groups/clusters.

Socioeconomic Contexts

By: Each local researchers, revised by Roberto Gambassi (Microcosmos Onlus - Siena)

The geophysical, demographical and social diversity of the 4 partners involved in the Daphne Project can be contextualized anyway, introducing a series of indicators capable of describing the cities and at the same time, highlighting the peculiarities of each one compared to the others.

The indicators belong to the axes/areas:

Population

Education

Employment

Public safety - Crime

Three of these cities, Carrara, Lisbon and Mola di Bari, belong to Urban Project (a project of urban, social re-qualification, etc). This element suggested restricting the areas of study where the survey addressed to operators and children would be carried out. In particular, the survey in Lisbon was carried out in a middle class quarter - São Sebastião da Pedreira - representative of the middle bourgeoisie of the City, located in an historical part of the City: a commercial area similar to the whole Municipality of the other 3 partners.

On the contrary, for the presentation of the socio-demographic context data, the indicators of this section are completely referred to the 4 cities, because of the impossibility of collecting detailed information distinguishing between Urban area and the rest of the city (Carrara) and in order to make the data homogeneous with the rest of the partners.

The main socio-economic characteristics

MOLA DI BARI – (I)	CARRARA – (I)	LISBON – (P)	GÖTTINGEN – (D)
High rates of long term unemployment, for females and young people	Aged population and decreasing of demographic balance	Increasing of foreign population (already high incidence)	Demographic and social incidence of University population in the daily life
High rates of teenage population	Crisis of the dominant productive field and planning of a new development model	Historical quarter of the middle bourgeoisie	Ramification system of school offer for childhood
Crisis of traditional sectors (fishery/agriculture) Opportunities in Tourism	Meaningful school coverage of the area	High rates of childhood population	Physiologic unemployment, not existing for young people

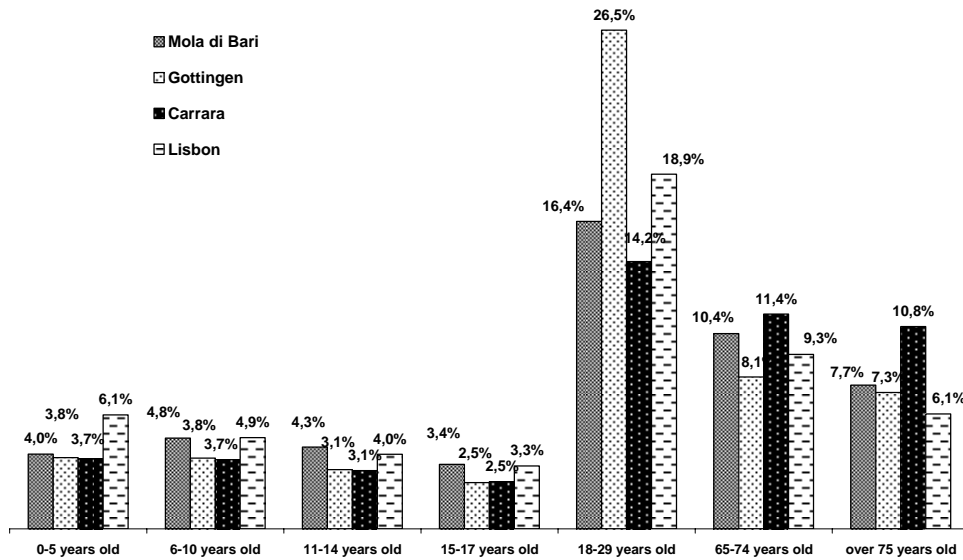
1. Population

The cities of the 4 partners involved in the Daphne Project comprise almost 3 millions inhabitants; 92,6% of these are concentrated in Lisbon, capital of Portugal. The data is around 2,76 million people in 2004, increasing by 5 percentage points during the last 10 years, and 0,75% in the last year alone (20.500 inhabitants), highlighting a higher increase compared to the whole Portuguese country. The two Italian cities are more contained in their dimensions. Among these, Carrara, capital of a Tuscan province, together with Massa, exceeds 65 thousands people with a decreasing dynamic, when

compared to almost 70 thousand residents at the beginning of the '80s (-1,5% in the last 5 years). The demographic dimension of Mola di Bari (26.515 inhabitants) is one of a medium-large city of the south of Italy. It appeared substantially stable during the 1991-2001 decade, but it grew in an evident way (+2,2%) in the last 4 years. Göttingen has close to 130 thousand inhabitants and represents a medium German city where the great student vocation is rewarded by a sustainable social and demographic context but meaningfully affects the local system, with the presence of over 11 thousand students coming from outside the city to George August University: 8,5% of the total population. Beyond the evident concentration of female inhabitants (51,9%), there has been a decrease of about 2.000 people from the historical maximums reached during the '90s.

It is interesting to analyze the population per age band. On one hand, Carrara emerges for the highest incidence of elderly population (22% above 65 years); on the other, Göttingen shows a meaningful concentration of inhabitants aged between 18 and 29 years old, a situation that is completely related to the presence of the University.

Resident population per age band



Lisbon emerges for a high concentration of children in the age of infancy; 11% of the total population is less than 10 years old, against 7,4% in Carrara and 7,6% in Göttingen. It is a quota that partially explains why there is a meaningful presence of forms of witnessed violence.

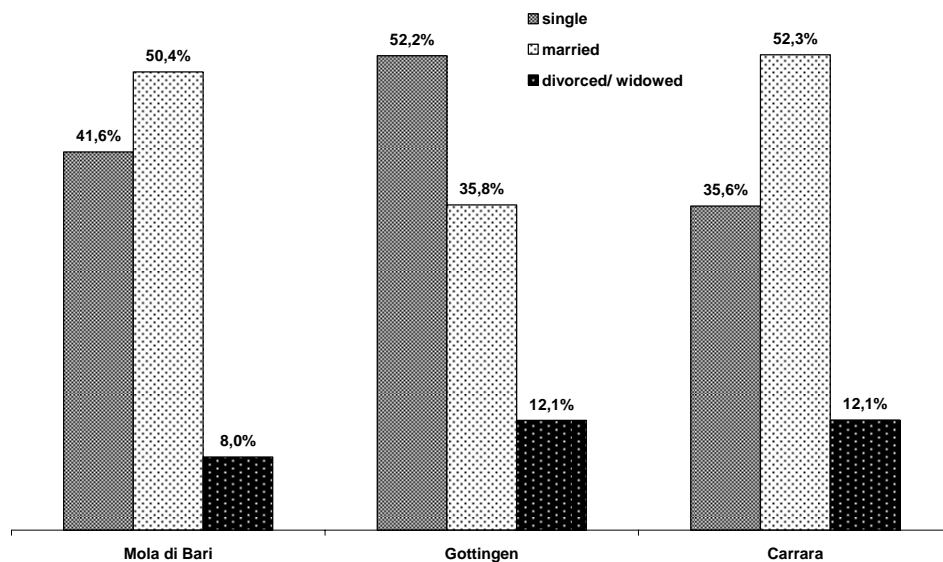
Also Mola di Bari reaches high rates of childhood and teenage presence. It is above all the 11 to 17 years old ageband that constitutes an important group for the politics of the Municipality. More than 2.000 boys and girls of this age, together with the 1.300 minors aged between 6 and 10 years old, constitute 12,6% of the resident population, highlighting that the topic of the project concerns an absolutely actual context, even if toning down compared to the recent past.

Resident population per age band – Evolution 2001-2003 in Mola di Bari

	0-17 years	% Variation	Above 65 years	% Variation	Resident Population	% Incidence 0-17years	% Incidence above 65 years
2001	4.902		4.150		25.948	18,9%	16,0%
2002	4.749	-3,1%	4.554	9,7%	26.624	17,8%	17,1%
2003	4.397	-7,4%	4.784	5,1%	26.515	16,6%	18,0%

However this dynamic seems to concern all the cities involved in the Project. The reduction of minors and the increase of aged population produces the increase of the social weight index of the elderly population.

If Mola di Bari shows a lower propensity for a divorced or widowed civil status (only 8% of the population), Göttingen and Carrara show the opposite situation, where the families consisting of a single member prevail in the University city of Göttingen (62% of the total), whereas in Carrara there is the maximum concentration of population that lives in a traditionally married family.

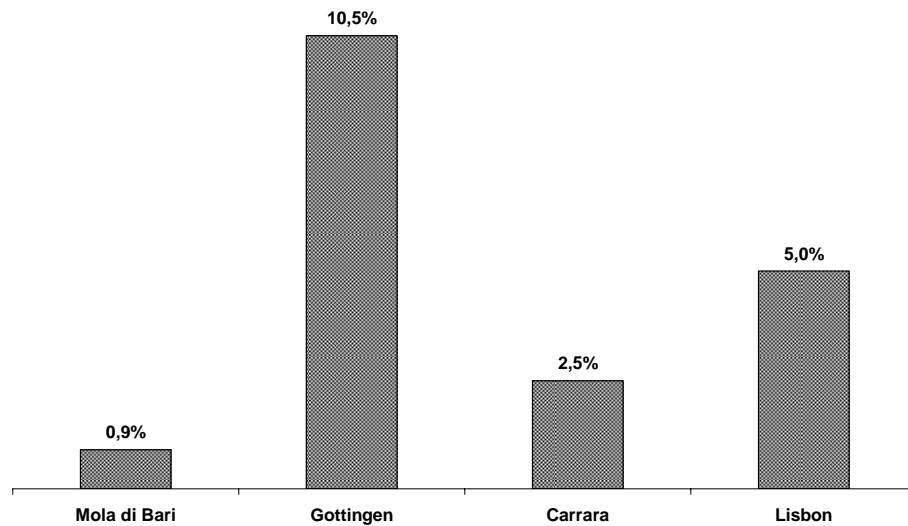
Resident population per civil status⁵

As far as the incidence of foreign citizens on the total residents is concerned, Italy (with two city partners in the Daphne Project) emerges for the smaller propensity to “host”, with a minimum peak in Mola di Bari, where, although next to beaches known for the landing of people coming from Albania, the foreign members do not exceed the point percentage of inhabitants (70% of these however are male Albanians). This data is much higher for Lisbon and Göttingen (10,6%), related again to the activities of the University, but also to the location of the city in a strongly dynamic area of international exchange. In Lisbon, dynamic capital of a country and main centre of attraction for

⁵ Lisbon data are not available

better perspectives and opportunities of settlement, the incidence rate of foreign population is 5% but does not hide the high volumes of immigration generated by almost 140.000 citizens coming from other countries. A strong immigration comes from former African colonies (Angola, Cape Verde and Guinea Bissau only provide 50% of the total) or from Brazil (12.000 citizens, which is 8,6% of the total). Though low, the quota of immigration found in Carrara is concentrated on Moroccans and an interesting community of Dominicans, and seems to be the cause, during the last few years, of a slight increasing of the birthrate of the city (18% is the quota of minors among the foreigners against 13,5% of the whole population).

Resident population - incidence of foreign citizens on the total



2. Education

During the last forty years each country has been involved in a constant reduction of illiteracy and in an increase in levels of the population's education. It is increasing not only the number of people holding a diploma, but also, even if less than the latter, the number of University graduates. Over recent years, in Italy in particular, there has been a real exponential increase of graduates because of the institution of the short term degree.

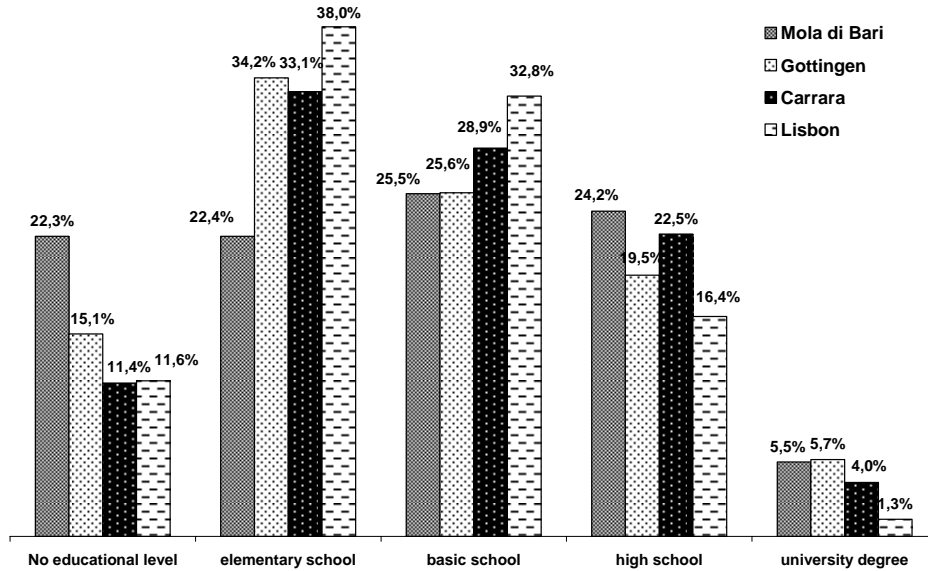
The data regarding the educational level of the resident population in the 4 cities supply some meaningful information.

An important part of the population consists of illiterates or anyway of people without a study certificate, with the majority being female. Among the four cities, Mola di Bari shows the maximum concentration of the above-mentioned people, because of cultural models of South Italy that were characterized by few educational opportunities for people living in the countryside.

The majority of the population has an elementary school certificate. Therefore an area reading highlights huge differences: from the cultural uneasiness of 22,3% of citizens in

Mola di Bari with no educational level, to the bigger cities with a higher educational level. Göttingen emerges for the number of people holding a University degree; this data is related to the presence of the University and interesting occupational opportunities, while the Portuguese capital is characterized by the presence of medium educational classes.

Resident population per educational level



On a general level, there are other important differences: men usually hold a higher degree of education.

The table highlights the distribution of schools in the 4 cities, per school level. The analysis of the dimensioning per inhabitants shows the presence of bigger school institutes as the demographic weight of the cities grows. Therefore, as an example, if in Lisbon there are 2,2 schools for every 10.000 inhabitants, in Carrara there are almost 4,5 institutes for every 10.000 inhabitants, while the lower data of Mola di Bari appears coherent with this hypothesis, because that one of Carrara is influenced by the particular conformation of the Municipal area, where there are small villages on the mountains, however hosting small and very small school institutes.

In other words, there is a school institute for each 300 young people of school age.

School institutes per educational level

	Elementary school	Middle school	High school	Other	TOTAL	Schools every 10.000 inhabitants
Mola di Bari	4	2	3	1	10	3,8
Göttingen	19	6	8	6	39	3,0
Carrara	11	5	9	4	29	4,5
Lisbon	320	102	164	20	606	2,2

The synthetic index of crowding of the institutes is 750 boys and girls per institute; in middle schools the number of children per institute grows to 1.000. In territorial terms,

Carrara does not exceed 300 children per institute, while the data increases to 800 in Lisbon.

Number of students per institute

	<i>Elementary school</i>	<i>Middle school</i>	<i>High school</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>
<i>Mola di Bari</i>	320	576	303	440
<i>Göttingen</i>	257	680	398	438
<i>Carrara</i>	218	403	181	292
<i>Lisbon</i>	404	1.036	543	801
<i>TOTAL</i>	389	982	515	753

There is also existing school coverage for infancy: above all in Göttingen, where almost 4.000 children attend Kindergartens and Crèches, with a lot of private and public centres to guarantee the service.

Number of students per institute

	<i>Crèche</i>	<i>Kindergarten</i>	<i>Children per institute</i>
<i>Mola di Bari</i>	2	9	96
<i>Carrara</i>	5	18	106
<i>Lisboa</i>	103	190	551
<i>TOTAL</i>	120	232	482

3. Employment

MOLA DI BARI

From a socio-economic point of view, Mola di Bari shows the contradictions of an area between traditional vocations (fishery and agriculture), expansion of the tertiary sector (tourism) and the closeness to a very dynamic metropolitan city. The fishery industry, in spite of the national and European crisis, shows a strong incidence of the active population (higher than the provincial average) with the presence of many companies related to the fishing and the naval field. In general, in spite of the good potential, the local economy is still not completely developed, making the employment situation difficult. At the employment office there are registered as unemployed 10.221 people, making the unemployment estimate around 29,1%, with a gender distinction that sees 28% unemployed males (55,7% of the total) and 30,4% women (that are 44,4% of the total). The employment situation of young people is very difficult: unemployment exceeds 30%, and its rate grows with the increasing of the kind of study certificate.

CARRARA

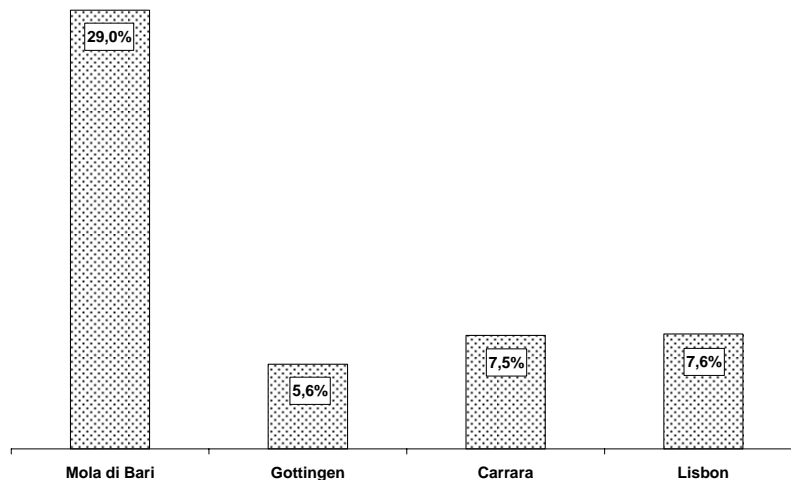
The local economy is living a stagnation period, with an increased number of companies in spite of the reorganization of the marble quarrying activity, a traditional factor of identity, whose production is the driving force of the whole area, of the crisis of the manufacturing sector and of the insufficient weight of agricultural activities. In the primary sector, only building firms are relevant elements for the city. Both from the viewpoint of companies, and from that of occupation and wealth produced, in Carrara a meaningful process of expansion of the tertiary sector is also happening: from research and real estate activities, to transport and communications. After 2001, a negative conjuncture of tourism took place and did not allow the launch towards international tourist markets of a new proposal: to integrate the "marble quarry" of Carrara in the offer of the Tuscan bathing season and in the art cities network (Firenze, Pisa, ecc.). However there are many expectations addressed to the field of tourism. Unemployment

appears consolidated around a contained value of 5,8%, lower than the provincial data (7,5%). Also women seem less involved in the unemployment phenomenon, if compared to other areas (6,5% against 11,1%). This aspect is consolidated by the data on the activity rate of 45%, ten points beyond the regional average.

GÖTTINGEN

The Göttingen unemployment rate is only 5,6% and evidences a situation with good job opportunities and encourages thinking about a positive structure for the city employment situation, also with a socio-economic reading that lasts years. If addressing the attention to the fact that only 1,5% of this rate is made of unemployed of less than 30 years old, it is easy to understand that the youth occupational uneasiness is very low, while there are some more difficulties for older people, more experienced but also with greater difficulties to re-enter in the employment market. Women over 25 years old are included in this group which is more involved in the negative conjuncture.

Rate of unemployment in the 4 cities partners of the Project



LISBON

Statistics on the job market in Lisbon show an unemployment rate of 7,6% in 2005, even if this rate has increased a lot in recent years, from 6,3% in 2003, to 7,1% in 2004. The city makes a meaningful (30%) contribution to the volumes on a national scale (the demographic weight is 26,2%). Lisbon exceeds the whole of Portugal for a higher incidence of male unemployment (50%) even if it is a traditionally female phenomenon. On the contrary, the youth unemployment is lower (24% for unemployed between 15 and 24 years old). An opposite data regards unemployment of older people (over 45 years is 31% of the national total), without distinction between males and females. This unemployment is characterized by a high level of education (55% against the national average of 46%), but at the same time a lower involvement of young people looking for their first job (9% vs. national 13%).

4. Public safety - Crime

This part of the socio-economic analysis of the areas concerns the characteristics of crimes. It is important to bear in mind that it is difficult to supply an exhaustive representation of the crime phenomenon: the official data, relating complaints filed with the police, and shown in the following part of the publication, can be strongly underestimated because of the tendency of victims to hide the suffered crime.

The unreported crimes are mainly little economic crimes, such as: pickpocketing, bag-snatching, theft, that is the so-called micro-crime. These are submerged crimes because the victims tend to avoid filing a complaint. However there are also more serious crimes that remain in the dark, because of being afraid of eventual reprisals (usury and racketeering) or because of shame (rapes and assaults). Therefore the situation is underestimated.

In any case, these judicial statistics are still important because they allow us to understand the status quo and the trends.

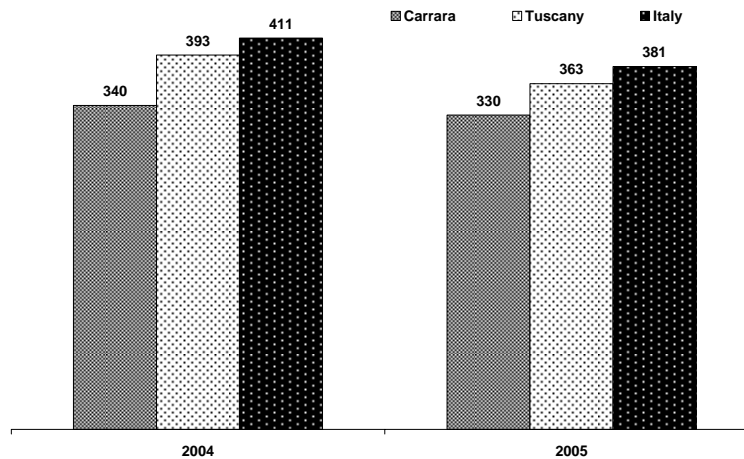
MOLA DI BARI

In terms of public safety/crime, the Municipality of Mola di Bari is characterized by typical episodes related to the fabric of the city, in particular micro-crime phenomena, sometimes committed also by minors. During 2000 minors denounced to the judicial authority are 1% of the population aged between 14 and 17 years old. Episodes of smuggling are frequent and represent a threat to the development of the other productive activities. An estimate of the data on crimes in the Municipality of Mola di Bari, carried out on the basis of the average number of crimes reported in the Province of Bari for every 10.000 inhabitants, shows the value of 468 during 2000, and 445 during 2001.

CARRARA

In Carrara the level of crime, compared to the resident population, is definitely lower than the Tuscan and the Italian one. All the crimes reported are, for every 10.000 residents, 30 to 50 less than the Tuscan total, and 50 to 70 less than the national scale. In general, crimes are decreasing.

Total of crimes denounced every 10.000 residents



Source: "Microcosmos" elaboration on Police data

The crime index, that relates all the crimes reported by the resident population, decreased from 340 to 330.

In order to better understand the changes in the criminal phenomenon and its actual characteristics, it can be useful to observe the trend of some kinds of crime denounced to the police.

The picture of the different kinds of crimes is not homogenous. In fact, serious crimes such as attempted murders, criminal and Mafia associations, are increasing; while, in certain cases, smaller crimes, like fraud, robberies, and production and commerce of drugs, are decreasing. Also the most widespread crime, theft (1.872 reports for every 10.000 residents) is decreasing, compared to 1999, such as arsons. On the contrary, intentional injuries are considerably increasing and become the second most widespread crime. Murders are stable, while the reports of rape have doubled.

In general, therefore, the decreasing of the total crime index and a smaller traceability of some micro-criminal activities, particularly perceived by people, like thefts, mark a reduction of fresh outbreaks of violent crimes and partially explains a smaller social alert among the population, compared to previous years. Moreover, the phenomenon is found both on a regional and national level.

Crimes denounced per kind of crime every 10.000 inhabitants

KIND OF CRIME	2004	2005	KIND OF CRIME	2004	2005
Murders	0	0	Arson	1	1
Attempted murders	0	0	Dynamite and/or incendiary attacks	0	0
Intentional injuries	6	14	Drug production, commerce, etc.	11	8
Rapes	0	1	Exploitation, abetting prostitution	1	2
Thefts (total)	205	187	Criminal association (in Italy: art. 416 c.p.)	0	0
Frauds	5	4	Mafia association (in Italy: art. 416/bis c.p.)	0	0
Robberies	3	2	Other crimes	108	109
Racketeering	0	1	GENERAL TOTAL OF CRIMES	340	330

GÖTTINGEN

The availability of data on crimes denounced in Göttingen distinguishes crimes against the right of sexual self-determination (few crimes, totally perpetrated by men) acts of violence (over 1.000), acts of theft (the most relevant cause, one third carried out by females) and criminal offences against life (very few cases with a high gravity).

Crime-rate of policy statistic with suspicion of facts

	Crimes against the right of sexual self-determination	Acts of violence	Thefts	Criminal offence against life	Total
Up to 14 years	0	38	129	0	167
14-16 years	3	60	127	0	190
17-18 years	2	82	122	0	206
19-21 years	7	100	183	2	292
22-25 years	7	118	212	0	337
26-30 years	8	130	172	0	310
31-40 years	12	230	280	2	524
41-60 years	14	266	346	2	628
60 and older	4	45	179	0	228
Total	57	1.069	1.750	6	2.882
Male perpetrators	56	884	1.187	5	2.132
Incidence	98,2%	82,7%	67,8%	83,3%	74,0%

Well-known criminal offences

<i>Crimes against the right of sexual self-determination</i>	<i>Acts of violence</i>	<i>Thefts</i>	<i>Criminal offence against life</i>	<i>Total</i>
84		1.241	7.243	5
	Robbery and armed robbery 126			
Rape 14	Bodily injury 863			
Sexual abuse 40	Wrongful deprivation of personal liberty, coercion 252			
Sexual abuse of children 15				

The number of crimes denounced in Göttingen (in total 2.882) if compared to the population (rate every 10.000 inhabitants) is 222.

LISBON

The 6.703 crimes registered by judicial authorities in the city of Lisbon mean a rate for every 10.000 inhabitants of 24. This value is much lower if compared to that registered in the others 3 partner areas of the project. However the value increases a lot when considering crimes against patrimony, life in society and State (163 every 10.000 inhabitants).

Criminal offences registered in Lisbon

	Great Lisbon (Lisbon and Vale do Tejo)	Lisbon (Municipality)
Crimes against people	16.652	6.703
Crimes against patrimony	63.118	35.337
Crimes against life in society	5.728	2.563
Crimes against State	788	340

Minors witnessing violence in the perception of privileged witnesses

The following paragraph refers to the interpretation of privileged witnesses in each of the three cities, following the common outline of the interview, previously set up.

Profession	n.	Mola di Bari (Italy)		n.	Carrara (Italy)		n.	Lisbona (Portugal)	
		Sex (F/M)	Knowledge of the territory (in years)		Sex (F/M)	Knowledge of the territory (in years)		Sex (F/M)	Knowledge of the territory (in years)
Social Assistant	1			1					
Lawyer	1								
Manager of a childhood welcome centre				1					
Educationist	1		From 0 to 5 = 1			From 0 to 5 = 2			
Educationist in the school				1					
Functionary	1	4 M 6 F	From 5 to 10 = 3		2 M 5 F	From 5 to 10 = 0		3 F	From 0 to 5 = 3
Gynaecologist				1					
Teacher	1							1	
Paediatrician	1		More than 10 = 6	1		More than 10 = 5			
Priest	1			1					
Psychopedagogue	1			1					
Psychologist	2								
Women NGO								2	
		10 interviewed		7 interviewed		3 interviewed			

Minors witnessing violence in the perception of privileged witnesses: Mola di Bari By: Simona La Rocca and the Basso Foundation "Working Team"

In this part of the research, the problem of witnessing violence has been elaborated focusing the attention on the "knowledge and meaning horizons" of some privileged witnesses (see the Table). The chosen witnesses, 6 women and 4 men, are included in an age band of 35 to 57 years old; the majority are graduates (6), some are also plurispecialized. Their presence in the territory and the knowledge of its context is linked to professional experience of more than ten years (6 witnesses), for many of them reinforced also by their residence in Mola di Bari (8 witnesses), that made an informal approach easier. Moreover, the average age of interviewed subjects (45-50 years) and the period of activity in Mola di Bari showed their great knowledge of the territory in general, and of this form of violence in particular. Half of the interviewees work in the public sector, the rest of them were private professionals. The latter, in particular, work in the private-social field, inside specific territorial services to the people.

Witnessing violence definition

All the privileged witnesses show their ability to identify the phenomenon of minors witnessing violence with the wide sphere of violence in general, not only physical, but oral, psychological as well as that suffered passively in front of the television, images and language. The witnesses point out that, very often, violence is not recognized by minors because they see it around themselves, and find it simply "normal". Someone speaks about *ghost violence*: "we all know about it, but nobody sees it".

All the privileged witnesses link the problem of children witnessing violence to parents, mainly; some of them specify the nexus with an uneasy familiar situation ("dysfunctional

families”) related to the economic factor, others related to witnessed violence in their own family of origin (above all, women who suffered violence enter into situations of new violence). After all, given the breadth of the concept of minors witnessing violence, in the opinion of more than one privileged witness, negligence, unconcern or indifference belong to violence on minors.

Cases of violence observed or perceived by privileged witnesses

The interviews of privileged witnesses show information on cases of witnessing violence; sometimes there is detailed information but, in the majority of cases, there are only general scenarios. All the interviewed assert that “there is violence in Mola di Bari”, which declares that they have observed (on the basis of some indicative aspects) cases of minors witnessing violence, but only three out of ten speak about examples where that perception has been verified with direct facts. The observed or perceived violence is intra-familiar in all the cases reported. The minor who suffers violence reproduces behaviour already seen in his home, giving origin to the bully phenomena, aggressive and “opponent” behaviour or, on the contrary, passing from symptoms of childhood depression to closing/introversion behaviour.

Some of the interviewed complain of the lack of so-called “scholastic medicine” useful to intercept also indications of this particular uneasiness. The presence of a psychologist at school would allow (in their opinion) the capture of these indicative aspects, which are not always evident, and help the minor. In fact, teachers, although able to identify “difficult” children, do not have either the tools to set up an intervention strategy or the time to analyse thoroughly the knowledge of such a problem. Children, unlike teenagers (in the opinion of the majority of the interviewees), do not hide and do not try to mask.

Children show their own uneasiness and the lack of reaction from schools is total and guilty. Seven out of ten interviewees underline the difficulty of noticing the problem of violence that remains in the family, within domestic walls. Families or couples whose violence is daily and multi-faceted are mostly isolated and withdrawn into themselves. The indicative aspects of violence most frequently cited by interviewees are: physical signs on the body (in particular bruises, burns, soil); aggressive or particularly hyperactive behaviour of the child; scholastic performance; concentration difficulties or disinterestedness; introversion – loneliness attitude or extreme attention-seeking.

Analysis of the causes of violence

The interviewees, having a good knowledge of the cultural specifics of the territory, point out some elements on which the violence phenomenon is based. All the privileged witnesses mention domestic violence as a cultural aspect linked to the preponderance of traditional working in the area, i.e. marine work. In the privileged witnesses’ opinion, a part of Mola di Bari population, compared to previous generations, has not evolved from a cultural point of view and still lives in an “ignorant” situation. Therefore forms of subjugation or expressions of property / power (husband/father as the master of both the wife and the children) are culturally accepted by this part of the population.

Some of the interviewed point out cases of violence as a cultural inter-generational heritage, without awareness, posed again by those who suffered it as children. However, the interviewees revealed that the community is opening its mind, and increasing its knowledge about violence. Some of the interviewed assert that in Mola di Bari there is no poverty, but all of them suggest, as one of the causes of intra-familiar violence, the economic factor that amplifies the existential dimension in the model of the precariousness.

This has been pointed out in both senses: the lower ranks live in a precarious situation and economic problems bring further pathological problems (such as alcoholism), related to physical, oral, psychological and also economic forms of violence, towards women and minors. Among the upper-middle classes violence is under a form of parents absence: parents with careers, children spoiled by the disinterestedness dynamics of the parents.

More frequently minors witness violence during, or after, the separation of a married couple. All the interviewed attribute to separation a not managed conflict situation, directly lavished on the children. Aggressiveness, verbal or physical, between the married partners, children “used as weapons” of one against the other: these are all violence forms that children/teenagers suffer and absorb. Five out of ten interviewed express strong criticism of the dominant television culture that shows violence in language, in images and in the models proposed (wrestling, violent cartoons, with weapons, etc). Therefore TV has to be cited among the causes of violence of which minors are victims.

Operators’ preventive programmes and action strategies

The interviewed, on this matter, express uneasiness when faced with the phenomenon of minors witnessing violence, mostly due to the inadequacy of the system where they operate. Eight out of ten agree in thinking that the absence of staff in the social services, of social roles in schools, of scholastic medicine or also of networking among those professionally involved in childhood problems, has to be blamed, or better is a gap that has to be filled.

Another point that finds the agreement of all interviewees is the importance of the family regarding responsibilities to minors: the family has to be supported, but basically it is inside the family itself that the “psychological well-being” of the minor has to be pursued. Just for the preponderance of cultural aspects, above stated, the family living a violence dynamic closes in on itself, isolates itself and destroys its role of operators of mediation and dialogue.

From the stories of some of the privileged witnesses emerges the importance of social relation of the neighbourhood: to know the context where the job takes place, being born and growing up there, to acquaintance with the people around the child victim of violence, can add elements of knowledge to a simple medical visit. It is important also to underline that the same dominant culture that hides or defends the violent husband or father, discourages actions carried out to protect the woman or the minor. All the privileged witnesses that answered the interview underlined also the importance of “building a network”.

Some have noticed the discontinuity of Projects of intervention in this field⁶, the non application of the existing laws (even only in the number of operators expected in a structure of social services), the poor preparation of key social operators. All these negative aspects provides a spin-off for solutions of violence on minors.

While trying to evaluate the approaches of prevention put into practice or to be rebuilt, none of the privileged witnesses has been able to list the resources on the territory that can be used as a path to empowerment. On the contrary, numerous and hard have been the critics: in particular the perplexity and the worry of many of the privileged witnesses regarding the fact that the “Centre for families” has been closed. The Centre

⁶ This new project on violence in Mola di Bari for many of the interviewed represented a chance of verification and evaluation of the impact of the previous Project “*Antiviolence-Net between Urban cities*”: a lot of the interviewed highlighted the poor outcomes in terms of continuity of the Project, instead of formalizing and structuring the net and the operative tools offered on the territory to the institutions.

had a fundamental support role to the intervention of some institutions. Many of the interviewed hope that the health policies will allow the Centre to be opened again.

Minors witnessing violence in the perception of privileged witnesses: Carrara

By: Sara Ferruzzi and Giovanni Iozzi (Microcosmos Onlus – Siena)

During the Project, 7 interviews with privileged witnesses took place to investigate qualitative aspects of the phenomenon, not otherwise investigable through the questionnaire. The privileged witnesses were chosen because of their professional role, that has to do with the phenomenon of minors witnessing violence. The witnesses chosen in Carrara were 5 women and 2 men in an age band of 48 to 69 years old. The majority of them (5) have a good knowledge of the territory and more than a decade of professional experience in the city of Carrara (see the Table).

Definition of witnessing violence

The interviewed recognize and identify witnessing violence as a phenomenon partially unknown or, at least, underestimated, but not less serious or traumatizing compared to other forms of violence. Everybody agrees in thinking that the phenomenon is increasing and it is difficult to estimate, being correlated to other different kinds of violence. The interviewed underline that in Carrara women are the more frequent victims of violence.

Some privileged witnesses agree in reading the phenomenon of “domestic violence” on an anthropological basis: violence happens when the family is considered as a proprietary object, where a person is not regarded as an individual and where the pathological parent drags into their suffering all the rest of the family. From this point of view, therefore, the phenomenon seems to be related to cultural rather than sociological reasons (it is possible to find it in all the social classes): it would not be because of the kind of family, but the kind of relationships that promote the beginning.

Cases of violence observed or perceived by privileged witnesses

All the interviewed were able to identify the phenomenon of witnessing violence; but only 2 of them had come directly into contact with some cases; all the others had had indirect contact and have described cases where they had suspicions, but did not have enough evidence in order to intervene.

High risk conditions for a child to witness violence are: parents having been victims of violence themselves when they were children; alcoholism; psychiatric pathology; separations marked by conflict. In any case, the *trade union* that seems to characterize all these families is the kind and the quality of relationships, related to the individual difficulties of the adults, and their own personal history.

Being a matter of intra-familial violence, some indicative aspects of the phenomenon are the characteristics of the parents (individual and relational problems, conflicts), the bad performance of the child at school: the witnesses of this malaise in the child are the people who are most in contact with him outside the home, for example, teachers, peer group, etc. All the interviewed point out the same indications of a minor witnessing violence: inadequate or aggressive behaviour, sudden mood swings, sexualized behaviour, violent way of relating to others, concentration difficulties, difficulties in expression.

All the interviewed agreed in recognizing the tendency of the family to minimize the impact that witnessing violence has on the children. The parents show this attitude

because it would be too painful for the parent to admit his own aggressiveness. Often the mothers call for help implicitly, for example, speaking about another kind of problem with the social services.

As far as the damages of witnessing violence is concerned, all the interviewed point out repercussions in social and relational areas. On the short term basis, witnessing violence can cause aggressiveness and sudden moodswings. On the medium and long term basis it can cause: autonomy and self-esteem reduction, inability to carry out plans and relational problems. In particular for little girls the risk is to acquire a relational model in which the woman will look for a persecutor, for the little boys the risk is associativity and social deviance.

The privileged witnesses speak about many situations where the danger and the problems of violence are perceived, but there is not enough evidence to intervene. The phenomenon is often recognized by workers, but not by the services.

Analysis of the causes of violence

All the interviewed point out that familiar violence, in particular of men towards women, is a cultural element sadly known in the city of Carrara: until twenty years ago physical violence to women was tolerated (the quarryman came back home and beat the wife), but not nowadays, and some interviewees agree that there has been an increase in other types of violence (the psychological one, for example).

However, there are important cultural changes in how to face and react to violence: now there are more expressive tools, women show better communication ability and, in some interviewees' opinion, the institutions are more prepared to receive the victims than in past times.

The interviewees consider familiar violence as a phenomenon of cross-sectional violence that involves all social classes. There are still some factors of risk that can make the situation worse: low economic status, addictions (drugs, alcohol), psychiatric pathology, separations marked by high conflicts. However, problematic personal experience, dysfunctional relational styles and the family viewed as a property, represent the more frequent characteristics.

Operators' preventive programmes and action strategies

All the interviewees complain about the lack of an effective functional network between the services, that would allow effective intervention at the right moment in violence cases: even if operators recognize the phenomenon and are aware of it, the services do not. The privileged witnesses attest that the network works well among certain services, but not among others, and very often the cases reach the services when they are more than self-evident.

When the interviewees had to deal directly with the phenomenon of witnessing violence, operators had had an active role: convincing the family to begin a rehabilitative, therapeutic and social path, but also reporting the case to the Juvenile Court.

Even if all the interviewed have some knowledge, to different degrees, of the legislation about protection of minors, they all agree in thinking that prevention through effective social education paths and emotional schooling, from primary school would be more profitable. Moreover, education for parents and an information campaign on the phenomenon for families would be useful.

According to some, the monitoring of the phenomenon, its characteristics and its spread would also be important. In fact, being often a hidden phenomenon, intervention cannot be effective without services and institutions having an almost exact estimate of

the distribution and characteristics of the phenomenon. Prevention should act also in a pedagogical-cultural way, trying to promote a different concept of the rights of minors. As far as repairing the damage is concerned, intervention at the right moment seems to be the key factor; the common working line is oriented on rehabilitative psycho-therapeutic paths, both for children and for the families.

Minors witnessing violence in the perception of privileged witnesses: Lisbon

By: Maria Alberta Burity Silva Estevao (AMCV Lisbon)

During the Project, 3 interviews took place with people very close to the phenomenon because of their professional role: the witnesses are 3 women in the 24 to 26 years old age band. Due to their youth, their professional experience is still short, even if they work very closely with the children, the families and the community of Lisbon (see the Table).

Witnessing violence definition

The interviewees demonstrated an ability to define the phenomenon of witnessing violence, but also of physical, psychological, sexual and economic violence.

They have different opinions regarding the spread of the phenomenon. In fact, on one hand it is considered to be increasing, on the other it is considered steady: the agreement is on the fact that the phenomenon is more visible today. This is maybe as a result of a cultural change that recognizes some behaviour as violent, whereas they were not so considered before. Moreover, operators are more aware of the phenomenon.

Children witnessing violence is recognized as being a form of ill-treatment and its consequences on the children are identified in terms of negative effects on the psychological and intellectual development. The interviewed perceive the importance of their professional role, that must be able to evaluate the gravity of the situation, to listen to the parts originating from the children, to start up a Project in order to increase the knowledge of the phenomenon, and to increase the empowerment of the children.

Cases of violence observed or perceived by privileged witnesses

Two interviewees had had direct dealings with cases of witnessing violence (2 out of 3 cases), the third having indirect contact. When their contact with the phenomenon was direct, the interviewed intervened by reporting the case to the authorities, or informing the victim about the resources available in the community.

The important aspects for detecting a child victim of witnessing violence are identified as follows: silence of the children, shyness, low self esteem, low self confidence, insecurity. As far as the damage is concerned on a long and medium-term basis, they are identified in low scholastic performance and a decrease in motivation.

Analysis of the causes of violence

The interviewees do not agree on the definition of specific familiar contexts in which violence takes place. In one of the interviewee's opinion, there is not a specific context for violence to be developed. In the opinion of the other two interviewees, a promiscuous environment, as a result of low economic conditions and the inequality between man and woman can be characterizing components.

These families' external relationships are often very limited: the family is isolated from the rest of the community, has little contact with other people (family, friends, etc.) and

the existing familiar networks do not offer adequate support, relationships are cold and there is a lack of mutual respect. However, the interviewees agree in considering low economic conditions, drug addiction, and physical, psychological and sexual aggression as elements related to this scenario.

Operators' preventive programmes and action strategies

As far as direct intervention is concerned, the interviewed suggested taking the minor away from the perpetrator of the violence and contacting the authorities and organizations for the defence of the minor. In other cases it can be useful to institutionalize the minor, waiting for safety measures. The interviewed complain about the slowness of intervention: they should be performed at the right moment. There are intervention measures but they do not work very well/efficaciously. It would be important: to create working networks, to make an awareness campaign over the phenomenon, to make the existing resources available, to share information among institutions, to institute multidisciplinary services.

Sample survey on Operators

The comments in this chapter follow the order of the questionnaire administered to the operators from the cities involved in the project. Therefore, the number of each paragraph refers to the question number of the Operators Questionnaire (annexed to the present publication).

Operators' Perception - Mola di Bari

By: Simona La Rocca and the Basso Foundation "Working Team"

For Mola di Bari the number of questionnaires administered to operators (63 questionnaires) is higher than that fixed. Such a number seemed to be too high compared to the structures operating in the area, but thanks to the basis established by the Urban Project, many operators collaborated with the research. The sample of operators in the Municipality of Mola di Bari consists of 67,2% women and 32,8% men.

Interviewed operators' professionalism

In the Municipality of Mola di Bari, as well as in Carrara, teachers (above all), social workers and educators (61%) were interviewed, while in Lisbon, (and probably also from Göttingen, even if there are no certain data for this Municipality) at least 40% of the interviewed operators were psychologists. In the Mola di Bari area the presence of psychologists, or subjects with a specific preparation, whose working activity is particularly linked to the topic object of the research is poor.

This difference obviously weighed on the results of the research. In fact, it is possible to trace the differences between the Italian Municipalities on one side, and the Lisbon and Göttingen Municipalities on the other, concerning cognition of the problem and the way to approach it. When considering Mola di Bari, it is surprising the way operators answered the question on the possible causes of the phenomenon of witnessing violence.

1. Minors witnessing domestic violence main causes

Many agree that among the main causes there is the parents' conviction that children witnessing violence do not suffer traumatic effects: 67,2%, against an average of 33,8%. Although this is a widespread idea also among operators from the other Municipalities, insufficient importance is given to a gender reading, therefore to violence seen as sexual power imbalance (23,4% against an average of 45,9%), or belonging to the socialization processes of males (6,3% against an average of 17,7%). It is not just a case that only 3,1% of operators point out, among the factors capable to prevent or reduce situations of children witnessing violence, the modification of gender power relations. Compared to the other locations, in Mola di Bari operators perceive the phenomenon to be not very widespread; indeed, the majority of answers were concentrated between "not many" (32,8% 17,5%) and "some" (41,4% against an average of 34,1%).

2. Minors witnessing domestic violence situations present in the operator's life and work

A percentage of 8,6% of operators asserts that the phenomenon is "a lot" widespread, against an average of 30%, and 6% thinks that there is "a large amount" of witnessing violence cases, against an average of 11,1%. To strengthen the feeling that in Mola di Bari operators have an approximate knowledge or however a perception of a low diffusion of the phenomenon, comes the data related to the ability to recognize situations of minors witnessing violence (based on the definition interviewers gave).

3. Children met in the operators' professional life reminding them of witnessing violence definition proposed by the questionnaire and - 4. Way to know about that situation

A percentage of 59,4% of operators recognized violence cases, against an average of 76,2%. In the majority of cases (52,6%, against an average of 62,5%) Mola di Bari operators knew about these situations through the direct revelation of the child suffering it. The relation with any other institution appears very weak: judicial authorities (13,2% against an average of 20%), adults (only 5,3%, against an average of 20,5%), other operators (44,7% against an average of 55,7%). Together with the insufficient knowledge and perception of the phenomenon, a weak network distinguishes Mola di Bari from the other Municipalities involved in the research (always keeping in mind the sample composition of each city).

5. Operators' feeling when suspecting a child could have witnessed domestic violence

When suspecting a child could have witnessed domestic violence, the most widespread feeling among operators interviewed is anger (45,3%), however explicable as a sign of action, not of paralysis, followed by the feeling of impotence/helplessness (29,7%) and anguish (32,8%), that summed altogether exceed the first one and indicate instead an operator's inability to intervene, tending to inaction.

6. Action taken for that child - 7. Institutions or operators taking responsibility for the situation and - 8. Adequacy of the actions taken

The feeling that the intervention is inadequate is widespread: only 21,9% of operators interviewed (against an average of 37,2%) thinks that the intervention, in the majority of cases realized by social services (60,9%), was adequate.

9. Witnessing domestic violence effects on children

Many operators (92,2%) think that among the main effects on a child witnessing domestic violence there are the aggressive and violent relationship forms of learning, psychological disorders (89,1%) and relationship difficulties in adulthood (85,9%). Operators put less emphasis on the effects on children witnessing violence in terms of sexualized behaviour (59,4%), always for the lack of a gender reading.

10. Minimum aims to be improved in order to assure a constant and precocious attention to minor witnessing violence problem

Operators show the awareness of the lack of integrated work. Consequently, learning to network with other operators/services (50%) and strengthening relationships with families (53,1%) represent the minimum aims in order to assure constant and precocious attention to the problem of witnessing violence.

11. Main personal and professional qualifications necessary to achieve the minimum aims

The idea that operators have an approximate knowledge of the phenomenon is strengthened by another data: only 21,9% of operators (against an average of 35,5%) recognize the importance of knowing the main features of violence on mothers and on children. The need for education/training and the need to be able to read the social and familiar situation correctly follow from this. In the opinion of Mola di Bari operators, among the professional qualifications necessary to achieve such aims, the ability to identify and analyse problems (68,8% against an average of 67,5%), interpersonal

communication/negotiation abilities (54,7% against an average of 49,8%) and, finally, collaboration ability (56,3% against an average of 36,4%) are of particular importance.

12. Operator's contribution to assure protection for a child victim of witnessing domestic violence

Operators show a welfare/charitable attitude about the children's protection requirements: 51,6% of operators opt for family support and directed support to the children (54,7%). Lower percentages, although higher than the average (indicating an awareness of the importance of networking which is not widespread in Mola di Bari), think of: collaborating in the accomplishment of protection and tutelage actions made by other institutions (39,1%); alerting other operators in working contact with children (43,8%); alerting colleagues (18,8%).

13. Factors facilitating prevention and reduction of minor witnessing domestic violence situations

Therefore, the need to network is confirmed also by the operators' identification of greater collaboration (71,9%, against an average of 63,6%) between schools, social and health services, judicial authorities and professionals who work with children, in order to facilitate prevention and reduction of children witnessing domestic violence situations. Operators also evaluate as very important the intervention of the social and health services (50%), that should be more frequent compared to the past, accompanied by more specific education/training for everyone who works in contact with families and children (48,4%).

Summing up briefly, from the survey emerges: insufficient perception of the phenomenon and of the network; operators' awareness of the need to improve. It is necessary for politics to work on these topics with the idea of assuring adequate and constant funding, not limited to occasional intervention with single Projects. It is important to carry out, in the area, structured intervention that will assure that the operators have education/training, structures and tools to intervene.

Operators' perception – Lisbon

By: Maria Alberta Burity Silva Estevao (AMCV Lisbon)

A percentage of 89% of operators in Portugal are female. This happens because for the most part professionals involved in areas like Health, Social Work and support services in the community are women. Therefore it is a matter of gender, in Portugal; qualified women mostly work in these two areas. In Portugal there is also a high percentage of psychologists answering the questionnaire; it is possible to notice that there are also other professionals, but not teachers. In Portugal it is necessary to do more work in Schools, and with teachers and parents. The survey based on the children's questionnaire highlighted that domestic violence is present in many cases and, in order to increase operators' awareness (especially teachers' awareness), it is necessary to work a lot, in terms of prevention at schools, sessions of information and awareness at schools.

1. Minors witnessing domestic violence main causes

The two items of the operators questionnaire "sex power imbalance" (52,2%) and "children are considered parents private properties....." (58,5%) are an example that

Portuguese operators are aware about domestic violence. They know quite exactly the meaning of control and power in relationships with violence. They also know that children directly or indirectly are the main victims of this process.

2. Minors witnessing domestic violence situations present in the operator's life and work

In Lisbon, operators answered "a lot". It means that operators involved in this survey know that domestic violence exists and have a big weight in children's life.

3. Children met in the operators' professional life reminding them of witnessing violence definition proposed by the questionnaire

In Lisbon 92,3% of operators answered they met children reminding them of witnessing violence definition proposed by the questionnaire: this is a very high percentage.

4. Way to know about that situation

"Other operators communication" means cooperation between professionals, facilitating an adequate intervention to children. Multidisciplinary teams in this area are fundamental. All the professionals, with the same training and information, can articulate and work for prevention.

5. Operators' feeling when suspecting a child could have witnessed domestic violence

"Anguished" (58,5%): this is an answer that worries everyone, because professionals could have feelings, but in this case, they had to make a professional intervention. Here there is a case "What can I do to protect this child, with whom can I articulate to have a quicker answer and a measure of protection?". These are very practical questions; there is no time to make therapy with professionals. It is necessary to focus the attention on the problem and the solution. The answer "anguished" highlights that professionals need supervision, some of them need to do psychotherapy, because in this area it is important to be able to forget feelings, to concentrate only on the problem and find answers.

6. Action taken for that child

In Lisbon, 56,9% of operators answered they reported to Social Services. It seems to be an adequate answer, because in Portugal Social Services articulate with: police to make a claim, public prosecutor, family and minors court, shelters and services for support in the community. However the second more frequent answer "nothing was done" (44,6%) is an answer that shows that professionals do not believe in justice or in practical solutions for these cases. Perhaps the problem is the availability of time. In Portugal there are laws, operators try to do everything they can, articulate with other teams, but there are no quick answers: justice spends a lot of time in bureaucracy, the measures of protection are not immediately executed, and so on. These difficulties perhaps make professionals lose belief in the Justice System.

7. Institutions or operators taking responsibility for the situation

"Social Services" (53,8%) and "Minors Court" (53,8%). Probably this is the same in all the countries involved.

8. Adequacy of the actions taken

The answer above can justify the percentage of 43,1% for this item.

9. Witnessing domestic violence effects on children

In Lisbon, the high percentages of “Attention disorder and drop in scholastic performances” (93,8%), “Psychosomatisation (gastrointestinal troubles, cephalic, sleep disorders, etc.)” (87,7%), “Relationship difficulties in adulthood” (84,6%) are as high as those of the other partners.

10. Minimum aims to be improved in order to assure a constant and precocious attention to minor witnessing violence problem

“Take part in training activities to gather more information about the problem” and “learn to cooperate with other services/operators” are answers that show that Portuguese professionals are worried about training and about working in network, they know the importance of working in articulation with other professionals and services.

11. Main personal and professional qualifications necessary to achieve the minimum aims

“Problems identification and analysis abilities”, “Abilities to recognize one’s own emotions and the effect of violence”, “Knowledge of main features of violence on mothers and minors”: these are the most frequent answers. Professionals are aware about the difficulty in identifying and analysing the problem and, without feelings, finding an answer. Professionals need training on domestic violence; they need to know the cycle of violence, the main features of these cases. They also need to know to whom they have to address the problem. Who is the responsible person for these cases?

12. Operator’s contribution to assure protection for a child victim of witnessing domestic violence

“Support and direct aid to the child”: this is very important, the first step in the intervention is to guarantee the security of the child, articulate with the public prosecutor, and the child protection commission. Children have no time to wait.

13. Factors facilitating prevention and reduction of minor witnessing domestic violence situations

A percentage of 69,2% of answers are “Enhance cooperation between schools, social and health services, and operators working with children and families”: this is the conclusion of these questions and answers. Prevention is the first step, working with professionals, families and children. Afterwards, professional training and learning to work in a team. Sessions of awareness in schools, providing information in public institutions, like hospitals, universities, etc...

Operators’ perception – Carrara

By Giovanni Iozzi (Microcosmos Onlus – Siena)

In Carrara questionnaires were administered to 42 operators, who were listed by the experts of the Municipality who know the working structures/services and both found the operators and got in touch with them.

The situation emerged that the survey is similar to that of Mola di Bari in that it shows that the respondents are more indirect observers than experts or specialists, because there is a preponderance of teachers (45%). Therefore, also in this case there is an insufficient number of subjects with specific training or a profession related to the topic object of the research. For the rest of the sample, only social workers show a profile

similar to that of operators from the other countries involved. Moreover, the sample of Carrara is one of the most related to the system of public services. The sample of Carrara operators involved in the survey consists of 85% women.

Interviewed operators' professionalism

Obviously, also in this case, the differences between the Carrara interviewed operators' professionalism and that of operators from the other locations affected the results of the survey in the direction already seen from the Mola di Bari report in previous pages. Some of these effects appear immediately also from the answers to the question on the causes of witnessing violence.

1. Minors witnessing domestic violence main causes and - 3. Children met in the operators' professional life reminding them of witnessing violence definition proposed by the questionnaire

The impression is that this has indirect relation to the topic in question, and the lack of operators' professional training is the basis for a naive perception that sends back to its generic aspects the idea that "children who witness domestic violence do not suffer direct traumatic effects" and "people who commit violent actions, while children witness, are ill/sick". The order of priorities is the same as that of the Mola di Bari operators (who show a similar profile to Carrara operators) and appears definitely different from the priorities expressed by the other cities operators.

In this case, the dimension of both the way of structuring gender roles and the power imbalance existing within the modern society is underestimated.

It is curious to observe that these aspects escape the perception of a sample consisting mostly of women. This element must make everyone reflect upon how difficult it is to leave a consolidated and widespread cultural constraint that influences, not only the holders of power, but also those is in a subaltern condition and therefore mainly exposed to being the victim.

This situation confirms the comment of the Mola di Bari research group colleagues. In fact, they emphasize that the insufficient weight attributed to the "modification of gender power relations" as a factor that can facilitate prevention and reduction of children witnessing violence situations, has not to be considered just a case.

The operators interviewed in Carrara, who have less professional training than those of Göttingen and Lisbon in term of treatment of violence cases, are still close enough to the phenomenon of witnessing violence. In fact, 66,7% of interviewees state that the definition of witnessing violence proposed by the questionnaire reminds them of some children met in their professional life.

2. Minors witnessing domestic violence situations present in the operator's life and work

The answers to the question "how many minors witnessing domestic violence situations do you believe there are in your life and work environment?" put the operators of Carrara in a middle-low position in terms of ability to intercept the violent experience. The modal value ("enough" 51,4%) however testifies the ability to perceive the existence of the phenomenon, even if it does not reveal any particular closeness of the interviewees to it.

In a relative sense, the values put the operators of Carrara in a similar position to that of those in Mola di Bari, that is different from the other two cities examined. In fact, this question aimed at evaluating the operators' ability to perceive the presence of the phenomenon, rather than estimating its level of spread in order to rank the different cities.

The operators of Carrara, even if not specialized, show a good ability to intercept situations of minors witnessing violence, above all for their closeness to the children (the majority of interviewees are teachers). In fact, operators who met cases of children witnessing violence, assert that they knew about it above all through direct child revelation or through other operators' communication. The third frequent answer is judicial authority communication: this element seems to testify a high frequency of episodes of extreme gravity.

4. Way to know about that situation

On the contrary, the operators' rootedness in the local community seems to be good and is revealed by their confidential relationship with parents and adults in general. Some of the privileged witnesses interviewed highlighted the importance of a good relationship with the local community to intervene at the right time; obviously this aspect is strongly conditioned by the characteristics of each city/situation, first of all by its dimensions. From this point of view, Carrara seems to offer good opportunities to the local operators. Also the good relationship network with "other operators" seems to help them working altogether, and many evaluate it as one of the most effective intervention and prevention tools⁷.

5. Operators' feeling when suspecting a child could have witnessed domestic violence

When suspecting a child could have witnessed domestic violence within the family environment, the most widespread emotional answer among the operators interviewed is anguish (38,1%), followed by a feeling of anger (35,7%). Clearly, these are two opposite feelings: on one hand, an inability to react that blocks the operator and is accompanied by a sense of powerlessness; on the other, anger designs a propensity to action, to cope with the problem. This is not by itself an ability index and does not mean that the answers activated are of a good quality, in any case it denotes the presence of reactive actors.

The operators of Carrara appear to be more "confused" than the others (9,5%) while showing the minimum values of answers of "incredulousness" while they are not able to maintain absolute indifference (nobody answered "no particular emotions").

6. Action taken for that child - 7. Institutions or operators taking responsibility for the situation and - 8. Adequacy of the actions taken

The answers about the kind of actions taken for the child reveal the observational role of the interviewees who were not able to intervene. In fact, the answers tend to signal/report to the outside (social services and judicial authority) and less in the direction of direct answers.

The answers of actions taken appear to be too prompt because only 9,5% of the cases do not find any kind of intervention, instead of problematic situations. For the rest, social services and minors court take care of the situation; however, in the operators' perception it seems that a real protective network is activated, therefore describing the situation a little bit too optimistically.

However, the answers received in Carrara, as well as those in Mola di Bari, draw a picture of widespread dissatisfaction concerning the intervention carried out, considered adequate only in 26,2% of cases. The following table shows the index of satisfaction referred both to the actions and to the institutions that took part.

⁷ It would have been interesting to know if the "other operators" belong to the same institution (colleagues) or are really "other"; only in this case to speak about network would be proper.

Adequacy of the actions/institutions taken on the child who witnessed violence – Rate % of satisfaction

<i>Action taken for the child</i>	<i>Rate%</i>	<i>Institutions/operators taking responsibility for the situation</i>	<i>Rate%</i>
<i>Meeting with who suffer violence</i>	54,5%	<i>Minors shelter community</i>	80,0%
<i>The situation was reported to judicial authorities</i>	53,8%	<i>Minors court</i>	61,5%
<i>A teachers' meeting was called</i>	50,0%	<i>Police</i>	57,1%
<i>Report to social services</i>	42,9%	<i>Social services</i>	53,3%
<i>Nothing was done</i>	25,0%	<i>Health services</i>	45,5%
<i>Meeting with who act violence</i>	16,7%	<i>None</i>	14,3%
		<i>Ordinary solicitor's office</i>	0,0%

9. Witnessing domestic violence effects on children and - 10. Minimum aims to be improved in order to assure a constant and precocious attention to minor witnessing violence problem

The answers to the question of the possible effects of witnessing violence on children point out “the aggressive and violent relationship forms learning” as the modal value, followed by psychological disorders.

However, our sample reveals the uncertainty of its professional competences underestimating all the specific effects listed. In fact, the maximum percentage differential from the average value referred “to sexualized behaviour” is -20,3%.

Therefore, Carrara, like Mola di Bari, has a generic sensitivity to the topic, showing the lower value referred to the answer that this kind of violence “does not produce particular effect, because children are not direct victims”. However, operators of Carrara reveal a great uncertainty on the effects that in the future will accompany the children who suffered the situation. This trend reveals, once again, on one hand, a moralistic approach (“violence is always bad”); on the other, insufficient knowledge of the phenomenon and the effects that it produces on the victims.

In particular, underestimating the effects highlights the gap between the victims and their community. The same can be stated for the insufficient knowledge expressed by operators who, even if not experts, represent anyway a precious resource in the social protection network for children.

After all, the lower attention to sexualized behaviour recalls again the insufficient propensity of Carrara to consider gender relationships, one of the central elements of the examined issue. On this subject, referring to the reading of Mola di Bari, it is important to underline the minimal value expressed by operators of Carrara referred to the importance of “knowing the main features of violence on mothers and children” as a “factor that can facilitate prevention and reduction of children witnessing intra-familial violence situations”

The issue of professional and personal qualifications necessary to achieve the minimum aims to fight against witnessing violence, other than supplying useful information to orient the interventions, gives indirect elements to better understand the point of view of the sample of Carrara.

11. Main personal and professional qualifications necessary to achieve the minimum aims

The insufficient weight that operators of Carrara attribute both to the “ability in managing multidisciplinary intervention processes” (26,2%), and to the “collaboration ability” (23,8% Minimum value) denotes that they tend to isolate themselves, and therefore their action, from the greater network of protection services that should be activated. In the operators’ opinion, the “ability to identify and analyse the problems” (71,4%) is important, whose resolution is committed to “interpersonal

communication/negotiation abilities" (52,4%). Teachers appear not to be really interested in knowing both the "features of violence on mothers and children" and "the effects of witnessing and direct violence" (35,7%), evidently they tend to concentrate on their role and the necessary interpersonal ability to communicate.

Therefore, they incline towards actions carried out alone (in isolation): solitary actors who also pay little attention to the ability of recognizing their own feelings. This propensity is supported by the answers to the question about the kind of contribution they could offer to protect a child victim of witnessing violence.

12. Operator's contribution to assure protection for a child victim of witnessing domestic violence

It is evident that operators tend to offer directed aid to the child (66,7%), while they are not directed to exchange experiences with other colleagues (colleagues and other operators alerting), or to facilitate the integration between institutions and operators.

This attitude, joined to the fact that the greater part of the sample of Carrara consists of teachers (and therefore the front line of the preventive resources but the second line of specialised intervention), denotes the difficulty in overcoming a sectional approach in order to achieve an extended network of social protection where knowledge and sensitivity represent a first protecting element that obstructs the spread of violent behaviour.

However, it is important not to underestimate the availability offered to collaborate for the accomplishment of protection and tutelage actions made by other institutions (42,9% maximum relative value).

13. Factors facilitating prevention and reduction of minor witnessing domestic violence situations

After all, there are the perspectives focused on the factors that can fight against situations of children witnessing intra-familial violence.

In this case, the direction is towards the construction of an integrated model between the school system and the different services, with specific competences, involved (judicial, social, health, etc.).

Beyond that, operators emphasize the necessity to create a greater number of social and health services to attend to minors and their families.

The first of these two elements represents the first step towards the creation of a protecting network committed to the services. Undoubtedly, this action is directed towards the strengthening of quality and effectiveness of the services offered. All the operators of the four cities involved in the survey share this kind of direction. However, this element, joined to the second one (the creation of new services), gives the idea of a tendency to externalize the problem, transferring it from the communities to their institutions; among other things, this is a period when the trend and the availability of resources do not seem to favour these choices, at least in Italy.

Another propensity appearing is for: a greater severity of laws and the demand addressed to all the operators to favour the involvement of the judicial authority.

Regarding all the other possible answers, their values are under the average; this means that insufficient attention is addressed to asking the involvement and active participation of the community, through cultural awakening or going into the main features of witnessing violence subject thoroughly.

Integrated comments to the operators' perception

By: Giovanni Iozzi (Microcosmos Onlus - Siena)

A total of 222 questionnaires were administered to operators in the four cities involved in this action/step⁸. Since the local realities are very different, the idea was to select observatories/operators meaningfully close to the phenomenon and possibly belonging to the network of the local resources useful to fight against it.

Territorial distribution of the operators interviewed per sex

Sex	4 Partners	Carrara	Göttingen	Lisbon	Mola di Bari
Female	78,8%	85,7%	75%	89,2%	67,2%
Male	21,2%	14,3%	25%	10,8%	32,8%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Interviewed operators' professionalism

The different research groups (and in some case also the action of the Municipality that found the subjects to interview) constructed some very different samples, above all under the professional profile.

In particular, as previously emerged, the Italian samples consist mostly of teachers, while Lisbon privileged the opinion of specialists. In any case, as it possible to notice looking at the following table, the collected opinions and judgments of a wide range of very different operators from the four cities, through the questionnaires administered⁹.

Territorial distribution of the operators interviewed per profession (%)

Profession	4 Partners	Carrara	Göttingen	Lisbon	Mola di Bari
Not specified	26,4	7,1	78,3	16,9	0,0
Social Educator	5,6	9,5	1,7	4,6	9,4
Agent	3,5	0,0	0,0	4,6	7,8
Social Worker	13,0	14,3	3,3	16,9	17,2
Nurse	3,0	9,5	0,0	3,1	1,6
Teacher	18,2	45,2	0,0	1,5	34,4
Doctor	2,6	2,4	0,0	3,1	4,7
Pedagogist	3,9	0,0	15,0	0,0	0,0
Psychologist	13,0	0,0	0,0	40,0	6,3
Other	10,8	12,0	1,7	9,3	18,6
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

The percentage of operators of public services is very high; the lowest value is in the city of Lisbon.

Obviously the different composition has highlighted also different sensitivity and attitudes towards the investigated topic.

⁸ During the following step, the research group of Göttingen was not able to administer the children's questionnaire (because of privacy laws) therefore interrupting its participation in the project. Some information is therefore incomplete, as well as the lack of the analyses of the data collected during this step (operators survey), that the group should have produced independently. In any case, since the questionnaire administration was realized correctly, the collected data were input in the total sample here analyzed.

⁹ As it is possible to notice, the majority of those interviewed in Göttingen did not specify their profession, but the Göttingen research group communicated that the sample is more similar to the Portuguese one, than to the Italian ones.

Territorial distribution of the operators interviewed per sector

	<i>4 Partners</i>	<i>Carrara</i>	<i>Göttingen</i>	<i>Lisbon</i>	<i>Mola di Bari</i>
<i>Public</i>	74,5	81	83,3	66,2	70,3
<i>Private</i>	25,5	19	16,7	33,8	29,7
<i>Total</i>	100	100	100	100	100

The first signs of these differences emerge when looking at the answers to the question on the main causes of minors witnessing intra-familial violence.

1. Minors witnessing domestic violence main causes

The greater professional knowledge of the phenomenon characterizes the answers of Portuguese (and above all German) operators, which underline the dynamics referred to the gender (male gender socialization processes, sex power imbalance) as well as relational dynamics based on psychological elements, such as the fact that violence is a form of relationship, and everybody will be exposed to it in some moment of his/her life. The propensity of the two Italian cities goes in the direction of a health approach, identifying in the "ill people" the actors of violence acted in front of the children.

Territorial distribution of the operators interviewed per minors witnessing domestic violence main causes

	<i>4 Partners</i>	<i>Carrara</i>	<i>Göttingen</i>	<i>Lisbon</i>	<i>Mola di Bari</i>
<i>Violence is part of male gender socialization processes</i>	17,7	7,1	43,3	12,3	6,3
<i>Sex power imbalance</i>	45,9	26,2	76,7	52,3	23,4
<i>Children are considered parents private properties, therefore it does not matter if they witness to traumatic situations</i>	52,4	35,7	51,7	58,5	57,8
<i>Actually children who witness to domestic violence do not suffer direct traumatic effects</i>	33,8	64,3	6,7	6,2	67,2
<i>Violence is a relationship form everybody will be exposed to it in some moment of his/her life</i>	19,9	11,9	25	32,3	7,8
<i>People who commit violent actions, while letting children witness, are ill</i>	26	31	13,3	24,6	35,9

The above-mentioned distinction is very strong and shows two very different approaches that will emerge clearly in the following part of the present paragraph. On one hand, the aim is to make the community and the citizens responsible; on the other, after all, the responsibilities are attributed to the "service".

Also the estimate of the spread of witnessing violence shows a different sensitivity traceable back to more professionalized roles. The Italian samples seem to represent a population that is halfway between the experts and the absolute naivety of the common citizen. In fact, they show opinions not of "experts", but of observers who know the children more than the investigated phenomenon; they have knowledge and experiences about the phenomenon through the contact with the children and their families. In any case, they certainly are privileged observers.

It is important to notice that in this "naivety" almost all the elements referred to a gender reading are lost, also in a population of observers consisting mainly of women.

2. Minors witnessing domestic violence situations present in the operator's life and work

If we adopted this perspective of a graded scale that links the specialist to the privileged (but less expert) observer, leaving a vague idea of the experience of the

“naive” citizen on the opposite end of the scale, we would have a reflection of anyone’s difficulties in reading a quite widespread social phenomenon when it belongs to the culture where we have been brought up: the twists/deformations of an abominable behaviour become nearly imperceptible, sometimes up to its absolute invisibility.

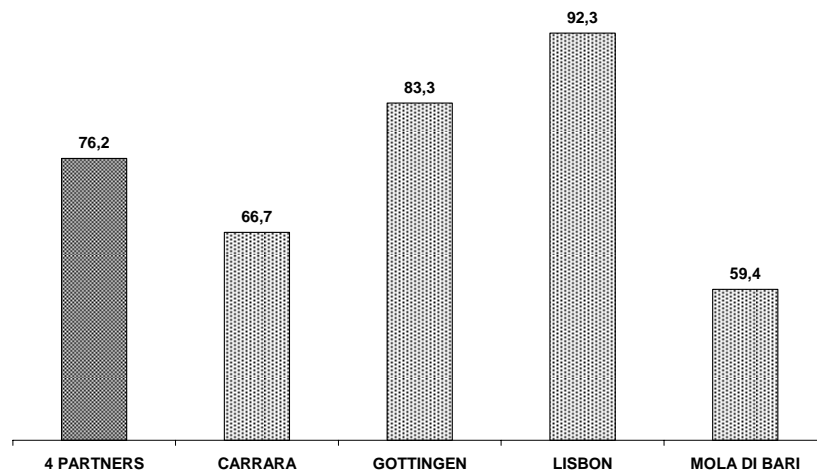
Territorial distribution of the operators interviewed per minors witnessing domestic violence situations present in the operator’s life and work

	<i>4 Partners</i>	<i>Carrara</i>	<i>Göttingen</i>	<i>Lisbon</i>	<i>Mola di Bari</i>
<i>None</i>	6,5	5,7	0	9,4	10,3
<i>Not many</i>	17,5	28,6	8,3	6,3	32,8
<i>Some</i>	34,1	51,4	33,3	18,8	41,4
<i>A lot</i>	30,9	11,4	45	48,4	8,6
<i>A large amount</i>	11,1	2,9	13,3	17,2	6,9
<i>Total</i>	100	100	100	100	100

3. Children met in the operators’ professional life reminding them of witnessing violence definition proposed by the questionnaire

The differences among the groups appears obvious also in the answers to the above-mentioned item. Lisbon and Göttingen are closer to the phenomenon, while the Italian observers are more remote. In any case, also the minimum value of Mola di Bari marks direct experiences of 60% of the ones interviewed.¹⁰

Territorial distribution of the operators interviewed per children met in the operators’ professional life reminding them of witnessing violence definition proposed by the questionnaire



4. Way to know about that situation

More often the revelation comes from the children themselves, but sometimes also from operators. In this case there are wide differences because where there are specialists it is possible to suppose the presence of an intervention network. On the contrary, in the cases of “generic” operators it is not possible to know whether the services call for their

¹⁰ It is important to remind what emerged by the thematic interviews where, in some cases, the ones interviewed declared to have had to do with some cases of minors witnessing violence but than were not able to speak about any actual experience.

involvement “taking care” of the victim or if they only receive information via colleagues, however remaining alone to cope with the problem.

Territorial distribution of the operators interviewed per way to know about that situation

	<i>4 Partners</i>	<i>Carrara</i>	<i>Göttingen</i>	<i>Lisbon</i>	<i>Mola di Bari</i>
<i>Child direct revelation (verbal, written)</i>	62,5	53,6	72	65	52,6
<i>Parent direct revelation</i>	36,9	28,6	48	33,3	34,2
<i>A family member revelation</i>	25	7,1	20	31,7	34,2
<i>Other children revelation</i>	13,6	7,1	16	8,3	23,7
<i>Other operators communication</i>	55,7	57,1	42	73,3	44,7
<i>Other adult communication</i>	20,5	25	32	18,3	5,3
<i>Judicial authority communication</i>	19,9	28,6	16	23,3	13,2

In any case, the revelation comes directly from the victims: children who witness the violence and parents who suffer it. A kind of network of concentric circles seems to exist: the victim (in our case the child) in the centre, in second place the assaulted one (usually the mother), followed by other relatives. The denunciation is in the hands of the system where violence happens; on the shoulders of the victims themselves; the distance of the rest of the community appears obvious. Only one report out of five comes from adults not belonging to the violent family.

6. Action taken for that child

The answers offered to the known cases go in the direction of reporting to the Social Services. The different peculiarities emerge afterwards: the Göttingen and Lisbon interviewees incline towards direct intervention (because more came from specific services); in Carrara and Mola di Bari operators tend to involve the headmaster, trying to share the activation of a protection intervention. Operators of Göttingen and Carrara also show a very high propensity to report to judicial authorities, in order to get a timely solution to the problem: keeping the victims away from the aggressor.

Operators of Lisbon give a surprising answer: in 44% of cases no intervention had been carried out.

Territorial distribution of the operators interviewed per action taken for that child

	<i>4 Partners</i>	<i>Carrara</i>	<i>Göttingen</i>	<i>Lisbon</i>	<i>Mola di Bari</i>
<i>Report to social services</i>	53,2	33,3	61,7	56,9	54,7
<i>Meeting with who act violence</i>	22,9	14,3	23,3	29,2	21,9
<i>Meeting with who suffer violence</i>	38,1	26,2	63,3	33,8	26,6
<i>A teachers' meeting was called</i>	19,9	23,8	18,3	16,9	21,9
<i>The situation was reported to judicial authorities</i>	19	31	21,7	13,8	14,1
<i>Nothing was done</i>	22,1	9,5	23,3	44,6	6,3

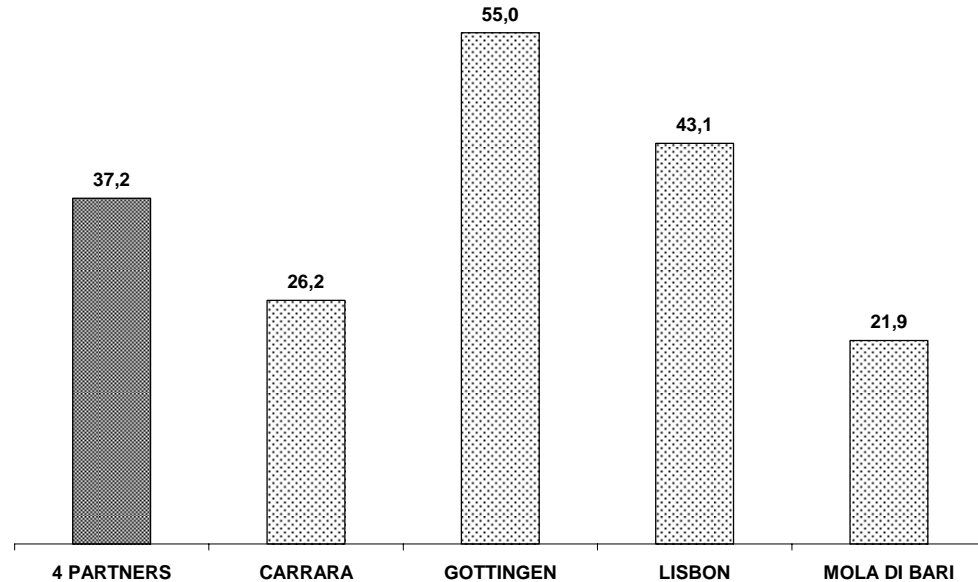
However, this kind of answer needs some more specification. The question, not obliging to only one answer, underlines that for every child was taken 1,5 action (in fact the sum of the frequencies turned towards interventions or reporting is 150%). However, in 44% of cases, these actions were not followed by any intervention. This is the correct reading of this data that, in short, describes what happens after the reporting, denouncing not only the difficulty in intercepting the problem, but above all the difficulty in obtaining adequate answers.

This is the perception of operators belonging to the intervention and protection network that is similar to that of the interviewees in Göttingen. This testifies that the operators are already within the structured system of protection, while, both in Carrara and in Mola di Bari, operators just show that reporting was carried out.

8. Adequacy of the actions taken

On the other hand, just the operators of Lisbon (43,1%) and Göttingen (55%) consider intervention followed by their reporting or their actions to be more adequate.

Territorial distribution of the operators interviewed per adequacy of the actions taken



7. Institutions or operators taking responsibility for the situation

Usually the Social Services take care of the situations reported, while Carrara and Lisbon emerge for the high percentage of interventions carried out both by the Health Services and by the Minors Court, highlighting a greater gravity of the cases.

In any case, what is important to underline is that usually, the answer does not evidence a direct connection between who reported the case and the institution that takes care of it. That one described here is the outcome of several passages between one subject and another.¹¹

Territorial distribution of the operators interviewed per institutions or operators taking responsibility for the situation

	4 Partners	Carrara	Göttingen	Lisbon	Mola di Bari
Social services	53,2	35,7	56,7	53,8	60,9
Health services	21,2	26,2	10	35,4	14,1
Police	10,8	16,7	11,7	13,8	3,1
Minors court	31,2	31	15	53,8	23,4
Ordinary solicitor's office	7,4	7,1	11,7	7,7	3,1
Minors shelter community	23,8	11,9	25	35,4	18,8
None	13,9	16,7	20	12,3	7,8

¹¹ In short, none of the operators directly addresses to a community of acceptance or to the Minors Court; on the contrary, the latter is activated after several passages that involve first of all other intermediate institutions.

The answers to the question on the possible effects of witnessing violence on children show “the aggressive and violent relationship forms learning” as the modal value followed by “attention disorders and drop in scholastic performances”, and “psychological disorders”.

9. Witnessing domestic violence effects on children

The answers already commented offer a realistic estimate of the interviewees' knowledge of the phenomenon and it is important to underline that the sample is competent. The accents fall on different options, revealing the propensity or the professional role of the interviewed but in general, the level of knowledge appears to be very high. However, it is important to underline again the Carrara operators' smaller familiarity with the phenomenon of witnessing violence. In fact, they appear more uncertain in pointing out the effects and the consequences that the phenomenon can provoke on children, in particular the underestimation of sexualized behaviours of children.

Territorial distribution of the operators interviewed per witnessing domestic violence effects on children

	<i>4 Partners</i>	<i>Carrara</i>	<i>Göttingen</i>	<i>Lisbon</i>	<i>Mola di Bari</i>
<i>No particular effect because children are not direct victims of violence in these situations</i>	6,9	2,4	3,3	18,5	1,6
<i>Children learn aggressive and violent relationship forms</i>	92,6	85,7	98,3	92,3	92,2
<i>Psychological disorders</i>	86,6	81	95	80	89,1
<i>Sexualised behaviours</i>	58,4	38,1	68,3	61,5	59,4
<i>Attention disorder and drop in scholastic performances</i>	87,4	81	91,7	93,8	81,3
<i>Psychosomatization (gastrointestinal troubles, cephalaeas, sleep disorders, etc.)</i>	81	73,8	85	87,7	75
<i>Relationship difficulties in adulthood</i>	83,1	73,8	85	84,6	85,9
<i>Parental difficulties in adulthood</i>	76,2	66,7	75	84,6	75

The 18,5% of Portuguese operators that minimize the effects of witnessing violence phenomenon is surprising; above all considering that this judgment was expressed mostly by psychologists (the Portuguese sample). The only reasonable consideration is that this obvious underestimation can come from their daily experience with more serious forms of violence, directly suffered.

5. Operators' feeling when suspecting a child could have witnessed domestic violence

When suspecting a child could have witnessed domestic violence situations, the most recurrent answer is anger, anguish and impotence. These are three meaningfully different reactions, previously commented, indicating a propensity to reactivity or to an overwhelming sense. Incredulity and anger are the distinctive features of Göttingen, Lisbon is overwhelmed by an anguish feature, whereas Carrara shows a double value of sense of confusion (when compared to the total average).

Observing the frequencies of the answers, it is possible to find in the operator the presence of feelings of anguish and anger, usually opposite feelings.

Moreover, there is a direct correlation that links the answer of anguish to the interviewees' gender: this kind of answer is definitely more widespread among women. It almost seems that women find it hard to not identify themselves with the victim, also when they are in a professional condition that allows them to offer some help.

Territorial distribution of the operators interviewed per operators' feeling when suspecting a child could have witnessed domestic violence

	<i>4 Partners</i>	<i>Carrara</i>	<i>Göttingen</i>	<i>Lisbon</i>	<i>Mola di Bari</i>
<i>Confused</i>	5,2	9,5	3,3	4,6	4,7
<i>Angry</i>	48,5	35,7	68,3	41,5	45,3
<i>Anguished</i>	33,8	38,1	5	58,5	32,8
<i>Incredulous</i>	15,6	9,5	31,7	9,2	10,9
<i>Impotent</i>	30,7	23,8	31,7	35,4	29,7
<i>No particular emotion</i>	8,2	0	10	15,4	4,7

Finally, it is interesting to notice the correlation between a specific professional role and the ability to give suggestions in an absolute sense. As it is possible to notice, the sample interviewed in Carrara and in Mola di Bari finds more difficulties in interpreting its own feelings because usually it is less used to the issue, therefore expressing, in front of the problem, a kind of reluctance to be involved. This aspect, besides revealing the level of closeness with the investigated phenomenon, is linked also with the answers on the minimum aims everyone could improve. In fact, observing the answers, it is possible to notice that where there is a higher number of specific professional operators, the direction is towards training activities and construction of networks (Göttingen and Lisbon), while where there are widespread sensitivities, there is more attention towards improving listening abilities (Carrara and Mola di Bari).

10. Minimum aims to be improved in order to assure a constant and precocious attention to minor witnessing violence problem

In the operators' opinion, training and constructing networks represent undoubtedly two primary necessities. Moreover, both of them answer to a twofold necessity: on one hand, to increase the professional levels, trying to make the interventions based on the direct relationship more effective; on the other, to transfer the problem from a sectional approach to a work on the communities, to strengthen the social defences, based on educational intervention, centred above all on the gender culture.

Territorial distribution of the operators interviewed per minimum aims to be improved in order to assure a constant and precocious attention to minor witnessing violence problem

	<i>4 Partners</i>	<i>Carrara</i>	<i>Göttingen</i>	<i>Lisbon</i>	<i>Mola di Bari</i>
<i>Take part in training activities to gather more information about the problem</i>	46,8	40,5	53,3	49,2	42,2
<i>Pay more attention to children's needs in my job activities</i>	42,9	66,7	45	20	48,4
<i>Enhance relationships with families</i>	45,9	31	45	49,2	53,1
<i>Learn to cooperate with other services/operators</i>	55	35,7	58,3	69,2	50

It is necessary to construct a system of defence committed to the people's sensitivity and to the affirmation of women's and children's rights, that will not oppose the strengthening of the health and social system of defence that follow the violence, but will be an integration inside a single action plan.

In this sense, the different propensities expressed by our sample are useful, not to rank operators' competences, but to estimate, basing on the different sensitivities, where the points of contact are to construct a wide network based just on the interests and the availabilities expressed. In this sense, the teachers' "position" of closeness to the children, joined to their availability to improve their listening ability, represents a wonderful resource in this direction.

11. Main personal and professional qualifications necessary to achieve the minimum aims

In the whole different groups' opinion the priority is the ability to identify and analyse the problems. In second place, appears the ability to manage relationships (49,8%), even if those working in touch with the victims think that this ability must be accompanied by the ability to recognize and manage their own emotions (Göttingen and Lisbon), while the groups of Carrara and Mola di Bari undoubtedly underestimate the importance of this qualification.

Territorial distribution of the operators interviewed per main personal and professional qualifications necessary to achieve the minimum aims

	4 Partners	Carrara	Göttingen	Lisbon	Mola di Bari
<i>Interpersonal communication /negotiation abilities</i>	49,8	52,4	53,3	40	54,7
<i>Collaboration abilities</i>	36,4	23,8	31,7	29,2	56,3
<i>Problems identification and analysis abilities</i>	67,5	71,4	75	56,9	68,8
<i>Abilities in management of multidisciplinary intervention processes</i>	28,6	26,2	23,3	38,5	25
<i>Abilities to recognize one's own emotions and the effect of violence</i>	32,5	16,7	50	44,6	14,1
<i>Knowledge of main features of violence on mothers and violence on minors</i>	35,5	21,4	48,3	46,2	21,9
<i>Knowledge of effects of witnessing and direct violence</i>	36,8	35,7	50	33,8	28,1

After all, another element that highlights the operators' will to strengthen their own professional competence is the accent on the knowledge of effects of witnessing and direct violence, also in this case expressed by the German and Portuguese groups.

12. Operator's contribution to assure protection for a child victim of witnessing domestic violence

The contribution that everyone, without distinction, wants to be able to offer is addressed to the child. Actually, as previously noticed, apart from everyone's perception of himself and his own abilities, the operators' competences are very different and it cannot be taken for granted that all of them would be able to offer the same level of quality in a direct relationship with the child-victim of witnessing violence.

Territorial distribution of the operators interviewed per operator's contribution to assure protection for a child victim of witnessing domestic violence

	4 Partners	Carrara	Göttingen	Lisbon	Mola di Bari
<i>Colleagues awakening</i>	18,6	21,4	21,7	13,8	18,8
<i>Support and direct aid to the child</i>	71,4	66,7	90	73,8	54,7
<i>Awakening of operators working in contact with children</i>	41,1	28,6	31,7	55,4	43,8
<i>Family support</i>	49,8	26,2	56,7	56,9	51,6
<i>Facilitating integration between institutions and operators</i>	40,7	35,7	45	46,2	34,4
<i>Collaboration to the accomplishment of protection and tutelage actions made by other institution</i>	38,1	42,9	30	41,5	39,1
<i>Merely fulfil my professional/law duties</i>	1,3	2,4	0	3,1	0
<i>None</i>	0,4	0	0	1,5	0
<i>I do not know</i>	2,6	2,4	1,7	1,5	4,7

There are many variables and the relationship management is quite tricky; therefore, almost certainly, the professional competences would not always be adequate. In any case, the higher propensity in this way was expressed by the two more professionalized groups, and this is an index of a correct direction. In second place, appears "family support". Also in this case the family gets more attention from the groups of Göttingen and Lisbon, while the others tend to limit their range of action.

There are two methods of alerting: on one hand, inside the operators' working environment; on the other, addressed to the outside. Undoubtedly, the latter aspect collects the greater consensus because it is able to produce greater effects triggering off a chain reaction that exceeds the borders of one's own institution or competence. Therefore, it is an action of comparison rather than a unilateral transfer of competence. The maximum propensity to meeting and comparison is expressed by the Göttingen group, that appears to interpret its own job on the basis of an aware and coherently oriented vision.

As previously noticed, the need to construct networks is marked, but is developed in two directions: on one hand, it goes towards the will to approach operators of other fields; on the other, the direction is to approach other institutions offering their own competences ("Collaboration to the accomplishment of protection and tutelage actions made by other institution"). In the same way, and directly related to the latter, the requirement is to favour the connection between the institutions and the operators, based on the exploitation of the precious and available resources. Naturally, the topic is more heartfelt by operators with specific professions, who express the requirement of a job based on the necessary fluidity and relationship flexibility, in order to exploit the competences and to make actions more effective.

In order to complete several considerations previously expressed, it is important to point out the higher values of uncertainty expressed by the sample of Carrara and Mola di Bari (I do not know: 2,4% and 4,7%). These are low percentage values but express a higher propensity than the other two groups (the comparison Lisbon-Mola di Bari highlights a triple propensity).

After all, operators were asked to express an evaluation over the factors of maximum efficacy to fight against witnessing intra-familial violence.

13. Factors facilitating prevention and reduction of minor witnessing domestic violence situations

The answers reveal partially shared visions but with accents on different aspects depending on the different local situations. In particular, Lisbon and Göttingen seem to privilege the transfer of the problem from the network of services to the communities. The latter represents the other big network that should become the first real defensive system of protection of the victims of violence, and in our case of the children who are forced to witness it.

The propensity in such a direction of the two cities appears from the frequency of answers on the need to realize actions of "cultural awakening". The following suggestions seem to specify the directions of the communities' involvement actions: undoubtedly towards a "modification of gender power relations"; a huge topic, widely underestimated and with a social significance, above all regarding the dynamics related to domestic violence. In second place, "to enforce children's self-protection skills": children are often left alone to cope with situations that involve them in dynamics that

tend to retire themselves into the family and therefore are not able to speak about them outside, not even in order to ask for help.

Territorial distribution of the operators interviewed per factors facilitating prevention and reduction of minor witnessing domestic violence situations

	<i>4 Partners</i>	<i>Carrara</i>	<i>Göttingen</i>	<i>Lisbon</i>	<i>Mola di Bari</i>
<i>Cultural awakening</i>	50,2	33,3	66,7	53,8	42,2
<i>Modification of gender power relations</i>	19,9	7,1	46,7	20	3,1
<i>More specific training for operators which work in contact with children and families</i>	34,6	28,6	18,3	40	48,4
<i>Creation of more social and health services to attend to children and families</i>	33,8	38,1	30	18,5	50
<i>Enforce children's self-protection skills</i>	31,6	16,7	55	40	10,9
<i>More severe laws</i>	11,3	14,3	11,7	7,7	12,5
<i>Enhance cooperation between schools, social and health services, judicial authorities, and operators working with children and families</i>	63,6	64,3	48,3	69,2	71,9
<i>To make reporting to judicial authority compulsory for operators working with children when they are aware of witnessing domestic violence cases</i>	16	23,8	6,7	12,3	23,4
<i>More collaboration between Services working against violence on women and Services working against violence on children</i>	25,1	23,8	28,3	36,9	10,9

In third place, Lisbon and Göttingen operators do not forget the need to strengthen the large competent and specialized network for protection of the victims ("More collaboration between Services working against violence on women and Services working against violence on children"). However, this is considered of minor importance compared to the necessity to stir the whole society.

On the contrary, the other cities are closer to an approach centred on the "Creation of more social and health services to attend to children and families". It is a more technical and welfare vision, centred on the increasing of quality and quantity of services. A slightly unrealistic vision, because this is not very feasible nowadays. Moreover, it tends to delegate the problem to professionals, offering the society the opportunity to feel out of it, to consider itself as a stranger, not feeling responsible for it. In other words, a historically old-fashioned vision.

After all, few operators have faith in the action of rendering laws more severe (even if, always following the same reasoning, the Italian cities trust more than the other in this kind of action).

Sample survey on Children

Witnessing violence - Mola di Bari

By: Simona La Rocca and the Basso Foundation "Working Team"

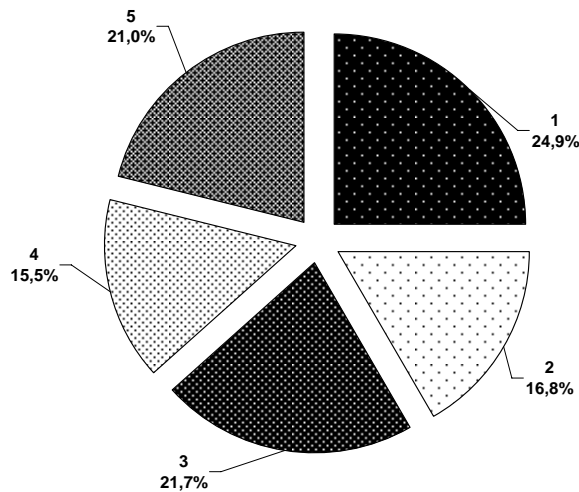
In the Municipality of Mola di Bari the survey on minors witnessing violence was carried out on a sample of 309 children, in an age band between 5 and 11 years old, corresponding to 17,35% of the total population of that age band, and to 32% of the entire representative sample of the Municipalities of Mola di Bari, Carrara and Lisbon. Regarding the sex of the children interviewed, a certain equilibrium was guaranteed, even though there were slightly more males, 52%, than females, 48%. The survey (previously agreed with the headmasters regarding objectives and mode of execution), was carried out in both school complexes of the Municipal territory and mainly involved children between 6 and 8 years old (64%); with 36% between 9 and 10 years old and only 0,3% were older than 10 years.

Sample of Children per Sex and Age – Municipality of Mola di Bari

	<i>M+F</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>6-8 years old</i>	<i>9-11 years old</i>
<i>Interviews</i>	309	161	148	197	112
<i>Distr. %</i>	100%	52,1%	47,9%	63,8%	36,2%

The age of the interviewed children is very different from Municipality to Municipality and Mola di Bari differs from the others, in particular from Lisbon, where 99,7% of the sample interviewed is older than 10 years. Certainly, the interpretation ability of a child of 12 years old, such as the processes of definition of the situations that determine attitudes and behaviour of the subjects, are different from those of a child of 6 years old. For this reason, it is important to remember this important discriminating factor when reflecting on the witnessing violence phenomenon that is based on the reading of the data collected.

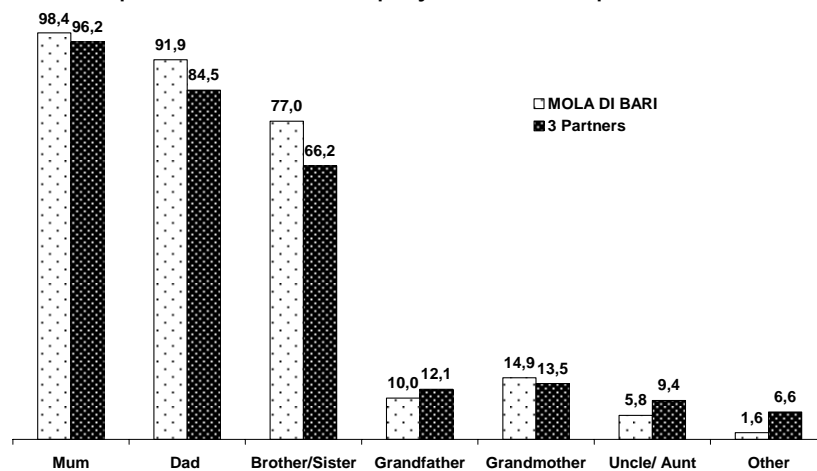
Sample of children per scholastic classes – Percentage



In Mola di Bari, nearly 25% of the sample interviewed attends the first junior school class, compared to an average of 8%; approximately 17% attends the second class, compared to an average of 16%; and 21,7% the third junior school class, against an average of 13%. Moreover 15,5% of the sample attends the fourth class, compared to an average of 12,5% and 21% the fifth class, against an average of 32%. None of the Carrara interviewees attends what in Italy is called a middle (senior) school (between 11 and 14 years old). On the contrary in almost 20% of the cases in Lisbon, children attend what in Italy is called a middle school (senior school in the UK).

In most cases, interviewed children lived with their own parents, with a slightly smaller percentage living with the father (91,9%) compared to those living with the mother (98,4%). This data (even if it is a very low percentage of the sample) shows some familiar situations where the child lives with a single parent and has therefore lived the processes of familiar disintegration, within which violence can also be present. Only 1,6% of the sample was living with "other people", compared to an average of 6,6% ("exaggerated" by the weight of particular familiar situations present in the Municipality of Lisbon), and 77% was living with brothers and/or sisters.

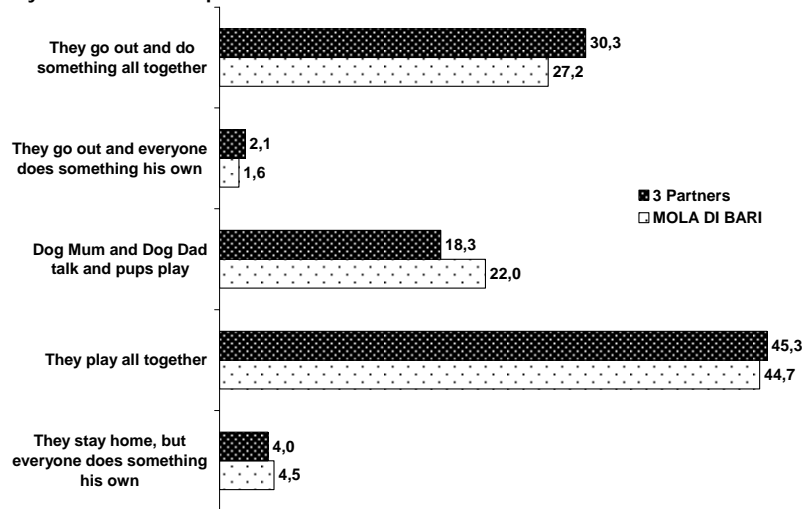
I live with ... - A comparison between the Municipality and the total sample



The questionnaire presented two opposite familiar situations to the children: one where the parents, "played" by dog mum and dog dad, get along well, and the other one where the pups (the children) live in a family of dogs that quarrel a lot. With the data collected in the Municipality of Mola di Bari, it is interesting to notice: how males and females perceive the problem; how they "define the two situations" (one characterized by equilibrium, the other one by conflicts) that influence the feelings of the subjects, and their behaviour; which are the needs expressed by one sex and the other one. Every process of definition of the situation, as sociology teaches, is determined by objective and subjective elements that characterize a person's life: values, relationships, but also the material conditions where the person lives. Although there is an attempt to compare with the other Municipalities, it is however important to specify that this is not a homogeneous sample, in particular regarding the age of children, and that the research was carried out in very different territorial contexts: there is a metropolitan situation like

Lisbon, but also cities of limited dimensions like Mola di Bari. In the picture of a serene familiar life - but, as we will see later, also in the family that quarrels a lot... - play has a central place in the children's lives.

What do the dogs do when everyone gets along well in the family? - A comparison between the Municipality and the total sample



Looking at the situation where everyone gets along well in the family, the majority of children interviewed in Mola di Bari assert that dogs play together (44,7%). Such an answer can certainly be interpreted in a positive sense, even if compared to the situation where adults speak and pups play (22% of the answers), where children tend to distinguish themselves from adults emphasizing the nature (pacific) of the relationship between the parents (element of the dialogue), in this situation there is no differentiation, an acknowledgment of the parents/children system. This element is more present among the children of Lisbon and perhaps that can be explained by the fact that a greater number of Lisbon children live with a single parent, or with other people, compared to Mola di Bari or to Carrara. A percentage of 27,2% of the children, against an average of 30,3%, answers that dogs "go out and do something *all together*". In this case the importance of family life is emphasized, also beyond the domestic walls and, once again, a differentiation between adults and children does not appear. A share of 4,5% of children, more than the average (4%), answers that dogs stay home, but everyone does something on his own. This is certainly the more negative situation, because it indicates the difficulty of a small percentage of children in identifying themselves with the described situation, therefore the element of the loneliness of subjects in the family context is underlined. Going on with a gender reading, both males and females answer more frequently that pups play all together (40,4% and 49,3%), even if this idea is more widespread among females, while males (23,6%) more than females (20,3%) emphasize the element of dialogue between parents, and recognize a differentiation between adults and children.

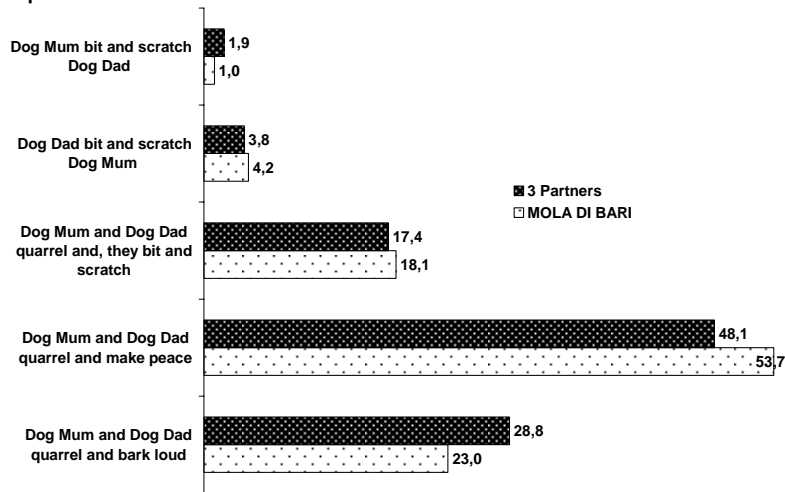
In all the other situations, there are no important gender differences, except for the more negative event where dogs stay home, but everyone does something on his own, where the percentage of this answer is higher among males (6,8%) than among females (2%).

What do the dogs do when everyone gets along well in the family?: shared distributions per sex and ages and comparison with the total sample

	MOLA DI		Male	Female	6-8 years old	9-11 years old
	BARI	3 Partners				
<i>They stay home, but everyone does something his own</i>	4,5	4	6,8	2	4,6	4,5
<i>They play all together</i>	44,7	45,3	40,4	49,3	45,7	42,9
<i>Dog Mum and Dog Dad talk and pups play</i>	22	18,3	23,6	20,3	23,4	19,6
<i>They go out and everyone does something his own</i>	1,6	2,1	1,2	2	1,5	1,8
<i>They go out and do something all together</i>	27,2	30,3	28	26,4	24,9	31,3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

In the diametrically opposite familiar situation, where dogs quarrel a lot, usually the children of Mola di Bari assert that Dog Mum and Dog Dad quarrel and then make peace (53,7%).

What can happen in a family where old dogs quarrel a lot? - A comparison between the Municipality and the total sample



Such an answer is certainly positive. However, both children that live in “a normal” family, and children that live in a violent family can give such an answer. In a different way, the element of violence clearly appears to be inside domestic walls in the Municipality of Mola di Bari, when the children assert that Dog Mum and Dog Dad quarrel, bit and scratch. Usually it is believed that children that witness violence are not able to imagine other situations than quarrels: if they see a quarrel they are not able to imagine a different solution from violence. A percentage of 18,1% of the children of Mola di Bari assert that Dog Mum and Dog Dad quarrel, bit and scratch. In this case the child does not want to point out the author of the violence (the fact remains that violence is perpetrated). This happens in the other answers: 4,2% of the children assert that it is Dog Dad who bites and scratches Dog Mum, 1% emphasizes the contrary. All these three answers represent an index of witnessing violence. In Mola di Bari, usually,

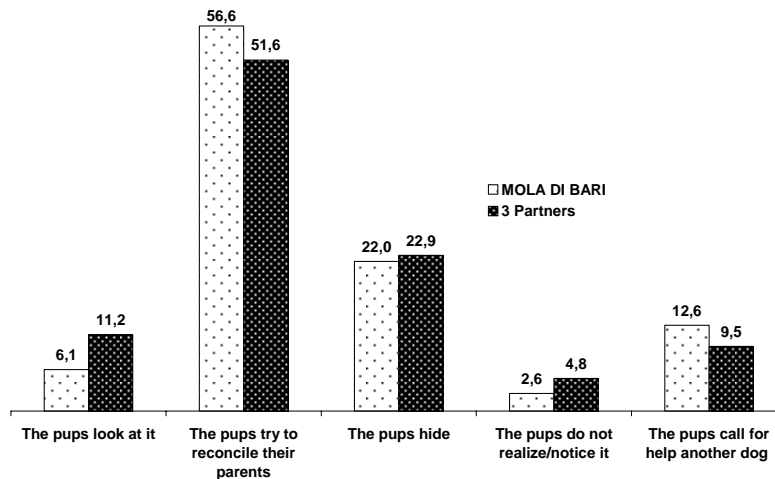
the author of violence is the father, the mother is the victim. A share of 23% of the children answers simply that Dog Mum and Dog Dad quarrel and bark loud, therefore the violence element does not appear, and also this situation can take place both inside a “normal” family and in a “violent” one. On a gender reading base, there is no difference between males and females in thinking that Dog Mum and Dog Dad quarrel and bark loud (both 23%).

What can happen in a family where old dogs quarrel a lot?: shared distributions per sex and ages and comparison with the total sample

	MOLA DI BARI	3 Partners	Male	Female	6-8 years old	9-11 years old
<i>Dog Mum and Dog Dad quarrel and bark loud</i>	23	28,8	23	23	21,3	25,9
<i>Dog Mum and Dog Dad quarrel and make peace</i>	53,7	48,1	50,9	56,8	51,8	57,1
<i>Dog Mum and Dog Dad quarrel and, they bit and scratch</i>	18,1	17,4	20,5	15,5	21,3	12,5
<i>Dog Dad bit and scratch Dog Mum</i>	4,2	3,8	4,3	4,1	4,1	4,5
<i>Dog Mum bit and scratch Dog Dad</i>	1	1,9	1,2	0,7	1,5	0
<i>Total</i>	100	100	100	100	100	100

On the contrary, females more frequently think about a positive resolution to the conflict (quarrel and then make peace, 56,8% against 50,9%), while usually males underline the violence element (20,5% against 15,5%), both in the event that the author of violence is Dog Dad (4,3% against 4,1%), and in the event that it is Dog Mum (1,2% against 0,7%).

What do pups do when Dog Mum and Dog Dad quarrel so loud up to biting each other? - A comparison between the Municipality and the total sample



As the data of Mola di Bari show, it is Dog Dad, therefore the male, who is more frequently the author of violence; the mother, that is the female sex, is the one who suffers it more often. This element is of extraordinary importance in order to know the mechanisms that generate violence, and opens to a reflection over gender dynamics,

that is the mechanisms that generate power imbalance between the sexes, since usually violence is closely connected to male processes of socialization. Given the representation of a violent family, when “Dog mum and Dog Dad quarrel so loud up to biting each other”, in the opinion of the children of Mola di Bari, usually pups try to reconcile their parents (56,6%). This data must be considered with “caution”; such a behaviour can take place both inside a “normal” family and inside a “violent” family, and can often be suggested by a sense of guilt in the children, who feel responsible for the quarrels between the parents.

A percentage of 22% of children, which is almost the average of the whole sample (22,9%), identifies itself in the situation where pups hide. The hiding behaviour answers a need for self-protection in the child and highlights the fear that a child feels, living in a violent familiar context. The children of Mola di Bari (12,5%) have a higher propensity to call for help outside home (the pups ask another dog for help), compared to the average of the three Municipalities (9,5%), facing a violent situation. In this case, the positive element corresponds to the possibility (will) of the child to know about the opportunity of receiving some external help. The latter can be, as far as we can imagine, a person (adult?) different from the parents. The percentage, even if higher compared to the average, is very low anyway, and indicates the children’s difficulties in communicating their uneasiness “outside”. There are low percentages of answers on the situations where pups look at it (6,1%) or do not realize/notice it (2,6%). Both represent extremely negative situations, that give the sense of powerlessness, of paralysis in front of a violent situation, indicative of a symptomatic damage. Females, more than males, feel bound to reconcile the parents, and perhaps responsible for the quarrels between the parents.

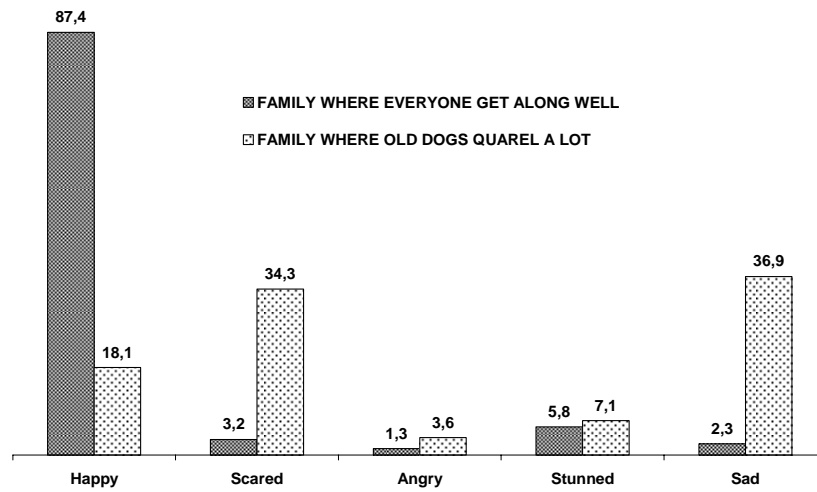
What do pups do when Dog Mum and Dog Dad quarrel so loud up to biting each other?: shared distributions per sex and ages and comparison with the total sample

	MOLA DI		3		6-8	9-11
	BARI	Partners	Male	Female	years old	years old
<i>The pups look at it</i>	6,1	11,2	6,8	5,4	7,6	3,6
<i>The pups try to reconcile their parents</i>	56,6	51,6	52,8	60,8	59,9	50,9
<i>The pups hide</i>	22	22,9	24,8	18,9	19,3	26,8
<i>The pups do not realize/notice it</i>	2,6	4,8	2,5	2,7	3	1,8
<i>The pups call for help another dog</i>	12,6	9,5	13	12,2	10,2	17
<i>Total</i>	100	100	100	100	100	100

The little girls, less than the little boys, would ask some “other dog” for help, therefore outside their familiar context. More or less equal, and in very low percentages, is the propensity of both towards not noticing the situation; while in proportion males, more than females, identify themselves with the pup that hides, therefore showing an awareness and self-protection attitude. It is interesting to compare the two families (“normal” the first one, violent the second one) and, through a gender reading, to capture the identification processes of the children, in the attempt to know the characters of the witnessing violence phenomenon in the Municipality of Mola di Bari. Keeping in mind the age of the sample, some contradictions in the answers can come out, as well as some difficulties that could have influenced the interpretation of the children (and not only...). For example the word “stunned”: it is not evident what it can mean for a child, nevertheless, both in the violent family and in the normal family, a meaningful percentage of the children interviewed used this word to describe the feeling of the pup living in those families. In the situation of the “normal” family, the

majority of children identifies itself with the happy pup (87,4%), 5,8% with the stunned pup. No relevant percentages are found in the situation where the pup is scared (3,2%), is sad (2,3%), or is angry (1,3%).

The Pups living in a violent family and in a “normal” family – a comparison of feelings



The data gets a different meaning when compared to that of Carrara and Lisbon, where a higher number of children seems to be more happy, and feelings of fear, sadness or anger are less widespread. The presence of these feelings can also be read as a difficulty of some children (even if it concerns a small percentage of children) to acknowledge themselves in the familiar situation where “everyone gets along well”. From a gender reading, it emerges that anger is an exclusively male feeling, indeed, none of the little girls identified themselves with the angry pup.

The “normal” family: shared distributions of feelings per sex and ages and comparison with the total sample

How does the pup living in this family feel?	MOLA DI		3		6-8	9-11
	BARI	Partners	Male	Female	years old	years old
Happy	87,4	92,2	86,3	88,5	85,3	91,1
Scared	3,2	2,1	5	1,4	4,1	1,8
Angry	1,3	1,3	2,5		1,5	0,9
Stunned	5,8	2,6	4,3	7,4	6,1	5,4
Sad	2,3	1,8	1,9	2,7	3	0,9
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Sadness, instead, is a more widespread feeling among the little girls. However there is a difference between the two feelings: the first one indicates action, to a change desire, the second one represents instead a depressive attitude. In the event of a violent family, the percentage of children that identify themselves with the happy pup is remarkably reduced (-69,3%), and the dimensions of sadness (+34,6%) and fear (+31,1%) increase.

The "normal" family: shared distributions of feelings per sex and ages and comparison with the total sample

<i>How does the Dog Mum feel?</i>	<i>MOLA DI</i>		<i>3</i>		<i>6-8</i>	<i>9-11</i>
	<i>BARI</i>	<i>Partners</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>years old</i>	<i>years old</i>
<i>Happy</i>	78,6	85,3	77,6	79,7	76,6	82,1
<i>Scared</i>	4,2	2,8	5,6	2,7	5,1	2,7
<i>Angry</i>	5,5	2,9	7,5	3,4	7,6	1,8
<i>Stunned</i>	8,1	7,3	7,5	8,8	6,6	10,7
<i>Sad</i>	3,6	1,8	1,9	5,4	4,1	2,7
<i>Total</i>	100	100	100	100	100	100

<i>How does the Dog Dad feel?</i>						
<i>Happy</i>	73,5	82,6	73,3	73,6	67,5	83,9
<i>Scared</i>	2,3	2,6	2,5	2	3	0,9
<i>Angry</i>	11,7	6,1	10,6	12,8	16,8	2,7
<i>Stunned</i>	7,8	6,2	9,3	6,1	7,6	8
<i>Sad</i>	4,9	2,5	4,3	5,4	5,1	4,5
<i>Total</i>	100	100	100	100	100	100

Fear increases more among females and catches up similar dimensions between males and females (34,2% and 34,5%). To confirm what is stated above, when passing from a normal family to a violent one, sadness dimensions increase among females, where it finally appears also to be widespread (36,9%, compared to 32,9% of males).

The "violent" family: shared distributions of feelings per sex and ages and comparison with the total sample

<i>How does the pup living in this family feel?</i>	<i>MOLA DI</i>		<i>3</i>		<i>6-8</i>	<i>9-11</i>
	<i>BARI</i>	<i>Partners</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>years old</i>	<i>years old</i>
<i>Happy</i>	18,1	11,9	20,5	15,5	22,8	9,8
<i>Scared</i>	34,3	36,5	34,2	34,5	24,4	51,8
<i>Angry</i>	3,6	3,7	3,7	3,4	4,6	1,8
<i>Stunned</i>	7,1	6,4	6,8	7,4	9,1	3,6
<i>Sad</i>	36,9	41,5	34,8	39,2	39,1	33
<i>Total</i>	100	100	100	100	100	100

Anger is present, nearly on the same level, between males and females, with very low percentages: it grows slightly among males (3,7%) and appears for the first time among females (3,4%). In short, from the collected data, it seems that in Mola di Bari a powerless attitude predominates among the children; but also awareness and isolation inside the violent familiar context. A depressive attitude is, however, slightly more widespread among females than among males. In the "normal" family, children associate the feeling of happiness more frequently to the mother (78,6%) than to the father (73,5%). In both cases, children's parents in Mola di Bari seem to be less happy than the parents of the children in the other Municipalities.

The feeling of anger is greater in the Dog Dad, while there are few differences between Dog Dad and Dog Mum on feelings of sadness or fear (in both cases the percentages are not significant). In the little girls' opinion, it is the mother, above all, who is happy (88,5%), and almost none of them think that the mother feels angry, unlike little boys, that in 10,6% of cases emphasize the father's feelings of anger living in the "normal" family.

Both males and females associate the feeling of happiness more to the mother than to the father. When passing from a normal family to a violent one, anger becomes the more widespread feeling (and might point to the element of violence in the familiar context where the children live) both among the fathers and the mothers.

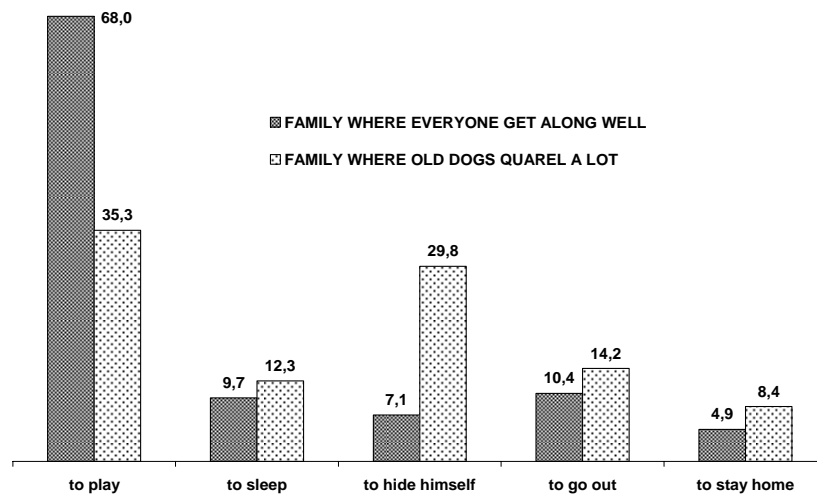
The "violent" family: shared distributions of feelings per sex and ages and comparison with the total sample

<i>How does the dog mum feel?</i>	<i>MOLA DI</i>		<i>3</i>		<i>6-8 years old</i>	<i>9-11 years old</i>
	<i>BARI</i>	<i>Partners</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>		
<i>Happy</i>	15,5	11,1	20,5	10,1	18,3	10,7
<i>Scared</i>	12,3	8	9,9	14,9	11,7	13,4
<i>Angry</i>	51,1	60	55,9	45,9	49,7	53,6
<i>Stunned</i>	3,6	2,3	1,9	5,4	4,6	1,8
<i>Sad</i>	17,5	18,7	11,8	23,6	15,7	20,5
<i>Total</i>	100	100	100	100	100	100

<i>How does the dog dad feel?</i>						
<i>Happy</i>	14,6	10,6	16,8	12,2	15,7	12,5
<i>Scared</i>	4,9	3	4,3	5,4	6,1	2,7
<i>Angry</i>	63,8	69,2	66,5	60,8	59,4	71,4
<i>Stunned</i>	3,9	2,5	2,5	5,4	5,6	0,9
<i>Sad</i>	12,9	14,7	9,9	16,2	13,2	12,5
<i>Total</i>	100	100	100	100	100	100

Anger is more present and it grows faster in the father, and mainly the males think so (66,5% of males and 60,8% of females). On the contrary, sadness is more present and it grows faster among the mothers, and mainly the little girls underline this element. Also in this case it can be noticed how externalizing reactions are more widespread among males, whereas depressive reactions characterize females.

What does the youngest pup like to do in the "normal" and "violent" families



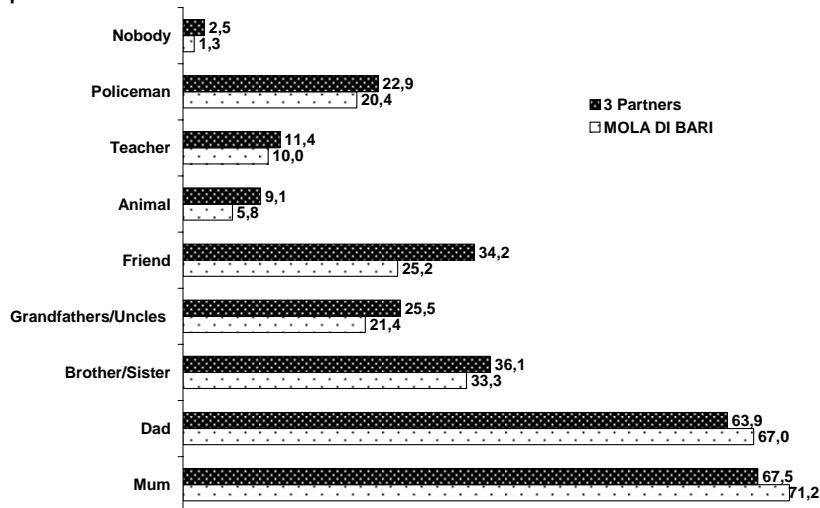
In both families, the "normal" one and the violent one, in the children's opinion the pups prefer to play, even if the data reduces a lot in the violent family (from 68% to 35%). In

the first kind of family, after playing, the more frequent answers of the children are: to go out (10,4%), to sleep (9,7%), to hide (7,1%), to stay home (4,9%). In the second kind of family, playing decreases, and hiding remarkably increases (from 7,1% to 29,8%).

This answer is given more by females (32,4%) than by males (27,3%); the difference between females and males is not significant for the answers "to go out" (more males), "to stay home" (more females), "to sleep" (more males). In short, it would seem that in the Municipality of Mola di Bari, inside violent families, children tend to hide: an attitude that can be interpreted as a need for self-protection. A depressive attitude would, therefore, prevail.

At the same time, there is a low tendency to go out (also perhaps due to the age of the sample interviewed...) and to look for a point of reference outside the home; therefore there are few opportunities for the external world to note a child's uneasiness. It is easy to imagine the difficulty of whoever wants to face this kind of problem in coming into contact with children who live in violent familiar contexts, in knowing the real extent of this phenomenon and in promoting solutions. Only a small percentage of children thought the pup would call for help to people that do not belong to the family (included brothers, sisters, grandparents and uncles).

If a little pup needs some help, whom can he ask it for? - A comparison between the Municipality and the total sample



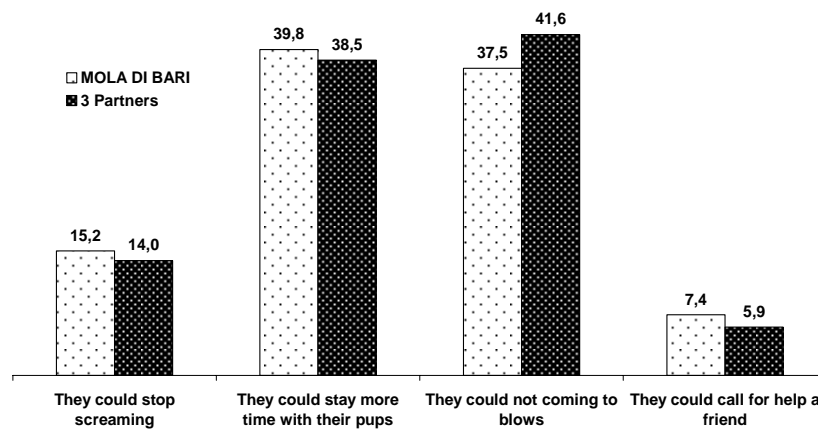
For the greater part the pup would ask the mother for help (maybe because more often the author of violence is the father?), followed by the Dog Dad. In 25,2% of the children's opinion the pup would ask a friend for help, while 20,4% would ask a policeman. Only 10% of children think that the little one would ask the teacher for help, and 1,3% think the pup would ask nobody for help. From a gender reading, it seems that males trust the father more, whereas females trust the mother more. In fact, emerges that in the males' opinion the little one would turn more often to the father instead of the mother, while the contrary is true for females.

If a little pup needs some help whom can he ask it for?: shared distributions per sex and ages and comparison with the total sample

	MOLA DI		Male	Female	6-8 years old	9-11 years old
	BARI	3 Partners				
Mum	71,2	67,5	66,5	76,4	67	78,6
Dad	67	63,9	70,2	63,5	67,5	66,1
Brother/Sister	33,3	36,1	29,2	37,8	31	37,5
Grandfathers/Uncles	21,4	25,5	19,3	23,6	21,8	20,5
Friend	25,2	34,2	24,8	25,7	21,3	32,1
Animal	5,8	9,1	8,1	3,4	6,1	5,4
Teacher	10	11,4	11,2	8,8	13,2	4,5
Policeman	20,4	22,9	26,7	13,5	24,9	12,5
Nobody	1,3	2,5	1,2	1,4	1,5	0,9

As far as the chance that the little one asks outside the family for help is concerned, from the above it appears that males have a greater propensity for a less depressive attitude and perhaps for coming more in contact with the outside world. In fact, it is confirmed that the little girls trust the institutions less than males (for example asking the policeman for help: 26,7% males, 13,5% females), but also teachers (11,2% males, 8,8% females).

What could old dogs learn to do not to behave badly in their family? - A comparison between the Municipality and the total sample



It is possible to observe also that for the younger children the policeman represents a more important point of reference than friends, and also the teacher, while for the older children friends are more important than the policeman. In Mola di Bari the percentage of children having their own teacher as a point of reference is quite low (13,2% of children aged between 6 and 8 years and only 4,5% of the older children). The older children even prefer pets - showing an increasing loneliness - to the teacher (6,1% and 5,4%). To the question “What could old dogs learn to do not to behave badly”, the children’s two most frequent answers were: “they could stay more time with their pups” (39,8%) and “they could stop coming to blows” (37,5%).

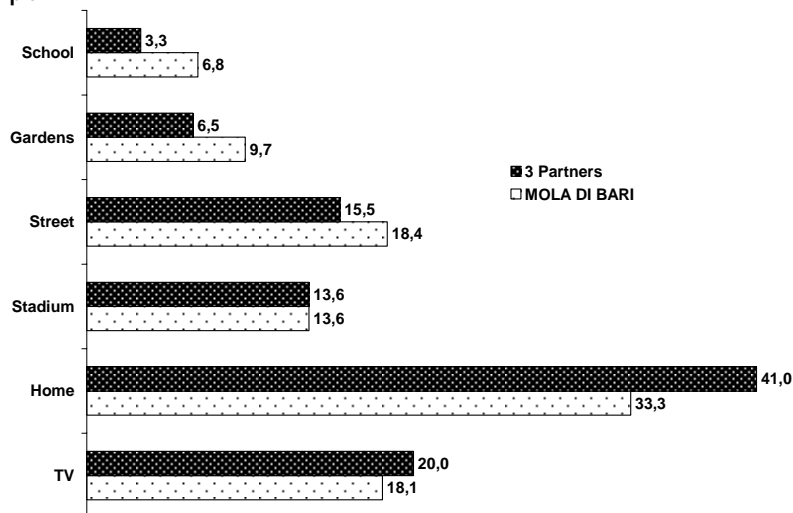
In the first case children have an active attitude in order to achieve family harmony; in the second case, on the contrary, an invocatory attitude emerges. A smaller percentage think that old dogs should stop screaming (15,2%), and only 7,4% that they should call a friend for help. Among both males and females the active attitude dominates (a little) over the invocatory attitude, even if the latter is more widespread among older children (9-11 years old).

What could old dogs learn to do not to behave badly in their family?: shared distributions per sex and ages and comparison with the total sample

	MOLA DI BARI	3 Partners	Male	Female	6-8 years old	9-11 years old
They could stop screaming	15,2	14	13,7	16,9	17,8	10,7
They could stay more time with their pups	39,8	38,5	41	38,5	42,1	35,7
They could not coming to blows	37,5	41,6	39,1	35,8	30,5	50
They could call for help a friend	7,4	5,9	6,2	8,8	9,6	3,6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

To confirm that witnessing violence is a widespread phenomenon and that it deserves more attention from social and other workers, the survey shows another data: the places where children see adults behaving badly.

Where do the little ones see old ones behaving badly? - A comparison between the Municipality and the total sample



From the questionnaire analysis, in fact, it emerges that children in Mola di Bari see adults behaving badly, not a lot on TV (18,1%) or on the streets (13,6%), but rather at home (33,3%). A small percentage of children, the lowest percentage, attests to seeing old ones behaving badly at school (about 7%).

Above all females (35,1%), point out the home as a place adults' bad behaviour is more widespread, followed by 31,7% of males.

Where do the little ones see old ones behaving badly?: shared distributions per sex and ages and comparison with the total sample

	<i>MOLA DI BARI</i>	<i>3 Partners</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>6-8 years old</i>	<i>9-11 years old</i>
<i>TV</i>	18,1	20	19,3	16,9	23,4	8,9
<i>Home</i>	33,3	41	31,7	35,1	35	30,4
<i>Stadium</i>	13,6	13,6	13,7	13,5	8,6	22,3
<i>Street</i>	18,4	15,5	18	18,9	13,7	26,8
<i>Gardens</i>	9,7	6,5	9,3	10,1	9,1	10,7
<i>School</i>	6,8	3,3	8,1	5,4	10,2	0,9
<i>Total</i>	100	100	100	100	100	100

Witnessing violence – Lisbon

By: Maria Alberta Burity Silva Esteveao (AMCV Lisbon)

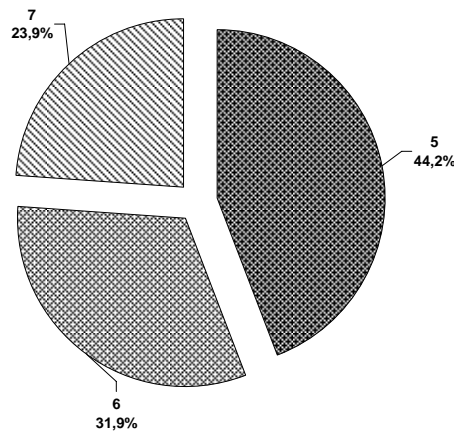
Nowadays, we have an evolution of domestic violence patterns. The Media begins talking about domestic violence as a crime punishable by law. The Penal Code condemns those crimes in some articles, article 144 – Offences of physical integrity, 152 – Ill-treatment and rules infraction of security, 153 – Threat, Sexual filtering (Penal Code 2004).

The movement of Human Rights in Portugal began in 1974 with the Democratic Revolution; from that time onwards, people began talking about this problem (Women and Children Rights) but we began to see the results only twenty years later, with a constitution of Women Associations and with national and trans-national Women Movements.

Sample of children per Sex and Ages – Municipality of Lisbon

	<i>M+F</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>6-8 years old</i>	<i>9-11 years old</i>
<i>Interviews</i>	310	160	150	160	150
<i>Distr. %</i>	100%	51,6	48,4	51,6	48,4

Sample of children per scholastic classes – Percentage



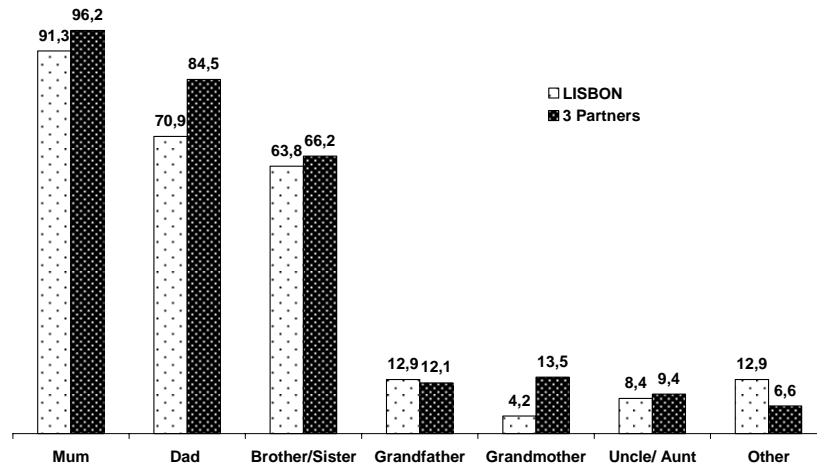
In Italy the majority of children interviewed belong to an age band between 6 and 9 years old, whereas in Portugal the age band is 9-13 years old. The average of age in Portugal is different from the Italian one, because it was easier for Portuguese teachers in School to administer these questionnaires to older children.

There are also children that are older than the age established by the Project because of some students repeating the last year (where the proper age should be 11 years old). In Portugal it is common for children to repeat the year. This trend is motivated by the difficulty of the school and by the immigration phenomenon: in Portugal there are lots of immigrants from Africa and Brazil (50% of students are immigrants).

In Portugal, as in Italy, there is a higher percentage of females (50,2%), but there is also a significant male percentage (49,8%).

In Portugal the average for children living just with their mother is higher than in the other cities. Maybe this is because the Portuguese children interviewed are older than the children from the other cities, and therefore have more chance of living in divorced families.

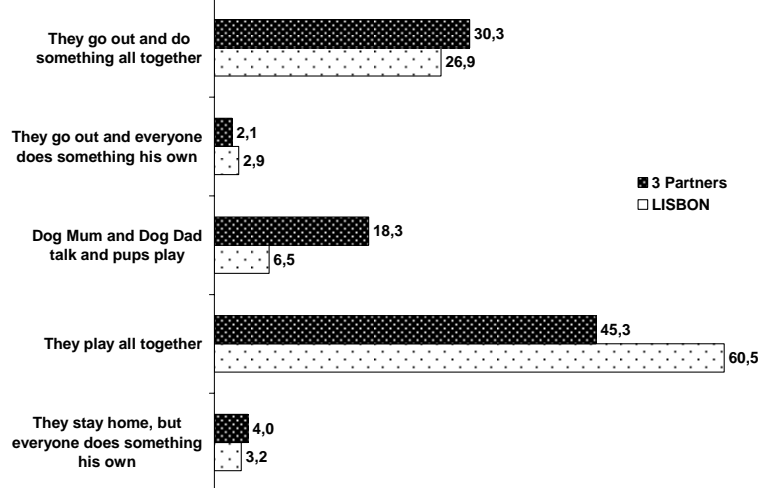
I live with ... - A comparison between the Municipality and the total sample



WHAT DO YOU THINK DOGS DO WHEN EVERYONE GETS ALONG WELL IN THIS FAMILY?

In Lisbon, the majority of children chooses the answer "They play all together", followed by "They go out and do something all together".

What do the dogs do when everyone gets along well in the family? - A comparison between the Municipality and the total sample



This may be a stereotyped answer: in Portugal there is a cultural habit that “prevents” people from making comments about familiar problems; everything is fine in everybody’s opinion, therefore it is very difficult for children to say that “they stay home”. It is a cultural matter, a problem of our society that does not accept the concept of domestic violence.

What do the dogs do when everyone gets along well in the family?: shared distributions per sex and ages and comparison with the total sample

	LISBON	3 Partners	Male	Female	9-11 years old	over 12 years old
<i>They stay home, but everyone does something his own</i>	3,2	4	5	1,3	3,1	3,3
<i>They play all together</i>	60,5	45,3	58,1	63,3	65,6	55,3
<i>Dog Mum and Dog Dad talk and pups play</i>	6,5	18,3	6,9	6	3,1	10
<i>They go out and everyone does something his own</i>	2,9	2,1	1,9	4	1,9	4
<i>They go out and do something all together</i>	26,9	30,3	28,1	25,3	26,3	27,3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

HOW DOES THE PUP LIVE IN THIS FAMILY FEEL?

The children of Lisbon describe a serene situation, inside which anyway there is a vague idea of a slight feature of sadness, mostly related to males of the higher age band.

HOW DO THE DOG MUM AND THE DOG DAD FEEL?

As is evident, the values of children from Lisbon about the feeling of happiness are higher than those of the other cities.

The "normal" family: shared distributions of feelings per sex and ages and comparison with the total sample

<i>How does the pup living in this family feel?</i>	LISBON	3 Partners	Male	Female	9-11 years old	over 12 years old
Happy	94,8	92,2	94,4	95,3	96,3	93,3
Scared	1,3	2,1	0,6	2	0,6	2
Angry	0,3	1,3	0,6		0	0,7
Stunned	1,3	2,6	1,9	0,7	1,9	0,7
Sad	2,3	1,8	2,5	2	1,3	3,3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

How does the dog mum feel?

Happy	92,9	85,3	93,1	92,7	92,5	93,3
Scared	1,9	2,8	0,6	3,3	2,5	1,3
Angry	1,3	2,9	1,9	0,7	1,3	1,3
Stunned	2,6	7,3	3,1	2	1,9	3,3
Sad	1,3	1,8	1,3	1,3	1,9	0,7
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

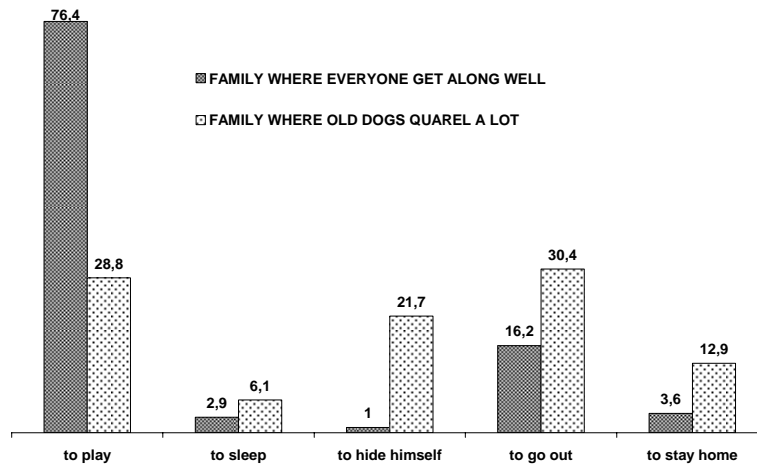
How does the dog dad feel?

Happy	91,3	82,6	90	92,7	90,6	92
Scared	2,3	2,6	1,9	2,7	2,5	2
Angry	2,3	6,1	2,5	2	1,9	2,7
Stunned	2,3	6,2	3,1	1,3	2,5	2
Sad	1,9	2,5	2,5	1,3	2,5	1,3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

WHAT DOES THE YOUNGEST PUP LIKE TO DO IN THIS FAMILY?

The majority of children answer "He/she likes playing" and for a child this is a normal answer. However, in Lisbon the second most frequent answer is "He/she likes going out". This fact can be interpreted in two ways: on one hand, in Lisbon, in some typical quarters, children are used to playing in the street; on the other, children do not feel safe at home, whereas they feel safe playing in the street with friends and peers.

What does the youngest pup like to do in the "normal" and "violent" families



Children do not feel safe at home, maybe because usually violence against women and children happens at home. Domestic violence occurs in the house, with the parents, or with the people that take care of the children (grandfather, uncle and so on).

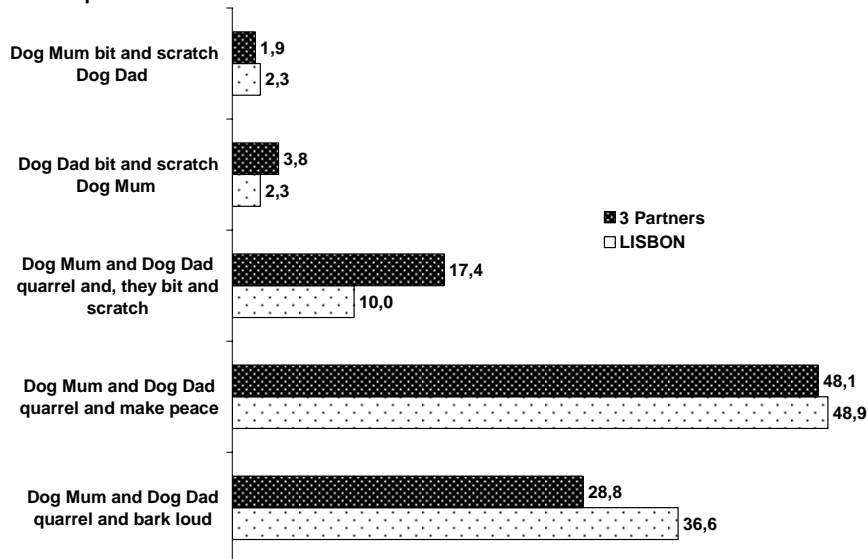
What does the youngest pup like to do in the “normal” family?: shared distributions per sex and ages and comparison with the total sample

	LISBON	3 Partners	Male	Female	9-11 years old	over 12 years old
to play	76,4	75,8	75,6	77,3	79,4	73,3
to sleep	2,9	5,7	3,1	2,7	2,5	3,3
to hide himself	1	4,2	0,6	1,3	0,6	1,3
to go out	16,2	11	15,6	16,7	15	17,3
to stay home	3,6	3,3	5	2	2,5	4,7
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

WHAT CAN HAPPEN IN THIS FAMILY WHERE OLD DOGS QUAREL A LOT

“Dog Mum and Dog Dad quarrel and bark loud” and “Dog Mum and Dog Dad quarrel and make peace” are two answers with the highest percentage. The latter is an answer that summarizes what happens in the family, and here the children have no doubt about the answer, they know exactly the cycle of violence: first they quarrel, then they start the honeymoon.

What can happen in a family where old dogs quarrel a lot? - A comparison between the Municipality and the total sample



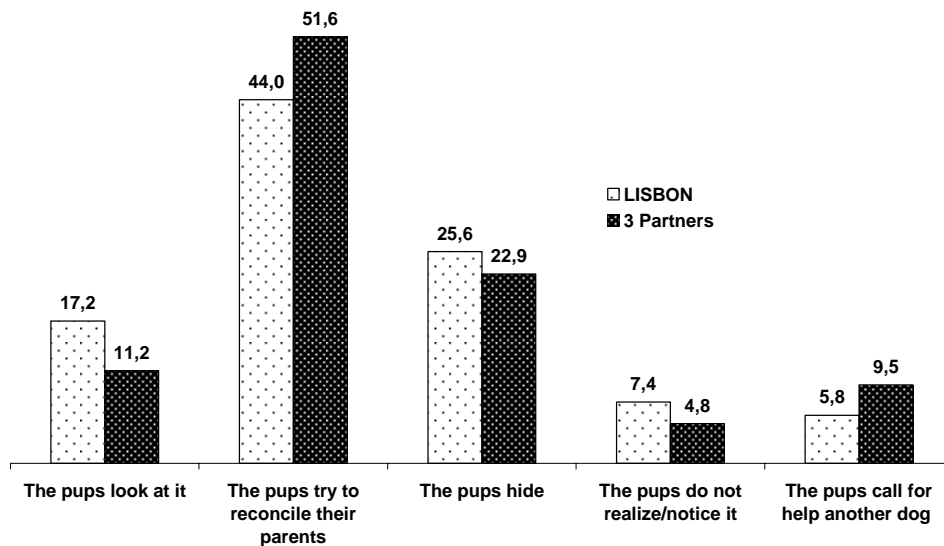
What can happen in a family where old dogs quarrel a lot?: shared distributions per sex and ages and comparison with the total sample

	LISBON	3 Partners	Male	Female	9-11 years old	over 12 years old
<i>Dog Mum and Dog Dad quarrel and bark loud</i>	36,6	28,8	34,4	38,7	40,6	32
<i>Dog Mum and Dog Dad quarrel and make peace</i>	48,9	48,1	50	48	46,9	51,3
<i>Dog Mum and Dog Dad quarrel and, they bit and scratch</i>	10	17,4	10	10	9,4	10,7
<i>Dog Dad bit and scratch Dog Mum</i>	2,3	3,8	2,5	2	2,5	2
<i>Dog Mum bit and scratch Dog Dad</i>	2,3	1,9	3,1	1,3	0,6	4
<i>Total</i>	100	100	100	100	100	100

WHAT DO PUPS DO WHEN DOG MUM AND DOG DAD QUARREL SO LOUD UP TO BITING EACH OTHER?

The highest percentage answered “The pups try to reconcile their parents”. The answer shows how the children feel responsible for what happens in the parents’ relationship.

What do pups do when Dog Mum and Dog Dad quarrel so loud up to biting each other? - A comparison between the Municipality and the total sample



Children need to protect their parents and try reconciliation, because they think they can avoid violence at home.

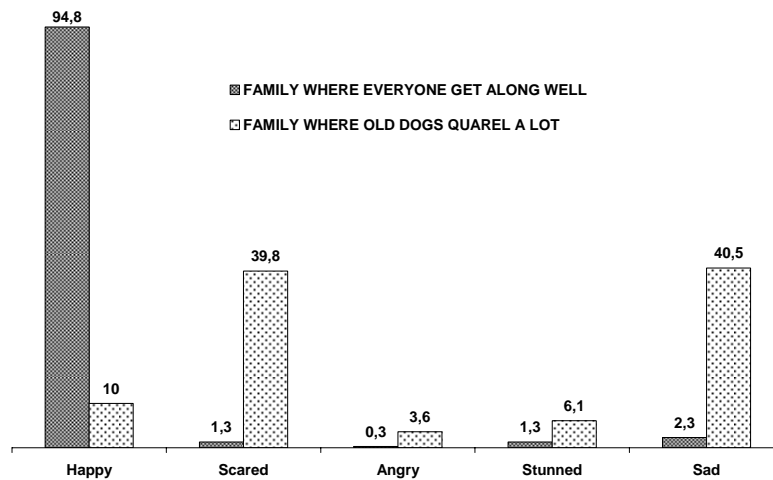
What do pups do when Dog Mum and Dog Dad quarrel so loud up to biting each other?: shared distributions per sex and ages and comparison with the total sample

	LISBON	3 Partners	Male	Female	9-11 years old	over 12 years old
The pups look at it	17,2	11,2	15,6	18,7	14,4	20
The pups try to reconcile their parents	44	51,6	46,3	42	45,6	42,7
The pups hide	25,6	22,9	25,6	25,3	22,5	28,7
The pups do not realize/notice it	7,4	4,8	7,5	7,3	10,6	4
The pups call for help another dog	5,8	9,5	5	6,7	6,9	4,7
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

HOW DOES THE PUP LIVING IN THIS FAMILY FEEL?

In this second family, the feeling of happiness changes into a relative inclination towards fear, a characteristic feature of females, in particular the older ones.

The Pups living in a violent family and in a “normal” family – a comparison of feelings



The violent family: shared distributions per sex and ages and comparison with the total sample
How does the pup living in this family feel?

	LISBON	3 Partners	Male	Female	9-11 years old	over 12 years old
Happy	10	11,9	15	4,7	8,1	12
Scared	39,8	36,5	35	45,3	38,8	41,3
Angry	3,6	3,7	3,8	3,3	4,4	2,7
Stunned	6,1	6,4	6,3	6	7,5	4,7
Sad	40,5	41,5	40	40,7	41,3	39,3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

HOW DO THE DOG MUM AND THE DOG DAD FEEL?

The comparison between parents points out big differences that allows to a gender reading in order to better interpret the data.

The prevailing feeling both in Dog Mum and Dog Dad is undoubtedly the sadness feeling, whereas all the other values are lower than the average, anger in particular.

Using a gender reading, sadness appears obviously to be the projective feeling typical of females, together with fear (in fact, little girls attribute it to the Dog Mum). On the contrary, anger is typical of male experience. With a higher age these inclinations in the two genders decrease, except for sadness that characterizes a higher age. The most meaningful element, in this case, is a specific of Lisbon: there are symmetrical behaviour and experiences, also in the violent behaviour of both parents (and not only of males).

How does the dog mum feel?

	LISBON	3 Partners	Male	Female	9-11 years old	over 12 years old
Happy	9,7	11,1	15	4	8,8	10,7
Scared	6,5	8	4,4	8,7	8,1	4,7
Angry	50,5	60	56,3	44,7	53,8	47,3
Stunned	1	2,3	1,3	0,7	1,3	0,7
Sad	32,4	18,7	23,1	42	28,1	36,7
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

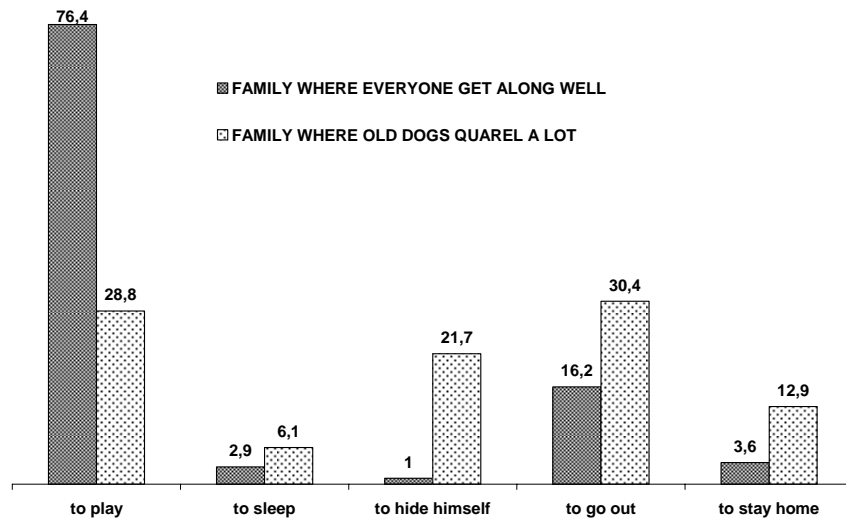
How does the dog dad feel?

Happy	10	10,6	15,6	4	8,1	12
Scared	2,9	3	1,3	4,7	3,1	2,7
Angry	58,3	69,2	62,5	54	65	51,3
Stunned	1,9	2,5	1,9	2	1,3	2,7
Sad	26,9	14,7	18,8	35,3	22,5	31,3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

IN YOUR OPINION, WHAT DO THE PUPS LIKE TO DO IN THIS FAMILY?

“They like to play” and “to go out”. As above stated, perhaps, they like to play, but they could also go out, in order to be safe and comfortable with their friends, whereas the house is not a safe and comfortable place to be in.

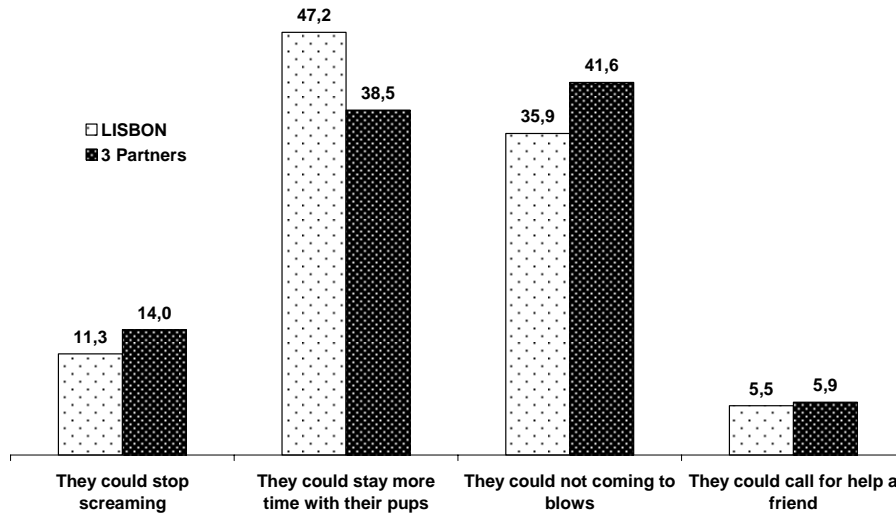
What does the youngest pup like to do in the “normal” and “violent” families



WHAT COULD OLD DOGS LEARN TO DO NOT TO BEHAVE BADLY IN THEIR FAMILY?

The answer “They could stay more time with their pups” is another answer that reflects the absenteeism of parents: children want more attention and need to be loved.

What could old dogs learn to do not to behave badly in their family? - A comparison between the Municipality and the total sample



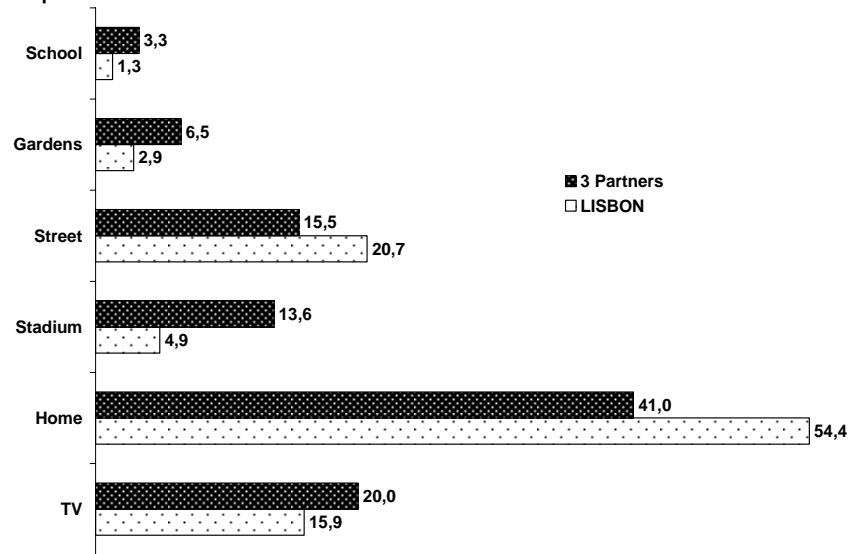
What could old dogs learn to do not to behave badly in their family?: shared distributions per sex and ages and comparison with the total sample

	LISBON	3 Partners	Male	Female	9-11 years old	over 12 years old
They could stop screaming	11,3	14	11,9	10,7	10,6	12
They could stay more time with their pups	47,2	38,5	48,8	46	45	50
They could not coming to blows	35,9	41,6	33,8	38	40,6	30,7
They could call for help a friend	5,5	5,9	5,6	5,3	3,8	7,3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

IN YOUR OPINION, WHERE DO THE LITTLE ONES SEE OLD ONES BEHAVING BADLY?

In all the cities the most frequent answer is “At home”. This is interesting because it confirms that children witness domestic violence.

Where do the little ones see old ones behaving badly? - A comparison between the Municipality and the total sample



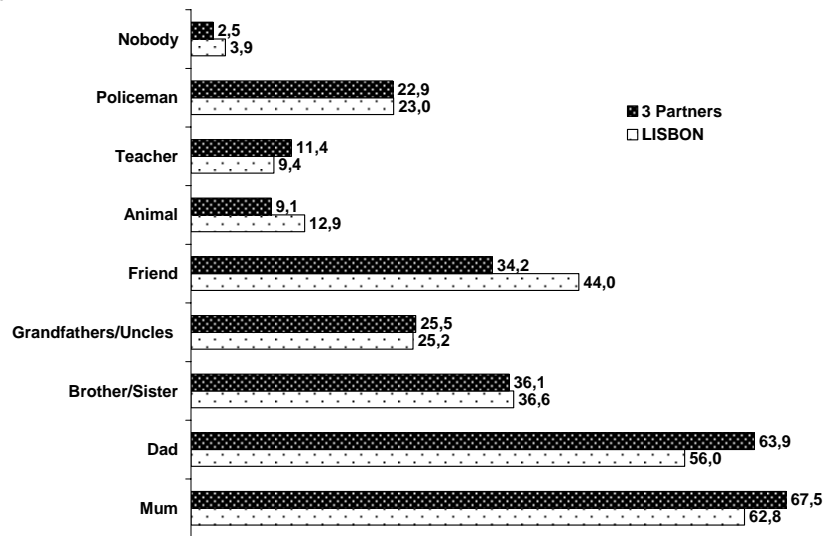
Where do the little ones see old ones behaving badly?: shared distributions per sex and ages and comparison with the total sample

	LISBON	3 Partners	Male	Female	9-11 years old	over 12 years old
TV	15,9	20	16,3	15,3	11,9	20
Home	54,4	41	49,4	60	58,8	50
Stadium	4,9	13,6	7,5	2	4,4	5,3
Street	20,7	15,5	21,3	20	21,3	20
Gardens	2,9	6,5	3,8	2	2,5	3,3
School	1,3	3,3	1,9	0,7	1,3	1,3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

IN YOUR OPINION, IF A LITTLE ONE NEEDS HELP WHOM CAN HE ASK FOR IT?

First off all, "Mum", second "Dad". Children recognise the importance of the family, but the low percentage of the answer "calling police" is very worrying: children do not recognise police as a security force.

If a little pup need help, whom can he ask for it? - A comparison between the Municipality and the total sample



If a little pup need help whom can he ask for it?: shared distributions per sex and ages and comparison with the total sample

	LISBON	3 Partners	Male	Female	9-11 years old	over 12 years old
Mum	62,8	67,5	67,5	58	67,5	58
Dad	56	63,9	63,8	47,3	61,9	49,3
Brother/Sister	36,6	36,1	40	33,3	40,6	32,7
Grandfathers/Uncles	25,2	25,5	25,6	24,7	22,5	28
Friend	44	34,2	40	48,7	47,5	40,7
Animal	12,9	9,1	11,3	14,7	10,6	15,3
Teacher	9,4	11,4	9,4	9,3	8,1	10,7
Policeman	23	22,9	24,4	21,3	23,1	22,7
Nobody	3,9	2,5	5	2,7	2,5	5,3

Witnessing violence - Carrara

By: Giovanni Iozzi (Microcosmos Onlus - Siena)

In the Municipality of Carrara the survey on minors witnessing violence was carried out on a sample of 347 children, between 6 and 11 years old, that corresponds to 12% of the total population of that age band, and to 35,9% of the entire representative sample of the research.

Sample of Children per Sex and Ages - Municipality of Carrara

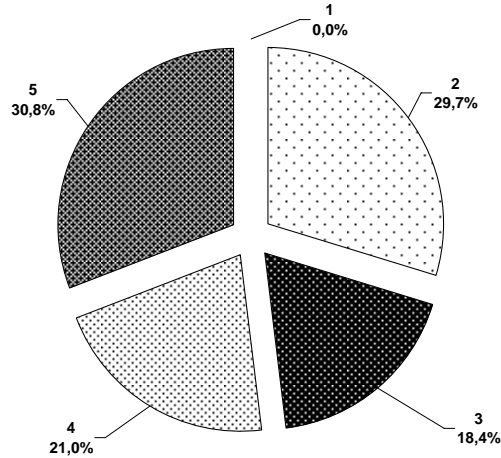
	M+F	Male	Female	6-8 years old	9-11 years old
Interviews	347	160	187	166	181
Distr. %	100%	46,1	53,9	47,8	52,2

Regarding the sex of the children interviewed, there was a slightly higher percentage of females 53,9% to males 46,1%.

The survey followed the procedure agreed at the Carrara workshop.

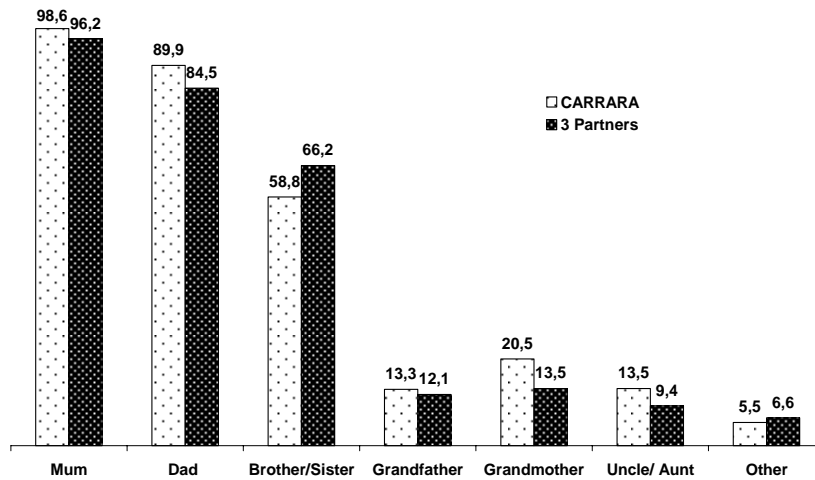
The age of children interviewed is distributed on the entire band examined (6-11).

Sample of children per scholastic classes – Percentage



In most cases, interviewed children live with their own parents, even if a slightly smaller percentage live with the father (89,9%) compared to those who live with the mother (98,6%)¹².

I live with ... - A comparison between the Municipality and the total sample



¹² On this subject, considerations are equal to those developed in the comment referred to the data about Mola di Bari in the previous pages.

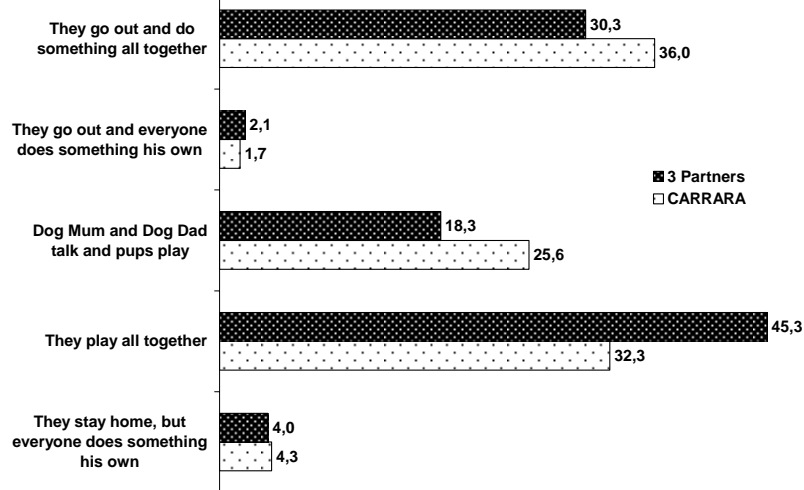
The quota who live with “other people” is 5,5% and is half way between the situation found in Lisbon and that in Mola di Bari. The quota of grandfathers (13,3%) and grandmothers (20,5%) living with the children is definitely higher, compared to the rest of the sample. The latter are two meaningful figures that, as we will notice ahead, play a role in the children’s experiences related to the examined topic.

Pets living with the family - shared distributions per sex and ages and comparison with the total sample

	CARRARA	3 Partners	Male	Female	6-8 years old	9-11 years old
Dog	40,9	32,2	45	37,4	43	38,9
Cat	28,8	20,6	31,9	26,2	30,2	27,4
Rabbit	18,7	10,9	17,5	19,8	21,5	16
Fish	37,5	27,7	37,5	37,4	40,1	34,9
Parrot	13,8	14,6	13,8	13,9	12,2	15,4

The answers of the children from Carrara to “What do the dogs do when everyone gets along well in the family?” are distributed mostly around three options: “They go out and do something all together” (36%), “They play all together” (32,3%) and “Dog Mum and Dog Dad talk and pups play” (25,6%).

What do the dogs do when everyone gets along well in the family? - A comparison between the Municipality and the total sample



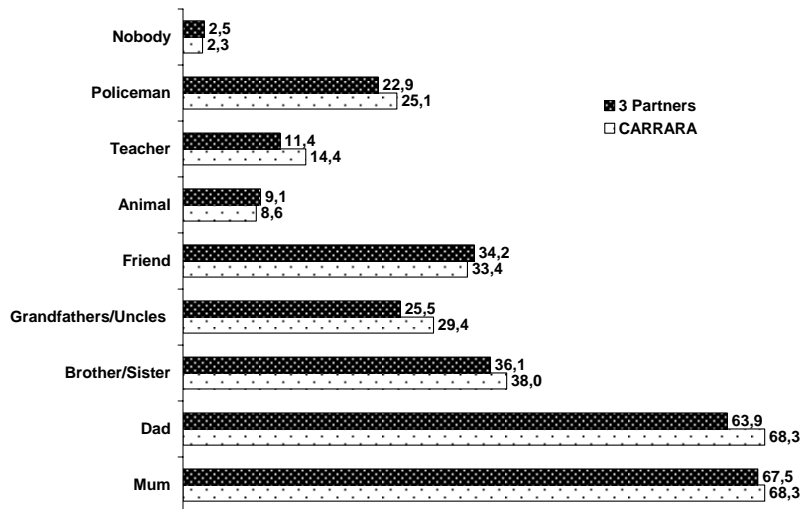
The last aspect is what denotes the more serene situation, while the other answers show the role differences between parents-adults and sons-children. Actually, different situations that can be properly interpreted only with a contextualization within the family can hide behind this aspect. The latter will appear more clearly from the reading by cluster ahead; in fact, with the analysis per city all the differences tend to vanish because all the populations/samples are quite similar.

What do the dogs do when everyone gets along well in the family?: shared distributions per sex and ages and comparison with the total sample

	CARRARA	3 Partners	Male	Female	6-8 years old	9-11 years old
<i>They stay home, but everyone does something his own</i>	4,3	4	5,6	3,2	5,8	2,9
<i>They play all together</i>	32,3	45,3	30,6	33,7	27,3	37,1
<i>Dog Mum and Dog Dad talk and pups play</i>	25,6	18,3	25,6	25,7	22,7	28,6
<i>They go out and everyone does something his own</i>	1,7	2,1	2,5	1,1	2,9	0,6
<i>They go out and do something all together</i>	36	30,3	35,6	36,4	41,3	30,9
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

In any case, children from Carrara appear to be trusting enough of both their own family members and outsiders. The answers to the question “If a little pup need help, whom can he ask it for” shows average values higher than those of the total sample, revealing a better quality of relationships or, anyhow, a more optimistic vision. On the contrary, the averages related to the children that declare having nobody as a point of reference (nobody 2,3% vs. 2,5%) and that rely on the help of a pet (8,6% vs. 9,1%) are lower: the first kind of answer denotes an obvious isolation sign, while the second one represents a child falling back on himself, with an ineffective attitude to coping with the problem.

If a little pup need help, whom can he ask for it? - A comparison between the Municipality and the total sample



However, homogeneity is more apparent than real, because inside this group there are quite obvious uneasiness niches. Some signs come from the difficulties that some children denote when describing the more serene familiar situation. In fact, observing the answers to the question “How does he/she feel the pup, living in this family where

everyone gets along well”, it is possible to notice that a more widespread sense of happiness (94,2 vs. 92,2%) corresponds to higher levels of anger (2,3% vs. 1,3%).

If a little pup need help whom can he ask for it?: shared distributions per sex and ages and comparison with the total sample

	CARRARA	3 Partners	Male	Female	6-8 years old	9-11 years old
Mum	68,3	67,5	61,9	73,8	62,2	74,3
Dad	68,3	63,9	70,6	66,3	66,9	69,7
Brother/Sister	38	36,1	37,5	38,5	37,8	38,3
Grandfathers/Uncles	29,4	25,5	33,8	25,7	26,2	32,6
Friend	33,4	34,2	30,6	35,8	34,3	32,6
Animal	8,6	9,1	9,4	8	9,9	7,4
Teacher	14,4	11,4	17,5	11,8	15,1	13,7
Policeman	25,1	22,9	33,8	17,6	29,7	20,6
Nobody	2,3	2,5	3,1	1,6	3,5	1,1

In this case, anger does not appear to be understandable, if not considered as evidence of a permanent feeling that pervades every situation, also the calmest one (considering that this is a fantasy dimension). It is important to underline that the value related to happiness comes from the average of two different values: males scores and females scores.

The “normal” family: shared distributions of feelings per sex and ages and comparison with the total sample

<i>How does the pup living in this family feel?</i>	CARRARA	3 Partners	Male	Female	6-8 years old	9-11 years old
Happy	94,2	92,2	91,3	96,8	93,6	94,9
Scared	1,7	2,1	1,9	1,6	1,7	1,7
Angry	2,3	1,3	3,8	1,1	1,7	2,9
Stunned	0,9	2,6	1,9	0	1,7	0
Sad	0,9	1,8	1,3	0,5	1,2	0,6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

<i>How does the dog mum feel?</i>	CARRARA	3 Partners	Male	Female	6-8 years old	9-11 years old
Happy	84,4	85,3	79,4	88,8	83,1	85,7
Scared	2,3	2,8	5	0	2,3	2,3
Angry	2	2,9	2,5	1,6	0,6	3,4
Stunned	10,7	7,3	12,5	9,1	13,4	8
Sad	0,6	1,8	0,6	0,5	0,6	0,6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

<i>How does the dog dad feel?</i>	CARRARA	3 Partners	Male	Female	6-8 years old	9-11 years old
Happy	83	82,6	75,6	89,3	83,1	82,9
Scared	3,2	2,6	4,4	2,1	1,7	4,6
Angry	4,6	6,1	7,5	2,1	2,9	6,3
Stunned	8,4	6,2	11,3	5,9	11,6	5,1
Sad	0,9	2,5	1,3	0,5	0,6	1,1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

In fact, males appear to be definitely less “happy” than females, and also more angry. The same trend is found also referred to the feeling of astonishment, modest in value, but an exclusively male reaction.

Obviously it is a population niche that also has some difficulty imagining a familiar situation of serenity.

In this picture males, more than females, perceive the mother as less happy (79,4% vs. 88,8%), more angry (2,5% vs. 1,6%), more astonished (12,5% vs. 9,1%), but above all more scared (5% vs. 0%). The little girls definitely have less difficulty in projecting a serene familiar dimension.

A similar trend appears also in the feelings attributed to the Dog Dad of this family "where all the dogs get along well"; in fact, also in this case, males, more than females, perceive the father as less happy (75,6% vs. 89,3%), astonished (11,3% vs. 5,9%) and scared (4,4% vs. 2,1%), but above all he appears even angrier (7,5% vs. 2,1%).

Again, anger appears to be a male feature, perceived in this way during the years of childhood, even if the trend is reduced as the years go by. Exactly as happens for fear, anger is a feature attributed to females (in this case to the Dog Mum), perceived more by the little girls (the latter in fact attribute value 0 to the Dog Dad and value 2,1% to the Dog Mum, while males attribute higher levels of fear to the Dog Dad).

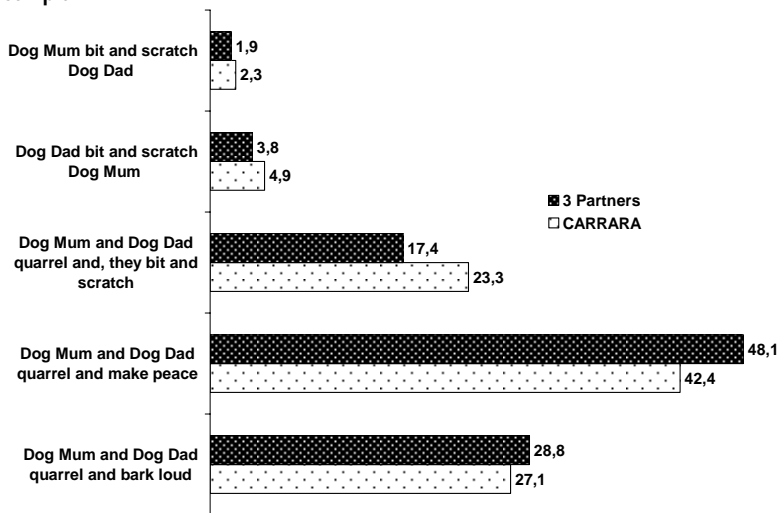
The fact that the data are referred to such low percentages, does not belittle their meaning, offering instead an estimate of the quota of children who have difficulties related to domestic violence.

In this case it is not possible to distinguish between witnessing violence and violence suffered, but there is a percentage of children (up to 4%) that shows uneasiness, that cannot be characterized with the due precision in this research context.

This situation mainly confuses males, who declare a slightly lower propensity to play (81,3% vs. 82,9%), in addition to a higher frequency of avoiding and denial behaviour (sleeping, hiding).

The second family of Carrara (the quarrelsome one) evoked by children, appears to be inclined more towards violent behaviour ("they bit and scratch") than verbal ("they quarrel and bark loud").

What can happen in a family where old dogs quarrel a lot? - A comparison between the Municipality and the total sample



Also in this case the males' description differs from the females' description in some aspects.

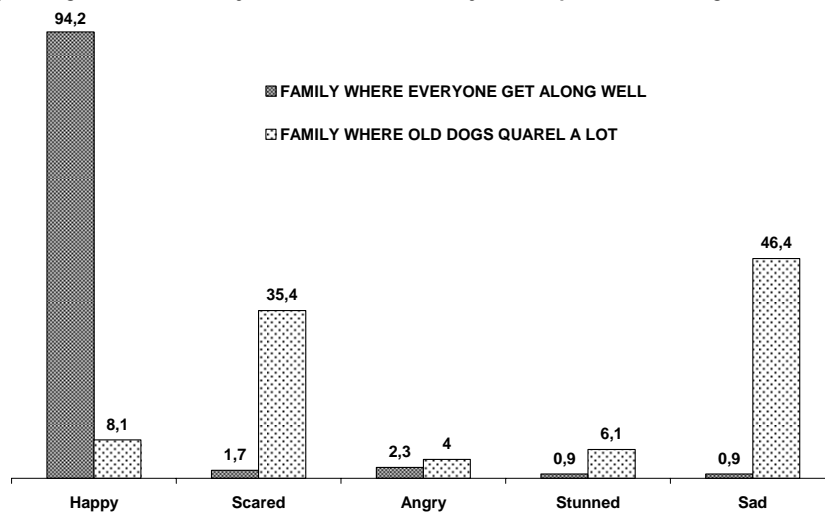
For males the accent falls on the description of a family where dogs bite and scratch (26,9% vs. 20,3%), while females describe a situation where the quarrel is "only" verbal (30,5% vs. 23,1%). The interpretation remains open, stopping the comment halfway between the projective dimension, the experienced or that matured on a cognitive plan.

What can happen in a family where old dogs quarrel a lot?: shared distributions per sex and ages and comparison with the total sample

	CARRARA	3 Partners	Male	Female	6-8 years old	9-11 years old
<i>Dog Mum and Dog Dad quarrel and bark loud</i>	27,1	28,8	23,1	30,5	23,8	30,3
<i>Dog Mum and Dog Dad quarrel and make peace</i>	42,4	48,1	42,5	42,2	45,9	38,9
<i>Dog Mum and Dog Dad quarrel and, they bit and scratch</i>	23,3	17,4	26,9	20,3	22,1	24,6
<i>Dog Dad bit and scratch Dog Mum</i>	4,9	3,8	5	4,8	5,2	4,6
<i>Dog Mum bit and scratch Dog Dad</i>	2,3	1,9	2,5	2,1	2,9	1,7
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

In this second case, the answer of children inclines more towards an active answer, rather than representing a child falling back on himself. However, a careful observation reveals that some of these answers represent a propensity related both with sex and with age. As an example, the littler girls try to reconcile the dog-parents. On the contrary, the littler boys are inclined to look at it or not to notice the situation, whereas the older boys tend mainly to call for help. Hiding, instead, is a more female feature that is accentuated with the passing of age.

The Pups living in a violent family and in a "normal" family – a comparison of feelings



Therefore, while to look at it or not to notice the situation appears to be a male feature, a female feature seems to be the propensity to reconcile, but also hiding. It is obvious that there is not a propensity that allows more introverted or extroverted answers to be attributed only on the basis of gender; however these two reading directions (sex and age) underline that it is not possible to characterize only on the base of gender, because there are other factors that play an important role: age is one of them. Moreover, it is important to remember that this kind of trend is almost identical to Mola di Bari while in Lisbon (where children are older) the trend is similar only in some cases and age, more than gender, seems to affect the choices.

In this second family the pups' prevailing feeling is undoubtedly sadness (46,4%) which has the higher value of the entire sample of anger (4% vs. 3,6% of the other two cities). Again, sadness and anger design two opposite ways of reacting: the first one is a depressive reaction, the second one tends more to represent extroversion and reactivity. Also in this case, it is important to interpret the level of spread of the different feelings, as indicative of the spreading of a specific feature in the considered population, therefore like an element of its intensity. The level of happiness is minimal and denotes an understanding of the situation proposed, with an adequate and coherent experience. However, meaningful differences between the two gender appear again and reveal two different experiences when confronted by the phenomenon of violence. The females' feeling is connoted (from very young ages) with a nuance of sadness, definitely stronger than males (F. 48,7% vs. 43,8%), while males are characterized by high levels of anger (5,6% vs. 2,7%). Moreover anger characterizes above all the younger children, while fear is more structured with the passing of time.

The "violent" family: shared distributions of feelings per sex and ages and comparison with the total sample

<i>How does the pup living in this family feel?</i>	<i>CARRARA</i>	<i>3 Partners</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>6-8 years old</i>	<i>9-11 years old</i>
<i>Happy</i>	8,1	11,9	9,4	7	11	5,1
<i>Scared</i>	35,4	36,5	35	35,8	32	38,9
<i>Angry</i>	4	3,7	5,6	2,7	6,4	1,7
<i>Stunned</i>	6,1	6,4	6,3	5,9	4,7	7,4
<i>Sad</i>	46,4	41,5	43,8	48,7	45,9	46,9
<i>Total</i>	100	100	100	100	100	100
<i>How does the dog mum feel?</i>						
<i>Happy</i>	8,4	11,1	8,8	8	12,2	4,6
<i>Scared</i>	5,5	8	5,6	5,3	4,7	6,3
<i>Angry</i>	76,4	60	76,9	75,9	73,8	78,9
<i>Stunned</i>	2,3	2,3	1,9	2,7	2,3	2,3
<i>Sad</i>	7,5	18,7	6,9	8	7	8
<i>Total</i>	100	100	100	100	100	100
<i>How does the dog dad feel?</i>						
<i>Happy</i>	7,5	10,6	9,4	5,9	11	4
<i>Scared</i>	1,4	3	1,3	1,6	2,3	0,6
<i>Angry</i>	83,9	69,2	81,9	85,6	82,6	85,1
<i>Stunned</i>	1,7	2,5	2,5	1,1	1,2	2,3
<i>Sad</i>	5,5	14,7	5	5,9	2,9	8
<i>Total</i>	100	100	100	100	100	100

Once again, among the feelings attributed to the parents, sadness, although at a low level, is characterized as being a female feature, and little girls share it with their mothers, revealing a similar experience, probably related to a process of identification connected to belonging to the same gender.

However sadness is a feeling that little girls (more than males) attribute also to the fathers, even if less than to the mothers.

The children of Carrara however attribute to both parents the maximum levels of anger. The values are meaningfully different from those of any other city and, again, it is the father that touches the maximum values.

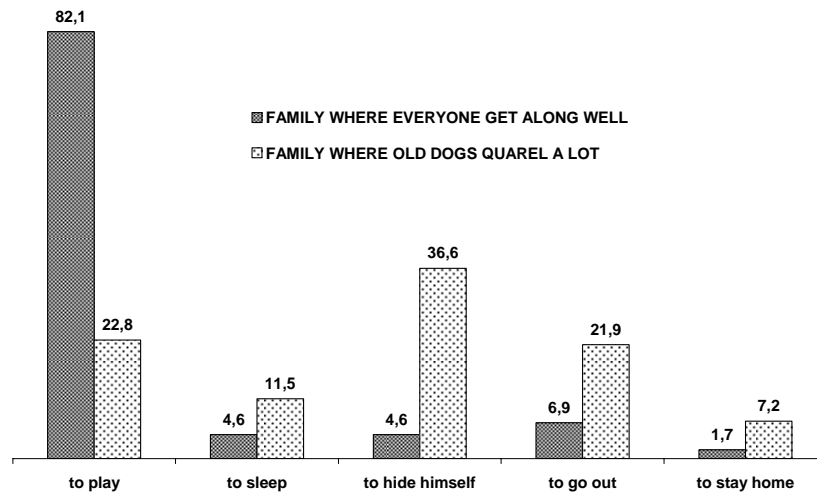
Therefore, in the two different families (violent and normal) anger is connoted as a mostly male feeling, perceived by male children as their feeling (or better pertaining to the pups) both in the normal and in the violent family, and shared with their father (or better their Dog Dad). Moreover also the little girls recognize this feeling in their fathers. On the contrary, as partially already shown, sadness belongs to females and is shared by the little girls with their mothers pertaining to the violent family.

In the light of the above-mentioned situation, it is not possible to know whether this sharing has to be related to really lived common experiences or simply to the structuring of a gender role perception inside the family, in relation to the exertion of power. In this second case, it would be necessary to admit that the role of subjugation (belonging to many cultures, in particular the Mediterranean cultures) is clearly perceived very early during childhood. This awareness of woman-victim can represent an optimal substratum to support the process of transformation of the sense of powerlessness, joined by a sadness experience. This experience is perceived more clearly with the passing of age.

The feeling of fear that goes with this process, is definitely higher in the mothers than in fathers (5,5% vs. 1,4%), and supports the experience of gender subjugation and the dynamics above described.

The family described by the children's imagination reveals a situation where children of Carrara would prefer to hide themselves and where their desire to play collapses to the minimum values of the sample.

What does the youngest pup like to do in the "normal" and "violent" families



What does the youngest pup like to do in the "normal" and "violent" families: shared distributions per sex and ages and comparison with the total sample

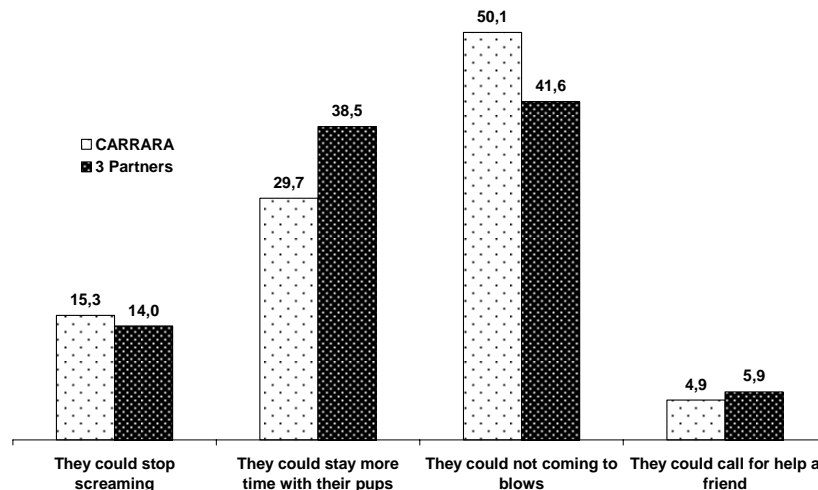
	CARRARA	3 Partners	Male	Female	6-8 years old	9-11 years old
<i>to play</i>	22,8	28,7	28,8	17,6	26,7	18,9
<i>to sleep</i>	11,5	10,1	14,4	9,1	12,8	10,3
<i>to hide himself</i>	36,6	29,6	31,9	40,6	33,7	39,4
<i>to go out</i>	21,9	22,2	21,3	22,5	17,4	26,3
<i>to stay home</i>	7,2	9,4	3,8	10,2	9,3	5,1
<i>Total</i>	100	100	100	100	100	100

Males in particular express a clear inclination to deny the events and go on playing and sleeping. Among females the attitude prevailing is undoubtedly to hide and to stay home. This desire of invisibility seems to carry in itself a sense of shame, almost as if it was the child's fault (in this case the little girl); and the child feels responsible for what happens, but the violent parents are not able to notice the situation and therefore to reassure the child.

It would seem here to find identification mechanisms that, joined to a sense of powerless, push the little girls (more than little boys) towards a sense of guilt, and therefore of shame, that leads them to stay home, increasing, with their isolation, the risks of witnessing domestic violence.

In children's opinion "What could old dogs learn to do not to behave badly in their family?". Carrara is the city where children would like, more than any other thing "that they stop coming to blows". The younger children are afraid of screams and would like, more than anything else, that they stopped biting and scratching. It is difficult to say if this explicit desire is related to children's real exposure within the family; but it is necessary to admit that the question was inserted in the questionnaire also in order to receive an indirect estimate of this element.

What could old dogs learn to do not to behave badly in their family? - A comparison between the Municipality and the total sample



The Carrara value for this option of answer far exceeds that of the other cities. The value referred to “screaming” is slighter higher, and is an aspect that particularly worries the smaller Italian children.

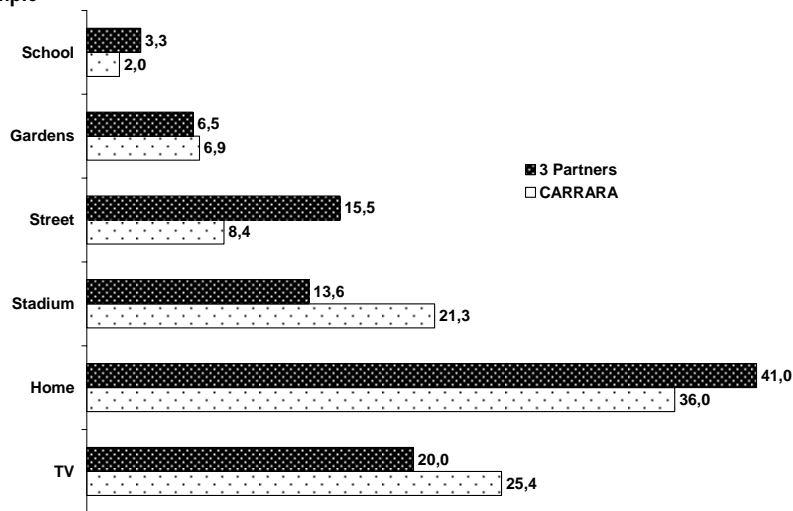
What could old dogs learn to do not to behave badly in their family?: shared distributions per sex and ages and comparison with the total sample

	CARRARA	3 Partners	Male	Female	6-8 years old	9-11 years old
<i>They could stop screaming</i>	15,3	14	15	15,5	20,3	10,3
<i>They could stay more time with their pups</i>	29,7	38,5	26,3	32,6	28,5	30,9
<i>They could not coming to blows</i>	50,1	41,6	52,5	48,1	47,7	52,6
<i>They could call for help a friend</i>	4,9	5,9	6,3	3,7	3,5	6,3
<i>Total</i>	100	100	100	100	100	100

The demand for more attention from the parents is lower, and appears to be a need expressed mainly by little girls (32,6% vs. 26,3%) that are inclined to look for solutions inside the family (and the house). On the contrary, the suggestion of looking for help outside (a friend) expresses more a male attitude (6,3% vs. 3,7%) and is more structured with the passing of time (age).

In the light of these answers, the female population appears to be the most delicate, the most difficult to be reached and therefore the less protected.

Where do the little ones see old ones behaving badly? - A comparison between the Municipality and the total sample



Finally, the answers to the question “where do the little ones see old ones behaving badly?” reveal that the little girls have more sensitivity and perceive the phenomenon as mainly widespread inside the home. In short, what to males appears as “normal” to females is perceived as an abuse of power, a shape of violence. For this reason the levels of answer referred to “the inside of the house” are higher for females.

Where do the little ones see old ones behaving badly?: shared distributions per sex and ages and comparison with the total sample

	CARRARA	3 Partners	Male	Female	6-8 years old	9-11 years old
TV	25,4	20	23,8	26,7	26,2	24,6
Home	36	41	30	41,2	40,7	31,4
Stadium	21,3	13,6	30	13,9	14	28,6
Street	8,4	15,5	6,9	9,6	5,2	11,4
Gardens	6,9	6,5	7,5	6,4	9,9	4
School	2	3,3	1,9	2,1	4,1	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Total Sample –Three Municipalities

By: Giovanni Iozzi (Microcosmos Onlus – Siena)

As it is obvious looking at the frequency, territorial distribution and distribution per age, are two dependent variables between them¹³.

Distribution of children per ages and partner

	3 Partners	Carrara	Mola di Bari	Lisbon
6-8 years old	38,2	49,6	63,8	0,0
9-11 years old	46,3	50,5	36,3	51,6
12-13 years old	15,5	0,0	0,0	48,4
Total	100	100	100	100

This fact does not allow to read them independently one from the other. Therefore, the territorial aspects have been commented on by the local research group from each city, while, with the comparative analysis, the choice has been to analyze in a separate way (disaggregated) the variable “age”, dividing it in three classes (age: 6-7, 8-10, 11-13) in order to highlight the trends of the sample.

For this aspect, as for any other aspect, the sample has been considered as a sole set, representative of a sole population aged between 6 and 12 years old and distributed over three different cities.

I live with ... - A comparison per partner

I live with...	3 Partners	Carrara	Mola di Bari	Lisbon
Mum	96,2	98,6	98,4	91,3
Dad	84,5	89,9	91,9	70,9
Brother/Sister	66,2	58,8	77	63,8
Grandfather	12,1	13,3	10	12,9
Grandmother	13,5	20,5	14,9	4,2
Uncle/ Aunt	9,4	13,5	5,8	8,4
Other	6,6	5,5	1,6	12,9

In the majority of cases, the interviewed children live with both parents (82,5%)¹⁴. The remaining quota (17,5%) of children, that lives in different familiar situations, shows the following characteristics:

¹³ The reason for these differences has been explained in the introduction to the comments of the three cities.

The family composition per partner

	3 Partners	Carrara	Mola di Bari	Lisbon
<i>Alone parent without grandparents</i>	9,0%	4,6%	4,9%	18,1%
<i>Traditional family without brothers/ sisters without grandparents/uncle and aunt</i>	18,9%	25,9%	13,9%	16,1%
<i>Traditional family without brothers/ sisters with grandparents/uncle and aunt</i>	5,8%	8,1%	4,2%	4,8%
<i>Traditional family with brothers/ sisters without grandparents/uncle and aunt</i>	46,4%	41,2%	62,8%	35,8%
<i>Traditional family with brothers/ sisters with grandparents/uncle and aunt</i>	11,4%	14,4%	10,0%	9,4%
<i>Alone parents with grandparents/uncle and aunt</i>	4,1%	4,0%	3,2%	5,2%
<i>New families</i>	2,4%	0,9%	0,3%	6,1%
<i>Without parents with grandparents/uncle and aunt</i>	1,2%	0,9%	0,3%	2,6%
<i>Granted in custody</i>	0,7%	0,0%	0,3%	1,9%
<i>Total</i>	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Among the children with separated parents, 46% (equivalent to 8% of the total) live just with the mother, against 6% (equivalent to 1% of the total) that live with the lone father. Often the grandparents remain with the guardian parent and therefore the family is recomposed in 24% of cases (4,1% of the total) around a parent, his/her children and one or more grandparents.

However some of the children are in the custody of only their grandparents (7% of the children of separated couples: 1,2% of the total), while other children are granted to the custody of people not belonging to the original familiar nucleus (4% of the segment, equivalent to 0,7% of the sample).

Children living in a “new family”, consisting of one natural parent and the new girlfriend or boyfriend, are 14% (2,4% of the sample).

The majority of these “not traditional” situations are concentrated in the city of Lisbon.

The data referred to situations of children who lived the experience of familiar separation supplies a first clue about an almost certain exposure to conflict situations, somehow also potentially violent¹⁵.

Two children out of three live with at least one pet. The most widespread presence of pets is in Carrara, the lowest in Mola di Bari.

Pets appear with a higher frequency in “recomposed” families (87%), that is those where a parent lives with a new boyfriend/girlfriend; pets are also in situations where the children live just with grandparents (77%). In these cases it is very easy to interpret this propensity as an attempt to fill an emptiness or a loss.

On the contrary, the lower frequency of presence of pets is found in situations of traditional families (parents and children) (62%).

¹⁴ This big group also includes the families that, in addition to the father and the mother, also have any other kind of kinship or presence, being convinced that the more meaningful feature is the presence of both parents.

¹⁵ In reality, it is not right to think that violence is a phenomenon present only in families consecrated to the separation, because, it is common knowledge that violence is present also in traditional contexts. The reference here is used as an indirect indicator that introduces only some elements for a first esteem.

Pets living with the family per partner

	3 Partners	Carrara	Mola di Bari	Lisbon
Dog	32,2	40,9	24,3	30,4
Cat	20,6	28,8	14,2	17,8
Rabbit	10,9	18,7	7,8	5,2
Fish	27,7	37,5	23,9	20,4
Parrot	14,6	13,8	5,5	24,6

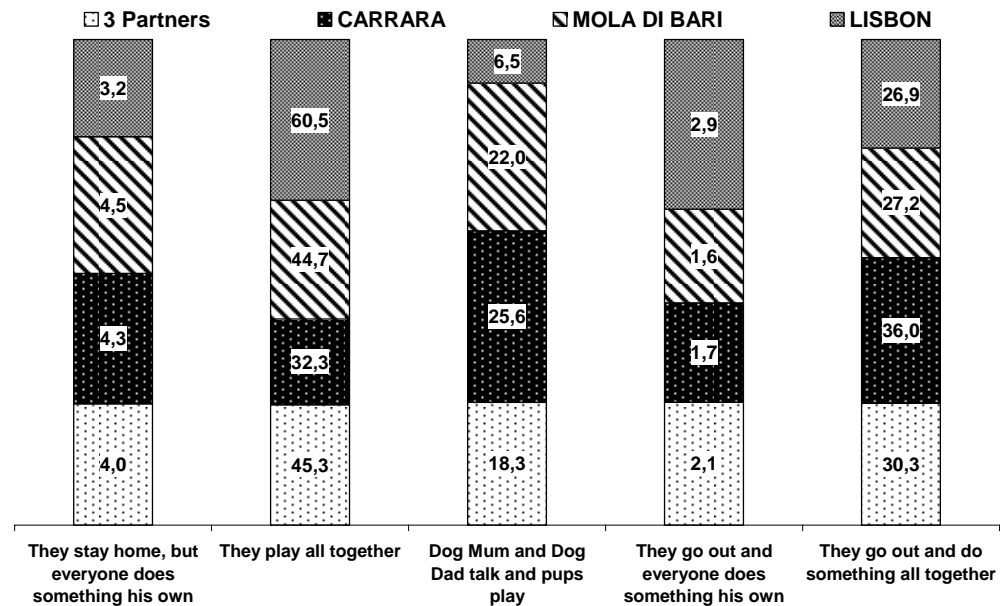
EVERYONE GETS ALONG WELL IN THIS DOG FAMILY

WHAT DO THE DOGS DO WHEN EVERYONE GETS ALONG WELL IN THE FAMILY?

This question, more than any other, reveals the interpretative axis adopted: as already stated, the most positive answer is considered “Dog Dad and Dog Mum talk and pups play” because it represents the situation where the system parents/children is perceived clearly and with the most adequate forms. From this point of view, the distance from the average data of the children of Lisbon has to be marked. In fact, in this situation children incline towards a situation where the roles are not adequately separated (“they play all together”). The condition of greater uneasiness (“they stay home, but everyone does something on his own”) regards a quota of 4%.

It is important to underline the percentage of negative perceptions expressed by the pup, even if in a serene family environment. In fact, the sum of the uneasy answers related to “how the pup feels” reaches 7,8% of the total.

What do the dogs do when everyone gets along well in the family? Share per partner



In this case, the projection of the personal experience of the child exceeds and dims the familiar picture described, even if this picture is absolutely positive or, however, without any element of fear, anger or sadness.

HOW DO THE DOG MUM AND THE DOG DAD FEEL?

The Dog Mum, in 14,8% of cases, does not feel at her ease (is scared, angry, astonished, sad), but what has to be underlined is that the father feels even more ill at ease (17,4%). However, the child's perception shows an image of the father who is less frightened, less astonished, a little bit sadder but, above all, is much angrier. This perception of a more and more angry father is found indifferently in all the cities of the research and will be a constant characteristic of all the situations, also of those with more conflict.

The "normal" family – a comparison of feelings. Share per partner**How does the pup living in this family feel?**

	3 Partners	Carrara	Mola di Bari	Lisbon
Happy	92,2	94,2	87,4	94,8
Scared	2,1	1,7	3,2	1,3
Angry	1,3	2,3	1,3	0,3
Stunned	2,6	0,9	5,8	1,3
Sad	1,8	0,9	2,3	2,3
Total	100	100	100	100

How does the dog mum feel?

Happy	85,3	84,4	78,6	92,9
Scared	2,8	2,3	4,2	1,9
Angry	2,9	2	5,5	1,3
Stunned	7,3	10,7	8,1	2,6
Sad	1,8	0,6	3,6	1,3
Total	100	100	100	100

How does the dog dad feel?

Happy	82,6	83	73,5	91,3
Scared	2,6	3,2	2,3	2,3
Angry	6,1	4,6	11,7	2,3
Stunned	6,2	8,4	7,8	2,3
Sad	2,5	0,9	4,9	1,9
Total	100	100	100	100

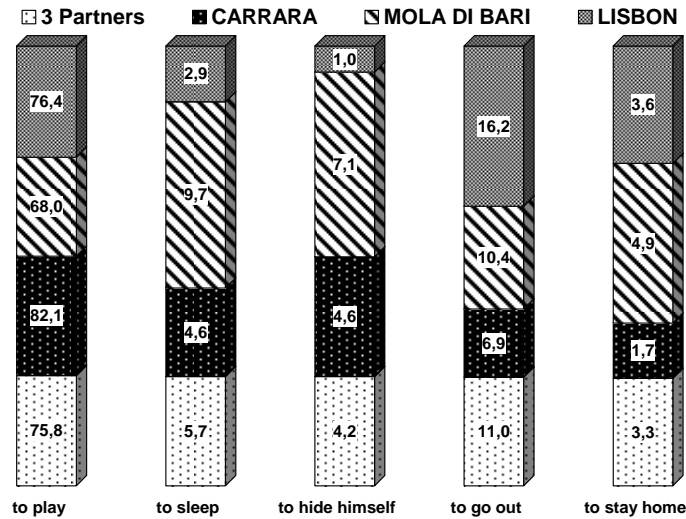
The situation points out an experience based on the fathers' constant anger (attributed by the son to the father). However, this anger appears related to an experience of sadness (and astonishment) that males attribute to the father, therefore highlighting a conflict, joined to a feeling of understanding and identification.

Females are less involved in this dynamic, perceiving the father as a person substantially happy in the familiar situation described.

WHAT DOES THE YOUNGEST PUP LIKE TO DO IN THE "NORMAL" FAMILY

In this situation, the pups like playing, but the percentage of how many try anyway to hide and sleep is surprising. These are signs of denial and flight, in a clear relation of dyscrasia with the described situation. In this case it is important to evidence the strong correlation with the age factor. In fact, worry appears in inverse correlation to the children's age. The latter offers a strengthening of the ability of self protection, even if only strengthening the abilities to work out the context. The younger children appear therefore more unsure, delicate and less self confident.

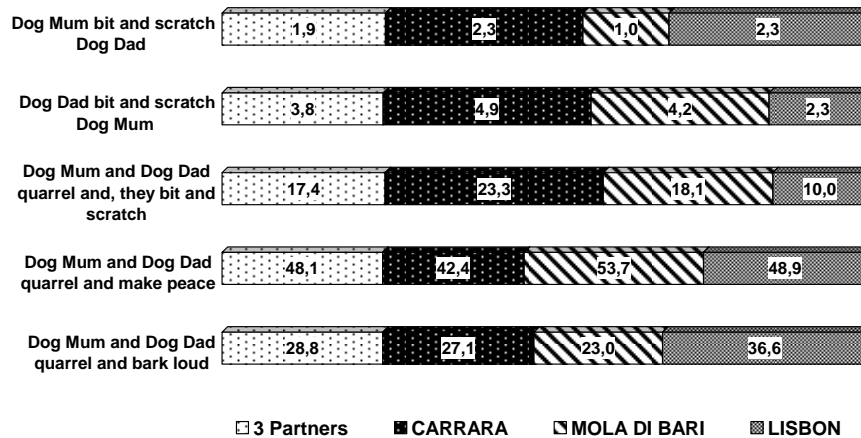
What does the youngest pup like to do in the "normal" family - Share per partner



NOW TRY TO IMAGINE ANOTHER DOG FAMILY WHERE OLD DOGS QUARREL A LOT

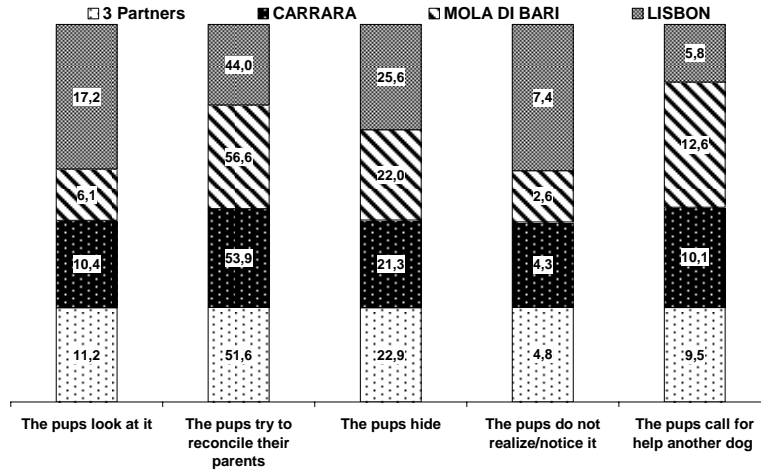
In a family characterized by strong conflicts, half of the sample declares to find a resolution at conflict situations (48,1%), even if it might be the description (already highlighted in the comment of the Lisbon situation) of the "honeymoon" phenomenon.

What can happen in a family where old dogs quarrel a lot? Share per partner



The described cases of aggression are attributed, by the children's experience, to the fathers and are acted (in preponderance) towards the mothers. Concerning this, only Lisbon highlights a situation of equality.

What do pups do when Dog Mum and Dog Dad quarrel so loud up to biting each other? Share per partner



The children try to reconcile their parents (51,6%). This is the most frequent answer of smaller children from Mola di Bari. Concerning this, there is a statistically meaningful inverse correlation, between age and the will to intervene. In fact, the older boys of Lisbon avoid this modality, but seek refuge in even more inadequate forms of answer, revealing a greater vulnerability, a real situation of block and therefore an obvious sensitivity to the described phenomenon.

In fact, the situation of “the pups look at it”, strongly indicated by the children of Lisbon (17,2%), is indicative of a dramatic situation that paralyzes them. Also the denial of the described event (“the pups do not realize/notice it”) is an answer of strong denial, indicative of a situation that tends to dissociation.

On the contrary, the answer of flight (22,9%) appears more positive; even if it is not really effective, it is adequate, and anyhow it does not tend to deny the evidence of the facts. It is an answer supported only by the legitimate desire to go away, and therefore to reach safety and to self-protect.

The better answer appears undoubtedly to be to call other dogs for help. This answer implies two important positive elements: the first one lies in the behaviour itself, that is adequate to the child's age and to the situation; the second one means that the child presumably perceives that “outside” there is an environment able to intervene, helping him.

How does the pup living in this family feel? Share per partner

	3 Partners	Carrara	Mola di Bari	Lisbon
Happy	11,9	8,1	18,1	10
Scared	36,5	35,4	34,3	39,8
Angry	3,7	4	3,6	3,6
Stunned	6,4	6,1	7,1	6,1
Sad	41,5	46,4	36,9	40,5
Total	100	100	100	100

This is a very important aspect because, for the first time, it projects outside the problem, asking the child its perception of the world as a dimension positively connoted or reduced to a condition of powerlessness, consequent on a pessimistic vision. In this

case the prevailing perception is the positive one, but the problem is the low percentage of the answers that call outside for help (9,5%).

A feeling of sadness prevails among the children's answers. This is a typical form of depressive reaction and does not leave any hope. In the second place, a feeling of fear prevails and this reaches the higher values just among the older children (Lisbon 39,8%). The astonishment expresses a sense of confusion, such as happiness, typical of younger children of Mola di Bari. These feelings show a denial condition and somehow of not understanding the situation.

In general, anger (a feeling that expresses a will of reaction and opposition) is little perceived and little expressed by the children.

How does the dog mum feel? - How does the dog dad feel? Share per partner

How does the dog mum feel?

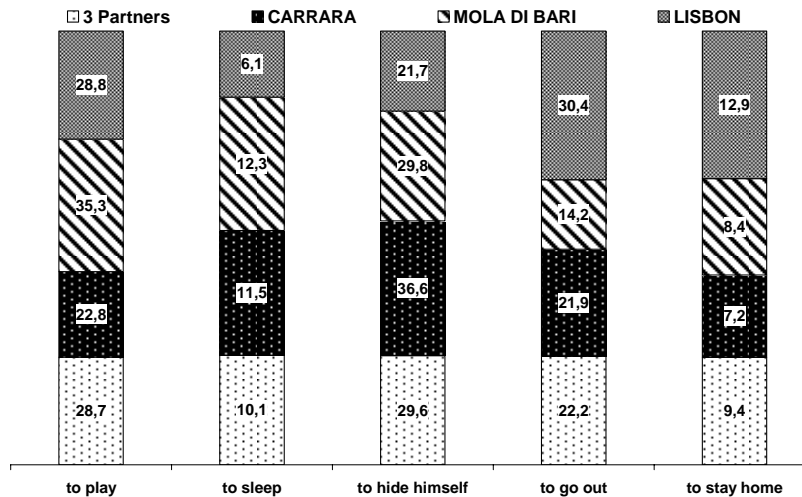
	3 Partners	Carrara	Mola di Bari	Lisbon
Happy	11,1	8,4	15,5	9,7
Scared	8	5,5	12,3	6,5
Angry	60	76,4	51,1	50,5
Stunned	2,3	2,3	3,6	1
Sad	18,7	7,5	17,5	32,4
Total	100	100	100	100

How does the dog dad feel?

	3 Partners	Carrara	Mola di Bari	Lisbon
Happy	10,6	7,5	14,6	10
Scared	3	1,4	4,9	2,9
Angry	69,2	83,9	63,8	58,3
Stunned	2,5	1,7	3,9	1,9
Sad	14,7	5,5	12,9	26,9
Total	100	100	100	100

Anger is the prevailing feeling in the quarrelsome families, in the perception of the children. Anger is a feeling attributed much more to the fathers, whereas to the mothers sadness and fear prevail (in a relative sense).

What do the pups like to do in the "violent" family? Share per partner

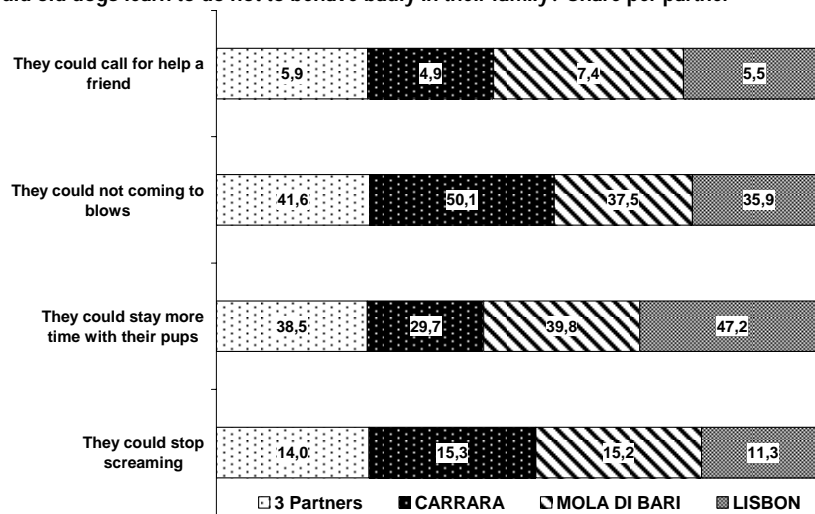


Little girls tend to attribute more feelings of fear and sadness, both to the father and to the mother, while males incline towards anger answers distributed, also in this case, between both the parents. Therefore the depressive answers seem to belong more to the female sphere, the opposite to a reactive tendency which is closer to male behaviour.

As it is easy to observe, the tendency of children to play collapses, passing from 75,8% in a serene family to 28,7% in a quarrelsome family. The propensity to sleep, to hide and disappear, grows four times, while leaving the house, in this case, is connoted with a flight meaning, an estrangement from the house that is no longer lived in as a pleasant and protecting place¹⁶.

On the contrary, for other children, the house becomes the refuge, the most protective one, but it can also become an effective place to isolate, to hide because of feelings of shame, more or less connected to a need to control the situation. Also in this case the tendency in the quarrelsome family triples.

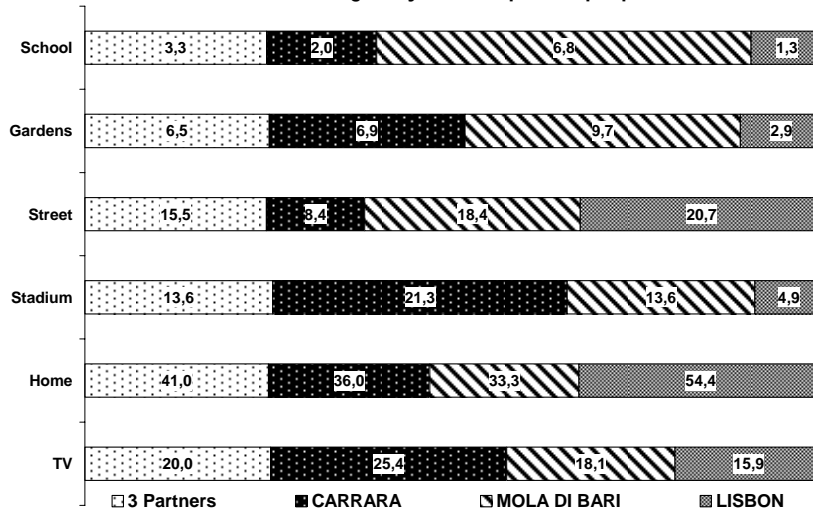
What could old dogs learn to do not to behave badly in their family? Share per partner



Substantially the answers give two prevailing directions: on one hand children expect adults to avoid violent behaviour (55,6%), on the other they would like more attention and affectionate behaviour. The first one reveals an uneasiness following behaviour that provokes suffering for every child, as well as the adults that display that behaviour. The second one is an explicit demand for love.

¹⁶ Intentionally, the data corresponding to "leave the house" had not been commented, in the case of the "normal" family because the reading would be ambiguous anyway, since the experience of the street can be connoted both positively and negatively. The propensity to go out anyway, described by Portuguese, or the chance to meet friends on the street, can represent both a positive element and an answer to situations of indifference and detachment that also appeared in that context ("they stay home but everyone does something on his own"). The reading is characterized with a comparison between the two situations and also observing the distances between the two percentages that gives a clear direction and a meaning.

Where do the little ones see old ones behaving badly? - A comparison per partner



Even if Lisbon has definitely higher values than the other cities, in the whole sample's opinion the house is the place of greater exposure to the inquired phenomenon. After that comes television. Also in this case the trend is common to every city. It is important to underline that the answers referred to "at the stadium", considering the children's age, can be traced back to the television as a tool that transmits what they effectively "see" happening to the stadium. Therefore by adding the two options, television would be 33,6% of the total answers.

The road is a place for experiences of life for the Portuguese children and, obviously, among these, there are also violent episodes.

If a little one needs help whom can ask for it? Share per partner

	3 Partners	Carrara	Mola di Bari	Lisbon
Mum	67,5	68,3	71,2	62,8
Dad	63,9	68,3	67	56
Brother/Sister	36,1	38	33,3	36,6
Grandfathers/Uncles	25,5	29,4	21,4	25,2
Friend	34,2	33,4	25,2	44
Animal	9,1	8,6	5,8	12,9
Teacher	11,4	14,4	10	9,4
Policeman	22,9	25,1	20,4	23
Nobody	2,5	2,3	1,3	3,9

Facing this last question of the questionnaire, the research group express different evaluations, actually showing only a different propensity to point out positive rather than negative aspects. Therefore, while the Lisbon group point out that the family represent the most important point of reference for the children of each city, other groups emphasize that little less than a third does not find in the parents a sure point of reference, considering this a serious weakness element. However, there are no doubts that the whole familiar universe (including brothers, sisters and grandparents) represents the most solid last hope to cope with the threat.

Everybody agrees on the fact that the percentage of those who would call on their pet for help is very high (9,1%), showing a serious sense of loneliness and the absence of a real perspective of resolving the problem. Moreover, the relationship with teachers appears truly weak(11,4%), and exceeds a little bit the importance attributed to the pets.

Finally, the importance of friendship characterizes, above all, the Portuguese sample. There is uncertainty regarding the evaluation of the perception of the policeman, who is thought as a useful resource "only" by 23% of our sample; however, there are no doubts that this is a positive evaluation, when compared to the teachers.

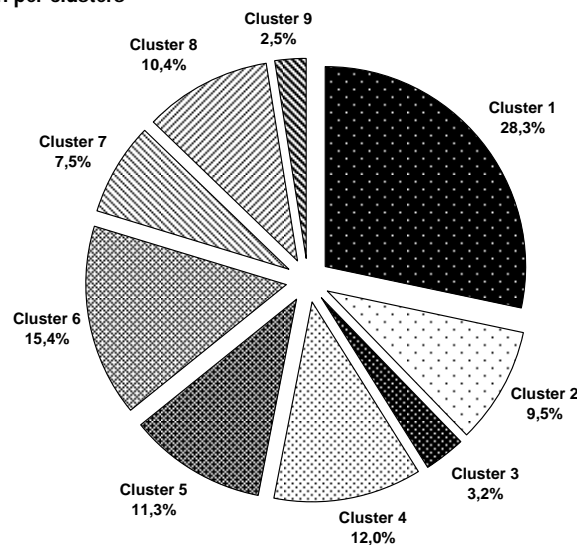
Finally, 2,5% of children, for the most part males and young (twenty children out of less than one thousand) would not be able to call anyone for help. These represent the extremity of a chain that links situations of well-being and certainty on one side to desperate situations on the other.

A reading per cluster

By: Giovanni Iozzi and Roberto Gambassi (Microcosmos Onlus - Siena)

It is obviously difficult to comment on the data regarding the questionnaire, because it is based on projective situations and the risk is always of making a projective interpretation. Perhaps the reader will find many cues that are not exploited enough as well as others that are too daring. In order to reduce the risks of arbitrary evaluation, the analysis is based on a theoretical system and on meeting chances (even if never enough). In any case it is important to remember that the research was not looking for certain answers, but was trying to create opportunities to collect testimonies (indirect) of children, not only of those children already known to the several Anti-violence Centres, but of the common child, the silent witness. To the latter, the research would like to offer a chance to speak, being convinced that the best way to pursue this is cultural change, the increase of sensitivity, making the problem progressively more and more visible.

Sample distribution per clusters



The experiences of the children do not give answers, but open a window on a world where some find their way through, and others risk losing themselves slowly, because in that world, the action of the adult and the service cannot not arrive.

The research group chose to comment on the collected data in a sober way, preferring to offer the readers the chance to elaborate their own analyses on the basis of their own experiences, because this research is halfway between clinical research and experimental research. This Report offers everybody the testimony of experiences of a population segment: the children of different areas of Europe who tell a fairy tale about two dog families that are so similar to their families. We should try to know better these two dog families in order to better understand the children.

CLUSTER 1. "Desire for light" 28,3%

It is a group/cluster with a prevalence of Portuguese children, males, of an independent age, living in traditional families, with brothers and sisters, but also with some cases of reconstructed family. They have a high propensity for life with the most traditional pets: dogs and cats.

In the "family where everyone gets along well" the children feel that the pup living in this family "is happy", as well as Dog Mum (98,2% vs. 95,3%)¹⁷ and Dog Dad (97,4% vs. 82,6%). In this situation all the members of the family "go out and do something all together" (35,9% vs. 30,3%).

The children are happy and they like playing (82,4% vs. 75,8%).

It is a unique situation, where the only peculiarity to signal (up to now) is a tendency not to distinguish clearly the adult/child roles (underlined by the fact that they choose to do something all together).

It is a picture that describes a condition of perceived serenity, where even the father, that is usually seen as a person with a worry shadow that dims his happiness (average value 82,6%), appears in this group definitely serene (97,4%), similar to the mother.

However, when confronted with the description of a violent and conflict situation, the answers of the children show a frequent dynamic, perhaps the most common and widespread, that is, a couple that quarrels and than makes peace (56,4% vs. 48%).

It is not a matter of judging or interpreting, because this is a normal, widespread relationship dynamic, more or less "healthy" under the profile of the experiences that it can hide and that the questionnaire cannot find. In fact, somewhere else the risks related to the syndrome of the "honeymoon" have already been underlined: it is a form of momentary and changeable reconciliation, that marks the time between one quarrel and another. Sometimes the reconciliation can also appear intense, but is based on the weakness and instability of the affective relationship. It is a situation that produces negative effects on the children involved, even if indirectly involved.

The "normal" family describes "normal" and common dynamics, both for its frequency and for the kind of behaviour: it tells what happens "usually".

When parents quarrel a lot, the pups living in this "family" express the maximum tendency (after the children of group/cluster 9) to "look at it" (16,5% vs. 11,2%) together with the inclination to intervene and reconcile the parents (60% vs. 51,6%).

¹⁷ The percentage data in this section compare the value of the cluster to the average value of the sample, and represent a constant in the cluster analysis because they underline the propensity of each cluster compared to the whole sample population.

The described behaviour appears like a mix of two different behaviours: on one hand, the typical propensity of children from Lisbon to “look at it” keeping the greatest distance possible; on the other, like the younger children from Mola di Bari, the inclination to take part, to mediate between the parents (adults).

It is a group/cluster that describes behaviour which is not related to a cultural specific of a city or a country, but it links together two different experiences, that co-exist independently from the contexts and the age. However, it is also a cluster that hardly recognizes and admits the aggressiveness of the parents. On the contrary, this group would like to see the parents always happy, imagining experiences of happiness also in conflict situations, reducing and denying the effects of conflict itself.

In fact, children describe situations of maximum (relative) happiness, for the pup (31% vs. 11,9%) for the Dog Dad (30,8% vs. 10,6%) and for the Dog Mum (31,9% vs. 11,1%).

How does the pup living in a “violent” family feel?

	Cl. 1	Cl. 2	Cl. 3	Cl. 4	Cl. 5	Cl. 6	Cl. 7	Cl. 8	Cl. 9	Total
Happy	31,1%	1,1%	6,5%	4,3%	1,8%	2,7%	11,1%	3,0%	20,8%	11,9%
Scared	28,9%	57,6%	25,8%	30,2%	54,1%	34,9%	31,9%	31,0%	54,2%	36,5%
Angry	0,4%	1,1%	9,7%	1,7%	5,5%	4,0%	11,1%	7,0%	8,3%	3,7%
Stunned	4,4%	6,5%	3,2%	3,4%	10,1%	2,7%	8,3%	17,0%	4,2%	6,4%
Sad	35,2%	33,7%	54,8%	60,3%	28,4%	55,7%	37,5%	42,0%	12,5%	41,4%
Total	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

This attitude of obstinate denial, lasts also in the things that the pup likes to do in this (quarrelsome) home: to go on “playing” (38,5% vs. 28,7%).

Probably, these children are not really exposed to the violent behaviour of parents; in fact, they declare “to see old ones behaving badly on TV” (30,4% vs. 20%). Rather than living quarrelsome situations, they ask the old dogs “to learn not to scream, in order not to behave badly in their family” (18,7% vs. 14%).

What could old dogs learn to do not to behave badly in their family?

	Cl. 1	Cl. 2	Cl. 3	Cl. 4	Cl. 5	Cl. 6	Cl. 7	Cl. 8	Cl. 9	Total
They could stop screaming	18,7%	6,5%	19,4%	12,1%	11,9%	13,4%	9,7%	16,0%	8,3%	14,0%
They could stay more time with their pups	40,7%	30,4%	25,8%	33,6%	49,5%	40,3%	47,2%	26,0%	54,2%	38,6%
They could not coming to blows	34,4%	54,3%	38,7%	49,1%	33,9%	44,3%	37,5%	49,0%	37,5%	41,5%
They could call for help a friend	6,2%	8,7%	16,1%	5,2%	4,6%	2,0%	5,6%	9,0%	0,0%	5,9%
Total	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

The tie with the parents is deep and persistent, if “a little” help is needed, he can certainly ask the mother (88,6% vs. 67,5%), and also the father (86,4% vs. 63,9%). Having no direct experience of brothers and sisters, they exclude calling them for help (85,3% vs. 63,9%).

The parents represent a fixed star in the child’s universe, and this partially explains his obstinate denial of the conflict between the parents. The child can call only the parents (indifferently) for help, not the teacher (94,5% vs. 88,6%), not the policeman (81,7% vs. 77,1%) and not even the pet (93%). The parents represent a real experience, and for many of them also sufficient.

In any case, in this “happy” group appears a niche of children who declare that “if a little one needs some help”, nobody can help him (2,9%). Almost 80% of the latter are the same ones that call on the parents for help, but that appear disillusioned. The presence of this niche reveals that some children live uneasiness situations behind an apparent calm and that forms of loneliness appear like a permanent noise that hides also in apparently serene families.

This is a cluster made of children pertaining to a medium-high age band and therefore also able to interpret correctly the meaning of the situations proposed by the questionnaire, consequently reducing the margin of error.

CLUSTER 2 The Experienced ones 9,5%

This is the cluster of children from Carrara, older than the others, with few brothers and sisters, and many grandparents/uncle and aunt.

The family composition

	Cl. 1	Cl. 2	Cl. 3	Cl. 4	Cl. 5	Cl. 6	Cl. 7	Cl. 8	Cl. 9	Total
Alone parent without grandparents	9,9%	6,5%	0,0%	14,7%	9,2%	8,1%	4,2%	9,0%	12,5%	9,0%
Traditional family without brothers/sisters without grandparents/uncle and aunt	22,7%	16,3%	22,6%	22,4%	18,3%	11,4%	18,1%	19,0%	16,7%	18,9%
Traditional family without brothers/sisters with grandparents/uncle and aunt	9,2%	12,0%	6,5%	2,6%	4,6%	2,0%	4,2%	4,0%	0,0%	5,8%
Traditional family with brothers/sisters without grandparents/uncle and aunt	39,2%	46,7%	38,7%	34,5%	48,6%	61,1%	52,8%	53,0%	45,8%	46,4%
Traditional family with brothers/sisters with grandparents/uncle and aunt	10,3%	8,7%	22,6%	18,1%	11,0%	8,7%	15,3%	7,0%	12,5%	11,4%
Alone parents with grandparents/uncle and aunt	4,4%	6,5%	6,5%	2,6%	2,8%	4,0%	1,4%	5,0%	8,3%	4,1%
New families	2,9%	2,2%	0,0%	0,9%	3,7%	2,7%	2,8%	2,0%	0,0%	2,4%
Without parents with grandparents/uncle and aunt	1,1%	1,1%	0,0%	1,7%	1,8%	2,0%	0,0%	0,0%	4,2%	1,2%
Granted in custody	0,4%	0,0%	3,2%	2,6%	0,0%	0,0%	1,4%	1,0%	0,0%	0,7%
Total	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

The children that belong to this cluster usually show positive experiences and a correct reading of the situations. They live in traditional families, in prevalence without brothers and sisters but with a bigger presence of grandfathers and grandmothers compared to the average of the sample.

From a structural point of view they would seem to represent the family of Carrara, also under the profile of the age. In fact, 40% of the total cluster is made of children from Carrara.

They show us the experience of a normal family, where “everyone gets along well”: the adults talk while the children play (23,9% vs. 18,3%) or, even more often, the parents play with the children (50% vs. 45,3%).

They describe two attitudes already above examined. In the first case there is a relationship based on respect for parental roles and the adult/child difference, but also on the closeness (in this case also physically expressed by “staying all together”); in the

second case there is a more unbalanced situation: towards a friendship form of relationship (with emotional and sentimental closeness), where the distinction of the parental role by the children is weakened.

Looking at the adequate distributions of frequency, it is clear that this is a recurring and widespread feature (above all among the Portuguese children).

The cluster describes the family where “everyone gets along well” as a family whose members are all happy (pup 98,9%, mother 98,9%, father 98,9%) and where pups really love playing (90,2% vs. 75,8%). When the family changes into a family where adults quarrel a lot, the conflicts have mostly a shape of quarrels and screams (30,4% vs. 28,8%).

It is the cluster of hopeful children, strongly attached to their parents and, as we will see later on, in possession of good defensive tools.

Although parents represent fixed stars in the child’s universe, the child of this cluster has good abilities to answer autonomously and would be able to call for help in difficult situations arising from family conflicts (the pups call another dog for help 25% vs. 9,5%) and to think of teachers as possible resources (17,4% vs. 11,4%).

The children of this cluster show a strong tendency to hide when family tensions are very high (what do the pups do when Dog Mum and Dog Dad quarrel so loud up to biting each other? They hide 29,3% vs. 22,9%), revealing, when faced with excesses, a human fear that pushes them towards the instinct of denial, confirmed by the tendency to go on playing (what do the pups like to do in this family? 37% vs. 28,7 playing).

The children of this cluster are able to interpret the events correctly and have good defensive tools, also thinking that there are ways of flight, always and for everyone, in case of difficult situations (in your opinion, if a little one need some help, whom can he ask it for: 99% of the children of this cluster did not choose the answer “nobody” and this is the minimum value of the whole sample).

Where do the little ones see old ones behaving badly?

	Cl. 1	Cl. 2	Cl. 3	Cl. 4	Cl. 5	Cl. 6	Cl. 7	Cl. 8	Cl. 9	Total
TV	30,4%	12,0%	19,4%	15,5%	20,2%	12,1%	15,3%	17,0%	29,2%	20,0%
Home	39,2%	30,4%	32,3%	55,2%	45,9%	49,0%	29,2%	36,0%	33,3%	41,1%
Stadium	11,0%	16,3%	29,0%	10,3%	12,8%	14,8%	16,7%	14,0%	12,5%	13,6%
Street	11,4%	30,4%	9,7%	12,9%	14,7%	18,1%	15,3%	16,0%	12,5%	15,5%
Gardens	5,1%	7,6%	3,2%	4,3%	4,6%	4,0%	15,3%	12,0%	8,3%	6,5%
School	2,9%	3,3%	6,5%	1,7%	1,8%	2,0%	8,3%	5,0%	4,2%	3,3%
Total	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

These pups know how to answer, but are prepared to cope with a world on their scale; whether placed before the excess of their parents, they are overcome by fear (57,6% vs. 36,5%) and their defensive abilities are reduced, while flight (and denial) strategies emerge as a form of adequate and prevailing defence. In any case, in these children’s opinion, the pet does not represent an adequate refuge.

CLUSTER 3 Rabbit-like fear

3,2%

This cluster consists mostly of little girls (58,1%), the younger ones, in prevalence residents in Mola di Bari (48,4%). One of the structural features of the cluster is the

presence of grandfathers and grandmothers who seem to play a meaningful role as elements of protection. Moreover, these children have a pet (a rabbit 25,8%) in their house, while they do not have brothers and sisters¹⁸.

This cluster represents a niche of children with a peculiar profile. The peculiarity is represented by a bewilderment condition, that seems a permanent substratum of fear, also in the situations of "normality" referred to the description of the "family where all the dogs get along well". It is important to underline that the children of this cluster are frightened also in this case.

In the experience of children, the members of this family incline to go out and do something all together (38,7%) showing again the common element of a parental situation based on a closeness that tends to cancel the generational differences inside a "whole familiar block".

I live with...

	Cl. 1	Cl. 2	Cl. 3	Cl. 4	Cl. 5	Cl. 6	Cl. 7	Cl. 8	Cl. 9	Total
Mum	97,1%	96,7%	96,8%	93,1%	95,4%	95,3%	98,6%	97,0%	95,8%	96,2%
Dad	82,8%	85,9%	90,3%	80,2%	85,3%	85,9%	90,3%	85,0%	75,0%	84,4%
Brother/Sister	57,5%	65,2%	61,3%	60,3%	68,8%	80,5%	72,2%	69,0%	75,0%	66,3%
Grandfather	12,1%	15,2%	22,6%	14,7%	11,0%	11,4%	12,5%	8,0%	4,2%	12,2%
Grandmother	15,0%	17,4%	29,0%	12,1%	10,1%	8,1%	12,5%	15,0%	12,5%	13,5%
Uncle/ Aunt	11,4%	14,1%	6,5%	7,8%	7,3%	9,4%	11,1%	2,0%	16,7%	9,4%
Other	8,8%	6,5%	9,7%	6,0%	7,3%	5,4%	6,9%	3,0%	0,0%	6,6%

However, even if the suggested images evoke a condition of relative serenity, in this case the father shows a constant attitude of anger (19,4%) accompanied by an unmotivated astonishment (9,7%) that, in this situation, seems to characterize more the child's bewilderment rather than describing a specific feature of the father. As above stated, these are little girls who belong to the lower age band of the survey. In this case it is important to recall elements of partial incomprehension of the described situations; in particular the adjective "astonished/stunned", used just to intercept answers of bewilderment, was not always known by the children. However, the picture of this cluster describes a coherent situation, characterized by a substratum of anger of the father, but also by a feeling of (permanent) fear of the child. In fact, the value (6,5%) is almost triple compared to the total average (2,6%) and also to the average of the Mola di Bari group (2,3%)¹⁹.

In this context the child-pup does not feel at his ease and shows an obvious propensity to hide (12,9% vs. 4,2%).

A situation where anger belongs only to the father, while the mother seems to suffer it and the son (daughter) tries to avoid it.

The behaviour is better characterized when analyzing the description of the second family proposed.

The violence level of the parents appears to be very high (29% vs. 17,4%) even if compared with the data of Mola di Bari (18,1%), in confirmation of the fact that it is not a local matter, a custom, but a specific niche of population exposed to a real risk.

¹⁸ It is important to remember that also in this case a relative propensity is described and not absolute data, in fact the answer to the question "Do you live with brothers and sisters" is "No, I don't" in 38,7% vs. 33,6% of cases.

¹⁹ This latter aspect cancels the "incomprehension" effect referred to the age; indeed, it confirms the hypothesis of an exact perception of a system, disturbed just under the profile of aggressiveness, evidencing a coherent system of answers on the basis of a beginning condition of anger expressed by the father.

The parents show a high propensity to quarrel and than make peace (51,6% vs. 48,1%), approaching a more typical behaviour of Mola di Bari (53,7% maximum value among the cities).

In this situation, both parents show strong levels of anger (even if the paternal one is meaningfully higher: father 90,3% - mother 80,6%) and exceed the levels expressed by the sample (father 69,2%, mother 60%), but also the levels expressed by Mola di Bari (father 63,8%, mother 51,1%).

The reaction of the pups shows an increasing feeling of anger (9,7%) previously absent and not very frequent as an answer in the whole sample population, also in the quarrelsome family (3,7%). Obviously, the anger of adults seems to be contagious.

Up to now, literature found the trend of sons who reiterate the violent behavioural models frequently observed in their families; but in this case, there is an immediate transmission from the parent to the son, that is probably transferred also outside of the family, for example in the relationship with friends, into forms of aggressive behaviour.

However, while this trend links the father to the son, in the relationship with the mother, the feeling of sadness of the mother is connected to a condition of anger of the male son. Apart from these links, in this cluster the levels of anger of little girls appear meaningfully higher.

While a characteristic feature of this group is the tendency to anger reactions, males also develop a feeling of sadness joined, in this case, to fear and to the propensity to hide (are sad 54,8% vs. 41,5%).

In any case, this is a cluster that also shows a strong inclination to exit from the circuit asking outside for help (call some other dog for help 35,5% vs. 9,5%). In this way they express the maximum ability found in the whole sample, revealing a reactivity oriented also towards useful behaviour, and not only interiorization of emotions and feelings of aggressiveness.

What do the pups do when Dog Mum and Dog Dad quarrel so loud up to biting each other?

	<i>Cl. 1</i>	<i>Cl. 2</i>	<i>Cl. 3</i>	<i>Cl. 4</i>	<i>Cl. 5</i>	<i>Cl. 6</i>	<i>Cl. 7</i>	<i>Cl. 8</i>	<i>Cl. 9</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>The pups look at it</i>	16,5%	4,3%	0,0%	6,9%	11,9%	6,0%	13,9%	14,0%	20,8%	11,2%
<i>The pups try to reconcile their parents</i>	60,1%	35,9%	38,7%	42,2%	47,7%	62,4%	54,2%	47,0%	41,7%	51,7%
<i>The pups hide</i>	18,3%	29,3%	25,8%	28,4%	32,1%	19,5%	15,3%	23,0%	20,8%	22,9%
<i>The pups do not realize/notice it</i>	2,9%	5,4%	0,0%	5,2%	3,7%	6,0%	8,3%	6,0%	8,3%	4,8%
<i>The pups call for help another dog</i>	2,2%	25,0%	35,5%	17,2%	4,6%	6,0%	8,3%	10,0%	8,3%	9,5%
<i>Total</i>	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

In this context, the home has an ambivalent meaning, on one hand, the child would like to go out, leaving the "place of violence" (25,8% vs. 22,2%); on the other, he would like to seek refuge in the home itself, hiding to the outside what happens in it (12,9% to you vs. 9,4%); a kind of answer related to the feeling of anger.

The children perceive themselves not in a position to offer help, and would expect instead that the adults stopped screaming (19,4% vs. 14%) and learned calling for help, even a friend (16,1% vs. 5,9%), in order to improve themselves.

The familiar dimension described shows a father always angry and threatening; therefore he is someone whom nobody would call for help (41,9% the minimal value vs. 63,9%).

If a little one need help whom can he ask for it?

	Cl. 1	Cl. 2	Cl. 3	Cl. 4	Cl. 5	Cl. 6	Cl. 7	Cl. 8	Cl. 9	Total
Mum	88,6%	97,8%	87,1%	6,0%	17,4%	98,7%	95,8%	47,0%	16,7%	67,5%
Dad	86,4%	95,7%	41,9%	1,7%	9,2%	97,3%	97,2%	45,0%	33,3%	63,9%
Brother/Sister	14,7%	0,0%	0,0%	35,3%	56,9%	100,0%	45,8%	20,0%	16,7%	36,1%
Grandfathers/Uncles	24,5%	20,7%	45,2%	62,9%	22,9%	3,4%	12,5%	29,0%	20,8%	25,5%
Friend	37,7%	14,1%	12,9%	58,6%	77,1%	1,3%	11,1%	34,0%	62,5%	34,3%
Animal	7,0%	5,4%	0,0%	9,5%	33,9%	0,7%	1,4%	8,0%	25,0%	9,1%
Teacher	5,5%	17,4%	45,2%	21,6%	7,3%	0,0%	6,9%	25,0%	8,3%	11,4%
Policeman	18,3%	25,0%	25,8%	38,8%	33,9%	2,7%	15,3%	30,0%	54,2%	22,9%
Nobody	2,9%	1,1%	0,0%	3,4%	4,6%	0,7%	0,0%	3,0%	8,3%	2,5%

The mother represents a certain point of reference; but also the grandparents can help the children of this cluster. In fact, as above stated, the grandparents often live together with these children and represent a positive point of reference that is estimated more effective than the father, who seems to represent a threat himself, rather than a protection (grandfather 45,2% vs. 25,5%).

As above stated, the families of this cluster are mostly with an only child and this reduces the help that can come from brothers and sisters (nobody 100%). But this is also a sign of a deep isolation where these children live, above all thinking about their peer group: friends do not represent an opportunity of help (87,1% vs. 34,2%), and also the rabbit that they keep in their house does not represent an opportunity.

Clearly the children of this cluster appear oriented to privilege trusting relationships with "good" adults that orbit in a sphere close to them; teachers are included (45,2% vs. 11,4%) among these good adults.

In any case, even if they are very exposed to violent behaviour, they appear to be trusting and think that someone can help them (100% - 97,5%).

Regarding the weak ability of these children to establish trusting relationships with friends, it is a shame not to be able to establish whether this weakness is an effect of the exposure to experiences of domestic violence.

CLUSTER 4 The house of fear 12%

This is a rather large Cluster, in prevalence consisting of little girls of a quite high age band of the sample (11-12 years: 38,8%).

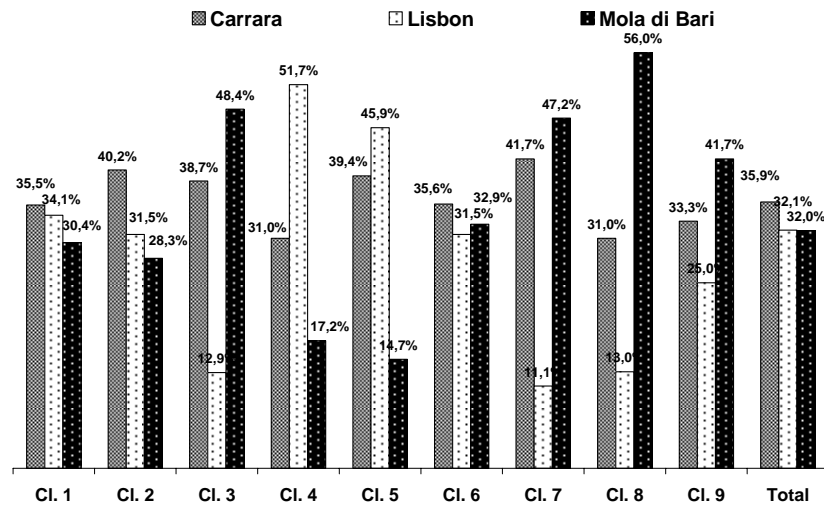
These children are in prevalence Portuguese, they belong to structurally different families; among these, the prevailing kind of families are those with a single parent (14,7% vs. 9,0%) and those with children granted in custody (2,6%)²⁰.

In the family where all the dogs get along well, the tendency is to go out and do something all together (35,3% vs. 30,3%). Although the picture of a serene family, in this cluster it appears that the children can be sad (2,6% vs. 1,8%), and a widespread feeling of fear is attributed to the fathers (3,4% vs. 2,6%).

These pups do not like staying home, they prefer to go out (21,6% vs. 11%), anticipating, in this way, the feature of searching for positive points of reference outside the family, that will be described ahead. This feature, not necessarily accompanied by a negative connotation, appears from the distribution of frequency, typically Portuguese.

²⁰ The absolute percentage quota (2,6%) must not deceive the reader; in fact it corresponds to the percentage of 0,7% calculated on the total of the families with children granted in custody to other people not belonging to the familiar nucleus of origin; therefore, it is on this high propensity that is based the comment on this particular aspect.

Sample distribution per partner and cluster



In this family described by the children, when the parents quarrel a lot, usually it is the father who assaults the mother (7,8% vs. 3,8%) while the pups, on one hand, inclined to hide in order not to see the intolerable show (“What do you think pups do when Dog Mum and Dog Dad quarrel so loud up to biting each other?” it is up to 28,4% vs. 22,9%); on the other, they reveal a strong reaction ability to call another dog for help (17,2% vs. 9,5% of the total average, and 12,6% of Lisbon).

A feeling of sadness links all the protagonists of these vicissitudes (pup 60,3% vs. 41,5%, mother 45,7% vs. 18,7%, father 37,1% vs. 29,6%). The pup is the subject who suffers most, he would like to leave the house (33,6 vs. 22,2%) or to hide (37,1% vs. 29,6%).

How does the dog mum feel? - How does the dog dad feel?

Mum	Cl. 1	Cl. 2	Cl. 3	Cl. 4	Cl. 5	Cl. 6	Cl. 7	Cl. 8	Cl. 9	Total
Happy	31,9%	1,1%	0,0%	2,6%	0,9%	0,0%	11,1%	6,0%	4,2%	11,1%
Scared	6,6%	6,5%	3,2%	3,4%	5,5%	4,0%	9,7%	22,0%	29,2%	8,0%
Angry	44,0%	82,6%	80,6%	45,7%	81,7%	70,5%	59,7%	54,0%	62,5%	60,0%
Stunned	1,1%	1,1%	3,2%	2,6%	2,8%	0,0%	4,2%	7,0%	4,2%	2,3%
Sad	16,5%	8,7%	12,9%	45,7%	9,2%	25,5%	15,3%	11,0%	0,0%	18,6%
Total	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Dad	Cl. 1	Cl. 2	Cl. 3	Cl. 4	Cl. 5	Cl. 6	Cl. 7	Cl. 8	Cl. 9	Total
Happy	30,8%	0,0%	0,0%	0,9%	0,9%	0,7%	6,9%	8,0%	8,3%	10,6%
Scared	3,7%	1,1%	0,0%	0,9%	2,8%	1,3%	6,9%	6,0%	4,2%	3,0%
Angry	49,1%	90,2%	90,3%	60,3%	91,7%	75,2%	70,8%	70,0%	87,5%	69,3%
Stunned	2,2%	1,1%	0,0%	2,6%	0,9%	0,7%	8,3%	6,0%	0,0%	2,5%
Sad	14,3%	7,6%	9,7%	35,3%	3,7%	22,1%	6,9%	10,0%	0,0%	14,7%
Total	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

The outside assumes here a completely positive value; it is a place where involvement in aggressive domestic quarrels can be avoided, but also the “place” where different forms of help can be found. The help that comes neither from the father (6,0% vs. 67,5%), nor from the mother (1,7% vs. 63,9%), but rather from other familiar roles (grandparents/uncle and aunt 62,9% vs. 25,5%) and from the friends who represent a primary reference for the Portuguese children.

It is a condition where uneasiness seems to come mainly just from the family of origin (“In your opinion, where do the little ones see old ones behaving badly?” At home: 55,2% vs. 41%). In fact, the family appears to be completely inadequate to offer any kind of protection and help, that is found instead in teachers and the police (almost double compared to the rest of the sample).

The children would expect that the “adults learned not to coming to blows in order not to behave badly”(49,1% vs. 41,6%).

After all, this cluster shows the suffering of a certain number of children that thinks that if a pup needs some help, he can expect nobody to help him (3,4% vs. 2,5%). The children of this cluster live in a traditional family, with brothers, sisters, grandparents, uncle and auntie, but live also in a condition of deep loneliness.

CLUSTER 5 The mistrustful ones 11,3%

The children of this cluster belong to a rather high age band, and are in prevalence female (56%) and Portuguese (46%). The distribution per familiar structure is similar to that one of the whole sample, apart from the high presence (beyond +50%) of New Families, those recomposed after a separation (3,7% vs. 2,4%).

These are children able to distinguish a serenity situation from those of conflict. Perhaps they had experience of the first one and now they search for it, but more probably it is simply the expression of a desire. There are some reasons (that will be analyzed ahead) to suppose that, at the moment, they are not living these serene situations.

In “the family where all the dogs get along well”, all the members are happy (children, mother and father, show the maximum values with cluster 6) and “play all together” (89% vs. 75,8%).

When “the old dogs quarrel a lot” it happens that “Dog Mum and Dog Dad quarrel and bark loud” (38,5% vs. 28,8%) but there are no elements of acted violence.

What can happen in a family where old dogs quarrel a lot?

	Cl. 1	Cl. 2	Cl. 3	Cl. 4	Cl. 5	Cl. 6	Cl. 7	Cl. 8	Cl. 9	Total
<i>Dog Mum and Dog Dad quarrel and bark loud</i>	28,6%	30,4%	16,1%	28,4%	38,5%	33,6%	26,4%	17,0%	25,0%	28,8%
<i>Dog Mum and Dog Dad quarrel and make peace</i>	56,4%	43,5%	51,6%	38,8%	42,2%	48,3%	55,6%	43,0%	37,5%	48,1%
<i>Dog Mum and Dog Dad quarrel and, they bit and scratch</i>	9,2%	19,6%	29,0%	23,3%	16,5%	15,4%	15,3%	30,0%	29,2%	17,4%
<i>Dog Dad bit and scratch Dog Mum</i>	3,7%	4,3%	0,0%	7,8%	2,8%	2,0%	0,0%	7,0%	4,2%	3,8%
<i>Dog Mum bit and scratch Dog Dad</i>	2,2%	2,2%	3,2%	1,7%	0,0%	0,7%	2,8%	3,0%	4,2%	1,9%
<i>Total</i>	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

However, when the parents “quarrel so loud up to biting each other”, the children incline to hide (32,1% vs. 22,9%) hit from a sense of bewilderment and “astonishment” (10,1% vs. 6,4%). The children appear confused, while the mother and the father are angry (81,7% vs. 60% for the mother and 91,7% vs. 69,3% for the father) and the pups would like to go out (26,6% vs. 22,2%) or to hide (38,5% vs. 29,6%).

What does the youngest pup like to do in the “violent” families

	<i>Cl. 1</i>	<i>Cl. 2</i>	<i>Cl. 3</i>	<i>Cl. 4</i>	<i>Cl. 5</i>	<i>Cl. 6</i>	<i>Cl. 7</i>	<i>Cl. 8</i>	<i>Cl. 9</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>to play</i>	38,5%	37,0%	16,1%	12,9%	14,7%	20,8%	38,9%	33,0%	41,7%	28,7%
<i>to sleep</i>	4,8%	14,1%	12,9%	6,9%	11,9%	7,4%	16,7%	19,0%	16,7%	10,0%
<i>to hide himself</i>	23,1%	26,1%	32,3%	37,1%	38,5%	36,2%	27,8%	23,0%	29,2%	29,6%
<i>to go out</i>	20,9%	16,3%	25,8%	33,6%	26,6%	24,8%	8,3%	21,0%	8,3%	22,2%
<i>to stay home</i>	12,8%	6,5%	12,9%	9,5%	8,3%	10,7%	8,3%	4,0%	4,2%	9,5%
<i>Total</i>	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

The idea that the pups knew a happy season, but lost at the moment, at least partially, comes from the fact that they expect the “old dogs, in order not to behave badly in their family, learned” “to stay more time with their pups” (49,5% vs. 38,5%). After all, they ask “only” the reconstruction of a serene affective atmosphere. “The old dogs who behave badly” are generally seen “at home” (45,9% vs. 41%) but there are not conditions of fear towards the father and the mother, whereas these conditions have been previously found in other clusters. On the contrary, towards the parents, the children think positive, even if the trust relationship appears definitively broken. In fact, the children think that “if a little one need some help” he cannot ask it neither the father (9,2% vs. 63,9%) nor the mother (17,4% vs. 67,5%).

Their system of reference is outside of the family (friends 77,1% vs. 34,2%) or entrusted to not parental roles of the family (brothers/sisters 56,9% vs. 36,1%). They do not even rely on the teacher (7,3% vs. 11,4%), rather on the policeman (33,9% vs. 22,9%), while a large niche (4,6% vs. 2,5%) thinks that in case of need nobody can help.

This cluster shows an apparent serenity, with obvious traces of wounds, even if hidden under a good ability to find its way thorough. It is a wary cluster, that stays on the threshold without lowering the guard, always ready to seek refuge in the imaginary flight, even asking the pet for help (33,9% vs. 9,1%).

CLUSTER 6 The little protected ones

15,4%

This is a cross-sectional cluster for the different countries, of a medium age (10 years 36,2%), consisting in prevalence of females, attending the fifth class. The most meaningful characteristic regards the familiar composition which is centralized on a traditional family (father, mother, son/daughter with brothers and sisters, but without grandparents/uncle and auntie 61,1%).

In the pups’ opinion of this “family”, all the members of the family live in a serene way the situation where “all the dogs get along well” (happy: pup 100% vs. 92,2%; mother 99,3% vs. 85,3; father 100% vs. 82,6%). These are the maximum values among the 9 cluster investigated. The dogs of this family love to go out and doing something all together (34,2%). The pups living in this family love playing very much (83,9% vs. 75,8%).

In the family where “old dogs quarrel a lot“, there is a certain propensity for quarrels accompanied by loud screams (33,6% vs. 28,8%). The aggressive reactions are contained.

In this context, where the role adult/children is softened, it is understandable that the answer of the pups is oriented to intervene, trying to reconcile the parents (62,4% vs. 51,6%); the situation is favoured also by the little aggressiveness acted.

In this case, happiness changes into sadness, for all the members of the family, but above all for “pups” (55,7% vs. 41,5%) that tend to react with a depressive answer, that colours also the whole domestic universe (father 22,1% vs. 14,7%; mother 25,5% vs. 18,7%). However, in this case children attribute to the Dog Mum a big anger (70,5%) that is much higher if compared to the average of the sample (60%). This anger underlines a tendency to externalize and a certain reactivity. This feature attenuates in the “Dog Dad”, to whom are attributed characteristics of compliance and a smaller tendency to strong aggressive answers. In this case the depressive answers prevail.

The pups coping with the evoked situation, tend to react in the most common way, imagining themselves staying home (10,7% vs. 9,4%) and denying themselves to the events, hiding (36,2% vs. 29,6%).

Their own house, in this case, appears to be like a protective refuge, even when the facts from which the pup would like to leave, happen inside it.

Under the profile of the quality of relationships, the children of this cluster trust their own parents a lot, and think that when the pups need some help they can call both the mother (98,7% vs. 67,5%) and the father (97,3% vs. 63,9%). Another strengthening of familiar relationships comes from trust in their brothers and sisters. On this aspect, they do not show any uncertainty; all the children of this cluster answer that “if the pup need some help” he can call them (100% vs. 36,1%).

Their universe is centred on the familiar relationships; outside there are no points of reference in case of need of help. They do not trust teachers (100% vs. 88,6%), nor the policeman (2,7% vs. 22,9%), but they do not even trust their grandparents, uncle and auntie (3,4% vs. 25,5%) who do not live with them and therefore are perceived as little known and far references.

In this picture pets are not “helpful”, either; in fact, these children believe pets cannot help them (0,7% vs. 9,1%), even if this cluster shows the maximum propensity to living with pets.

I live with pets ..

	<i>Cl. 1</i>	<i>Cl. 2</i>	<i>Cl. 3</i>	<i>Cl. 4</i>	<i>Cl. 5</i>	<i>Cl. 6</i>	<i>Cl. 7</i>	<i>Cl. 8</i>	<i>Cl. 9</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Dog</i>	35,9%	27,2%	22,6%	31,0%	31,2%	30,2%	38,9%	26,0%	50,0%	32,2%
<i>Cat</i>	23,4%	19,6%	16,1%	14,7%	22,0%	21,5%	26,4%	16,0%	16,7%	20,6%
<i>Rabbit</i>	9,9%	5,4%	25,8%	7,8%	9,2%	12,8%	16,7%	12,0%	12,5%	10,9%
<i>Fish</i>	26,4%	20,7%	35,5%	29,3%	24,8%	28,9%	26,4%	34,0%	33,3%	27,6%
<i>Parrot</i>	17,6%	18,5%	19,4%	12,9%	11,9%	12,8%	13,9%	10,0%	12,5%	14,6%
<i>ALL</i>	68,9%	59,8%	64,5%	62,1%	66,1%	70,5%	68,1%	66,0%	66,7%	66,6%

The children of this cluster always succeed in finding points of reference to receive some help, in case they need it. They appear to be trusting and they do not feel alone, even if they perceive themselves as unprepared to cope with the aggressive situations proposed. This statement, of not being prepared, is not a criticism of them, but aims to underline a common inadequacy of all children to cope with violence. In fact, the problem is first of all to avoid that children are exposed to any form of violence, before

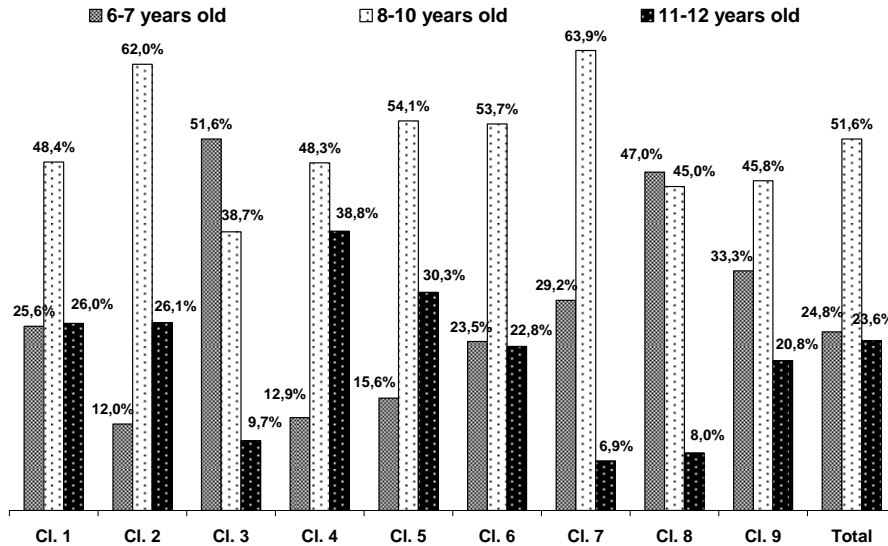
trying to enforce their self-protection skills. In any case this cluster shows an obvious element of weakness in the gap between the inside (the family) and the outside (the external references). Such an exclusive relationship could represent an obstacle to communicating towards the outside, also in order to call for help.

CLUSTER 7 Darkness

7,5%

This cluster consists mostly of males (59,7%) belonging to the intermediate age band (8-10 years 63,9%) with a double quota of 6 years children compared to the sample, mostly resident in Mola di Bari (47,2%) and Carrara (41,7%).

Sample distribution per cluster and ages



They live in traditional families with brothers and sisters, and a meaningful quota of these children possesses (living in house with them) a dog (38,9%), a cat (26,4%) and a rabbit (16,7%).

These children seem hardly able to imagine the situation of a quiet family life, because in this case, as in others, obvious elements of trouble appear. In fact, in the situation where all dogs get along well, there are many conflicting elements. First of all, a condition of fear, shared with all the members of the family, troubles the parents more than the pup; in the second place an anger substratum attributed mostly to the father, who is also thought of as sad, while the pup and the mother appear to be astonished and bewildered. Even if the questionnaire describes a harmonious familiar situation, the child is troubled by a vague feeling of sadness.

The domestic situation that the children describe is when “they are at home but everyone does something on his own” (13,9% vs. 4%), or when “they go out and everyone does something on his own” (5,6% vs. 2,1%).

In general, familiar situations that mark role and generational differences are considered basically adequate. However, in this case (therefore in other cases ahead) the situation describes also elements of loneliness, or even of isolation.

What do the dogs do when everyone gets along well in the family?

	Cl. 1	Cl. 2	Cl. 3	Cl. 4	Cl. 5	Cl. 6	Cl. 7	Cl. 8	Cl. 9	Total
<i>They stay home, but everyone does something his own</i>	3,3%	3,3%	0,0%	2,6%	1,8%	2,0%	13,9%	9,0%	0,0%	4,0%
<i>They play all together</i>	45,8%	50,0%	45,2%	38,8%	56,0%	40,9%	43,1%	41,0%	58,3%	45,3%
<i>Dog Mum and Dog Dad talk and pups play</i>	14,3%	23,9%	16,1%	19,8%	14,7%	21,5%	19,4%	22,0%	16,7%	18,3%
<i>They go out and everyone does something his own</i>	0,7%	3,3%	0,0%	3,4%	1,8%	1,3%	5,6%	3,0%	0,0%	2,1%
<i>They go out and do something all together</i>	35,9%	19,6%	38,7%	35,3%	25,7%	34,2%	18,1%	25,0%	25,0%	30,2%
<i>Total</i>	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

To support this hypothesis there are the answers supplied to the question “what could old dogs learn to do not to behave badly in their family”: “they could stay more time with their pups” (47,2% vs. 38,5%).

The pups living in this family love sleeping (12,5% vs. 5,7%) and hiding (8,3% vs. 4,2%): two obvious signs of flight and avoidance behaviour in negative emotional situations.

The family where “old dogs quarrel a lot” sees the parents quarrel and then reconcile (55,6% vs. 48,1%) and when “they quarrel so loud up to biting each other?” the pups intervene trying to reconcile the parents (54,2% vs. 51,6%) but a meaningful part of the children declares that “they do not realize/notice it” (8% vs. 4,8%).

This feature of denial in the pups, joined to the feeling of astonishment previously found, assumes a recurrent character of stability and is found again when the questionnaire asks “what does the pups like to do in this family”. The answers show again the topic of avoiding and denial (to play 38,9% vs. 28,7%; to sleep 16,7% vs. 10,1%). However the pup is also angry (11,2% vs. 3,7%), while he attributes to the father a feeling of fear (6,9% vs. 3%) and astonishment (8,3% vs. 2,5%), almost as if he wanted to give him a justification for his aggressive behaviour.

In children’s perception, the little ones see the old ones behaving badly not at home, but rather at the garden (15,3% vs. 6,5%), or also at school (8,3% vs. 3,3). Garden and school refer to two situations where the form of violence cannot be related to the adults but rather “to the old ones”, as the question asked. This makes us suppose that they refer more to bully episodes and situations acted by dogs older than them, rather than by adult dogs.

In any case it is obvious that mum and dad’s bad behaviours provoke in the children serious repercussions (still partially emerged and however not structured) because their universe orbits exclusively around the parents. In fact, the parents are the only ones the pups can call for help in case of need (mother 95,8% vs. 67,5%; father 97,2% vs. 63,9%). Any other figure is not held in high esteem, apart from their brother or sister (45,8% vs. 36,1%).

It is obvious that there is a strong sense of identification and sharing of behaviour, that is what paralyzes when coping with something we are not still prepared to understand.

CLUSTER 8 The Targets**10,4%**

The children of this cluster live mostly in Mola di Bari (56% vs. 32%) attend the first elementary class, and live with brothers and sisters but without grandparents, uncle and auntie.

The dogs of the first family (the “normal” one) tend to “stay home but everyone does something on his own” (9% vs. 4%), at home “Dog Dad and Dog Mum talk and the pups play” (22% vs. 18,3).

Up to now this picture has been described as a positive situation, because it is a context of closeness, where all the members are in the same environment (the common house) with everyone involved in activities that allow to distinguish adult and child roles. Beyond this, the “dialogue” between the parents makes one think that they live a serene situation. However, if such a situation would describe a context where the parents, even if present, simply take no interest in the children, this would represent an unfavourable condition, at least from their point of view.

In this case, however, the favourable situations are accompanied by a substratum of uneasiness that appears clearly from the high levels of fear, astonishment and sadness that join all the family members together.

How does the pup living in a “normal” family feel? - How does the dog mum feel? - How does the dog dad feel?

Pup	<i>Cl. 1</i>	<i>Cl. 2</i>	<i>Cl. 3</i>	<i>Cl. 4</i>	<i>Cl. 5</i>	<i>Cl. 6</i>	<i>Cl. 7</i>	<i>Cl. 8</i>	<i>Cl. 9</i>	Total
<i>Happy</i>	99,3%	98,9%	93,5%	95,7%	99,1%	100,0%	56,9%	71,0%	83,3%	92,2%
<i>Scared</i>	0,4%	0,0%	6,5%	0,9%	0,9%	0,0%	6,9%	9,0%	4,2%	2,1%
<i>Angry</i>	0,4%	1,1%	0,0%	0,9%	0,0%	0,0%	12,5%	0,0%	4,2%	1,3%
<i>Stunned</i>	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	19,4%	9,0%	8,3%	2,6%
<i>Sad</i>	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	2,6%	0,0%	0,0%	4,2%	11,0%	0,0%	1,8%
Total	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Mum	<i>Cl. 1</i>	<i>Cl. 2</i>	<i>Cl. 3</i>	<i>Cl. 4</i>	<i>Cl. 5</i>	<i>Cl. 6</i>	<i>Cl. 7</i>	<i>Cl. 8</i>	<i>Cl. 9</i>	Total
<i>Happy</i>	98,2%	98,9%	87,1%	92,2%	99,1%	99,3%	54,2%	20,0%	66,7%	85,3%
<i>Scared</i>	0,4%	1,1%	3,2%	3,4%	0,9%	0,7%	11,1%	6,0%	16,7%	2,8%
<i>Angry</i>	1,5%	0,0%	3,2%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	13,9%	12,0%	4,2%	2,9%
<i>Stunned</i>	0,0%	0,0%	6,5%	3,4%	0,0%	0,0%	20,8%	46,0%	12,5%	7,2%
<i>Sad</i>	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,9%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	16,0%	0,0%	1,8%
Total	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Dad	<i>Cl. 1</i>	<i>Cl. 2</i>	<i>Cl. 3</i>	<i>Cl. 4</i>	<i>Cl. 5</i>	<i>Cl. 6</i>	<i>Cl. 7</i>	<i>Cl. 8</i>	<i>Cl. 9</i>	Total
<i>Happy</i>	97,4%	98,9%	71,0%	94,8%	100,0%	100,0%	36,1%	11,0%	58,3%	82,6%
<i>Scared</i>	1,5%	1,1%	0,0%	3,4%	0,0%	0,0%	11,1%	6,0%	8,3%	2,6%
<i>Angry</i>	0,7%	0,0%	19,4%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	25,0%	30,0%	12,5%	6,1%
<i>Stunned</i>	0,0%	0,0%	9,7%	1,7%	0,0%	0,0%	20,8%	35,0%	20,8%	6,2%
<i>Sad</i>	0,4%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	6,9%	18,0%	0,0%	2,5%
Total	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

The family appears affected by a high and widespread level of fear, that hits in particular the child. Mum and dad also look very astonished; a sign of uncertainty and bewilderment that joins them. The pup does not know any anger feelings, that is strong instead in the father, but shared, even if in smaller measure, with the mother. The father’s anger is linked to sadness, and also the latter is shared both with the mother and the pup.

Therefore, while adults have feelings referred to depression but also feeling of an opposite sign (such as reactive abilities), the child has only feelings of the same sign: of retreat into himself and basically depressive.

The situation of serenity and dialogue between the parents, while the children play, obviously does not correspond to the experience above described. It states the problem of keeping in mind that this cluster shows also very different situations, for some aspects.

The children feeling bewilderment and fear, even in the family where all the dogs get along well, tend to hide (14% vs. 4,2%), to sleep (10% vs. 5,7%) and to stay home (8% vs. 3,3%), revealing an uneasiness, which is an obvious expression of permanent familiar disharmony.

These children's behaviour represents the transposition of depressive feelings, previously stated.

In the second family, where "the old dogs quarrel a lot", the forms of these quarrels goes in the direction of aggressive behaviour ("Dog Mum and Dog Dad quarrel and bit and scratch" 30% vs. 17,4%), with a prevalence of aggression acted by the father (Dog Dad bit and scratch Dog Mum, 7% vs. 3,8%) but with a high propensity also by the mother (Dog Mum bit and scratch Dog Dad, 3% vs. 1,9%). When compared with the average of the sample, these two answers underline a double propensity for aggressive behaviour acted both by the fathers and the mothers.

Coping with this situation, the pup feels astonished (17% vs. 6,4%) and for the first time a feeling of anger appears (7% vs. 3,7%), moreover it is not very frequent in the children involved in these adults dynamics.

As usual, astonishment describes a common feeling, whereas fear characterizes the answer of the mother (22% vs. 8%); the latter is a value that is triple the average one of the sample, giving also an indirect measure of the intensity that in this case it reaches. However the child tends to project the fear also on the father (6% vs. 3%), the only case found with this frequency.

In this situation the pups would like above all to sleep (19% vs. 10%), that is to be exempted from witnessing the scenes evoked.

"The old dogs, in order not to behave badly in their family" should just "learn not to coming to blows" (49% vs. 41,6%), "stop screaming" (16% vs. 14%), and finally "to call a friend for help" (9% vs. 5,9%).

The quota of how many imagine that if a pup needs some help, he cannot ask anybody exceeds the average of the samples (3% vs. 2,5%); for all the others the system of reference is mostly extra-familiar.

The teacher is perceived as a resource and a person from whom help can be asked (25% vs. 11,4%), also the policeman (30% vs. 22,9%), while the answers addressed to the mother (47% vs. 67,5%), to the father (45% vs. 63,9%), to brother/sister (20% vs. 36,1%) are definitely low (in a relative sense).

This direction seems to underline the weakness of the familiar relationship and the distrust is probably related to that feeling of fear that changes into anger, in front of the evocation of the traumatic situation.

CLUSTER 9 The victims 2,5%

In order to make the acquaintance of this cluster, it is better to begin the reading from some paradigmatic features that will make the understanding of other ambiguous aspects easier. The first element to be considered regards the fact that 8% of its

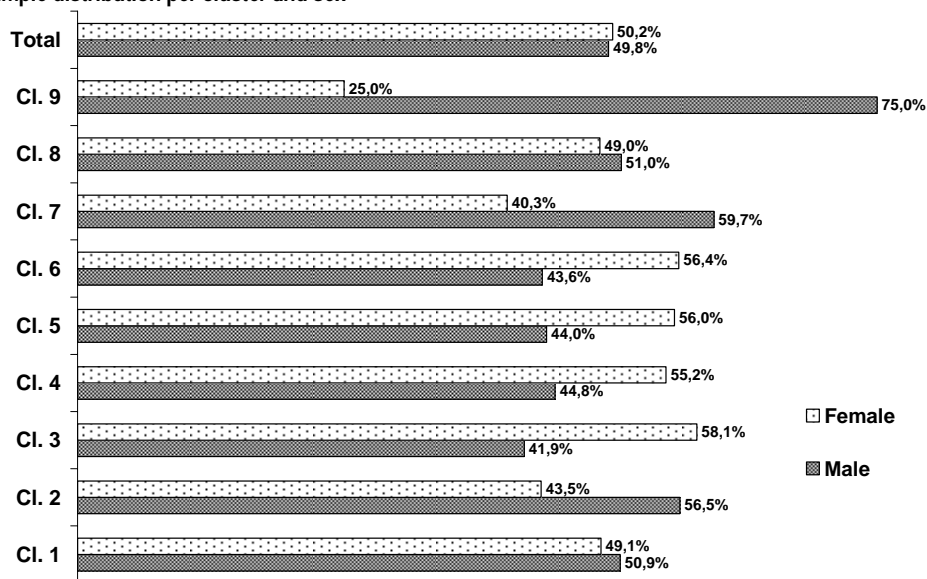
members think that if a little one needs some help, he cannot call anybody for it. It is the highest percentage, and only apparently a simple indicator. In fact, it could hide very different aspects. In any case there are no doubts about the fact that these children lack in points of reference. In fact, always referring to the same item ("If a little one need some help, whom can he ask it for...") these children express a low propensity to call the mother (16,7% vs. 67,5%) the father (33,3% vs. 63,9%) or the brothers/sisters (16,7% vs. 36,1%).

Their prevailing points of reference seem to be friends (62,5% vs. 34,3%), which obviously are not enough. The gap is filled by the policemen (54,2% vs. 22,9%), certainly weak elements and complete strangers to the familiar nucleus. Their condition of bewilderment appears completely obvious also in front of the fact that they consider the pet as another point of reference for calling for help (25% vs. 9,1%)²¹.

A meaningful part of this cluster lives with a single parent (20,8%), in some cases without other relatives (12,5%), in other cases with grandparents/uncle and auntie (8,3%)²². These values are the maximums among the investigated cluster.

This cluster consists in prevalence of males (75%), mostly living in Mola di Bari, and of a quite young ageband (7/8 years old 37,5%).

Sample distribution per cluster and sex



From the dimensions of the cluster it is obvious that these children, even if representing a population of niche, show strong specificities.

They show, with a certain frequency, incongruous answers to the situations proposed; in this way it is possible to suppose they live situations of block or trouble, when thinking of the examined topic.

²¹ In any case it is important to consider that these children represent the population having more chances to be in touch with a pet, because 50% of the group owns a dog. Therefore the answer "pet" is in this case practical and probably, as it happens often, the closeness to a pet plays a role of absorbing (and in part fulfilling) a real love uneasiness.

²² In any case the presence of uncle and auntie appears widespread also in the other kind of families, altogether up to 16,7%.

In the family where “everyone gets along well” they tend to imagine a situation where “the dogs play all together” (58,3% vs. 45,3%). But the serene atmosphere, normal in this harmonious situation, is obstructed by a widespread fear condition that joins together all the members of the family, but that troubles the mother in particular.

The value attributed to the Dog Mum is double compared to that one attributed to the Dog Dad.

Also anger is a feeling shared, even if it is largely attributed to the father (three times more than the mother and the pup) and beyond the double of the average of the sample. All the values of anger, fear and astonishment exceed the average values of the sample, underlining a condition of permanent uneasiness that obstructs the child’s imagination about the situation of a serene living.

The pups living in this family like sleeping (12,5% vs. 5,7%) but also hiding (8,3% vs. 4,2%), or going out (33,3% vs. 11%). In this case the strong desire to go out can be considered (together with hiding and sleeping) to be influenced by an experience referred to a negative condition.

What does the youngest pup like to do in the “normal” family

	<i>Cl. 1</i>	<i>Cl. 2</i>	<i>Cl. 3</i>	<i>Cl. 4</i>	<i>Cl. 5</i>	<i>Cl. 6</i>	<i>Cl. 7</i>	<i>Cl. 8</i>	<i>Cl. 9</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>to play</i>	82,4%	90,2%	67,7%	64,7%	89,0%	83,9%	66,7%	48,0%	41,7%	75,8%
<i>to sleep</i>	5,5%	2,2%	6,5%	4,3%	0,9%	5,4%	12,5%	10,0%	12,5%	5,7%
<i>to hide himself</i>	1,5%	1,1%	12,9%	4,3%	2,8%	1,3%	8,3%	14,0%	8,3%	4,2%
<i>to go out</i>	8,8%	4,3%	9,7%	21,6%	7,3%	6,0%	6,9%	20,0%	33,3%	11,0%
<i>to stay home</i>	1,8%	2,2%	3,2%	5,2%	0,0%	3,4%	5,6%	8,0%	4,2%	3,3%
<i>Total</i>	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

When the familiar situation changes and “the old dogs quarrel a lot” the behaviour of an explicit aggression appears absolutely prevailing (always in a relative sense) (Dog Mum and Dog Dad quarrel, bit and scratch 29,2% vs. 17,4%). The answer of the pups tends towards denial (they do not realize/notice it 8,3% vs. 4,8%) but they also remain petrified watching the scene (20,8% vs. 11,2%). In both cases, the values widely exceed that one expressed by the whole sample population, to emphasize a clear and unmistakable propensity of this group in the shown direction.

If the pup is afraid (54,2% vs. 36,5%) and denies, as already stated, now a feeling of happiness appears in a completely contradictory situation (20,8% vs. 11,9%).

The situation described by the children of this cluster cannot be a conflict situation, because the positions of the aggressor and the assaulted shade; on the contrary, in this case they appear very clear: the father is definitely angry (87,5% vs. 69,2%) while the mother is scared (29,2% vs. 8%).

The gender differences appear very strong in this case and the described situation attributes to the mother the position of the victim and directly related to the described situation. In this case the uneasiness and the difficulties manifested by the children of this cluster are reasonable.

Conclusion - Suggestions and perspectives

By: Giovanni Iozzi (Microcosmos Onlus - Siena) with the contribution of the whole working team

During this research work, people asked the researchers many times how widespread the phenomenon of violence was and what effects it produced. We actually thought that definite data, an estimate, a scientific measurement, was available.

However, the careful reader will remember what was stated in the introductory part of this publication, where the idea that "noticing ill-treatment and abuse is a process of slow acquisition of consciousness". This process is known for its tendency to vanish inside the private experience of each family where it is carried out. In this private dimension, the tragedy or the uneasiness of every victim are consumed.

From uneasiness to tragedy there are many intermediate shades and, sometimes, the victim tends to deny the reality of what happens, therefore widening the effects in time and creating situations difficult to ascribe to the original cause of violence.

In any case the inclination to defend the family's honour is also known, hiding anything that can stain the family's image outside.

This feature was particularly highlighted by the Portuguese research group, underlining how children respect a widespread cultural code that puts the family's good name before the legitimate complaint.

Actually, what is highlighted and referred to the Portuguese society is a widespread and consolidated matter, also in the other situations; what changes, if anything, is the degree of intensity and the time holding. Concerning this, the concept of process becomes useful again, because it may explain how the phenomenon of witnessing domestic violence must not be thought as a "fact" but as a series of cultural changes that pervades society in a biunique/double sense relation. This means that cultural changes contribute to change society as well as the whole transformation of society change attitudes, sensitivity and behaviour.

As far as the research carried out is concerned, the result is tantamount to an exploratory voyage on little-known seas. Any emerging element introduces a new reference on a map of uncertain boundaries. We know where we want to go but the dimension within which we move appears to be indefinite. The research shows also how the different actors involved proceed following different courses, marked by the different factors: responsibility, experience and perception.

Concerning this, in conclusion, we could not say if there are national peculiarities. There are certainly different professional propensities and sensitivity, matured during time and readable also through the presence of specific points of reference on the area. The "stories" of different countries produced sensitivity, cultural sediment and after all services, more or less oriented to catch the specific phenomenon of violence. The attempt to contextualize the survey in the different socio economic realities went also in this direction and the information that comes from the kind of services and their spread over the area represent an indicator (not direct, but still a meaningful one) of the evolutionary degree of the different realities, in the travel-process that we are describing. Also the data referring to employment, income and school attendance help to give an idea of these people's conditions, being convinced that these conditions indirectly influence also the responses that a community (or an entire country) is capable of giving.

The data referring to these aspects, in the text, appear like a complementary and descriptive element, little commented on, because the local realities were far too different: from the metropolitan dimension of Lisbon, to the realities of small cities such as Mola di Bari or Carrara. The risk was to construct an inaccurate and useless

classification/list. It seemed more useful to share (also with the reader) an approach that cannot leave out of consideration the socio economic reality, being sure that each social phenomenon influences and is influenced by history and politics as well as by economic conjuncture.

One of the starting points of the research was the awareness that witnessing violence often is not perceived in its gravity and social emergency. It is the opposite perception of abuse or ill-treatment. Concerning this, the research does not give back elements of absolute clarity. There are different degrees of awareness, above all related to the operators' kind of job. Obviously workers in the specific field of violence are more sensitive, while the perception of those working in touch with children (educational field) is less apparent and uncertain.

Obviously interviews and questionnaires tend to highlight the interviewee's sensitivity and competence on the topic, but the general impression is that there are still wide pockets of under-evaluation of the phenomenon related to an insufficient knowledge of it. This element of insufficient knowledge is characterized by two aspects: on one hand, the lack of competence to trace back the phenomenon of minors witnessing violence to the whole system of reference (causes, situations, effects...); on the other, the awareness needed, coupled to availability, to integrate their own professional competence, perceived as inadequate.

This situation describes two different cases and suggests also two different lines of intervention in order to increase the defence, the protection and the prevention capabilities of the educational system. First of all, it is necessary to awaken people in order to improve their defensive abilities, teaching them to read more correctly all the signs around us or that come from the victim; in short, it is necessary to introduce the first cognitive elements that help increase knowledge and attention. Secondly, it is necessary to improve front line workers' competence, strengthening their intervention and response capabilities, in particular in the network systems.

Concerning this, it is necessary to observe that the idea of the networks is referred not only to the technical dimension, but also to the legal, legislative and cultural one. Therefore, politics must take into account that the social operator needs a unique and coherent frame/picture of reference, capable of integrating the protection of the adult victim with that of the minor witnessing the violence.

The need to achieve an integrated approach, not only emerges from operators' testimonies, but joins also the perception expressed by the children through the questionnaire administered. In fact, their ability to distinguish the different situations of victim and aggressor, appears obvious. It is a perceptive discriminatory ability, mostly an unaware one, unequivocally shown by the statistical data analysis. The children, with obvious differences related to their age, appear to be able to represent the reality (not necessarily experienced) of the disparity of relationships between parents inside the family, identifying the mother as the weak parent, the victim.

In fact, the analysis allowed a first gender reading, starting from the experience of the children, and not from the well known stories. The children showed also the ability to characterize the differences between the experience of the mother and those of the father, attributing to the first one, feelings of sadness and resignation, whereas to the second one an anger substratum, sometimes joined to a sense of bewilderment.

It is obvious that an interpretative analysis referring to the meaning and to the relational dynamics has to be done, because the answers were collected by a generic questionnaire and lack of any personal reference and any other cognitive element of each single child.

The research highlighted pockets of strong uneasiness in the children's experience. However these elements increase only indirectly the meaning of the research itself, because the objective was not to calculate the spreading of domestic violence, neither was it to deepen clinical knowledge; the object was rather to approach the children's point of view.

An interesting aspect comes from the overall view of the data collected by the different actors involved. On one hand, the intervention and protection network can be activated following a filed complaint, often accompanied by evident (and necessary) signs of aggression; on the other, the limits expressed by the actors belonging to the second defensive line, the most ingenuous but precious ones, because daily in touch with the children victims of witnessing violence. In this case their ingenuousness can be traced back to their perception of themselves as a marginal resource, not always available to network because of the "difference" of their professional condition, addressed towards other objectives, usually educational.

In this picture the child appears like an expert and a competent observer, sometimes also called (or available) to repair the damage, beyond his abilities and responsibilities. The child reads his reality with an acceptable precision, and in this situation he shows his experience of uneasiness and in many cases of loneliness. It is a protective circle that does not surround him completely. In fact, many of these children live a conflict family situation that reduces (but often definitively precludes) any chance to call outside for help, pushing them into a situation of introversion and isolation.

These attitudes strengthen mechanisms of the human answers repertoire; answers of flight and denial, that in this case is worsening a condition of permanent uneasiness, able to produce effects both immediately and in their future lives.

The family is, for the child, the most meaningful point of reference; it gives the child also a relational imprinting, also representing the osmosis point and the opening towards the outside. Facing "inexpressible" situations that push all the family members to withdraw in its inside, hiding from others the non-confessable, the child finds himself doubly isolated. On one hand, he is the victim of the conflict between adults, that often reduces the child into the role of contended prey; on the other, he is isolated before the outside world that is perceived as threatening and hostile.

This picture shows the whole responsibility to assist in such situations, incapable of defining with the children a shared language, that makes the adults capable of collecting and interpreting their uneasiness, to learn how to recognize it and to listen before protecting them, activating those resources available that are all the people working in touch with the children themselves.

One of the challenges is just this: to acquire a three-dimensional vision of the problem. On one hand, strengthening the professional networks of intervention; on the other, the activation of the widespread social net, that represents the first point for noticing the malaise, and therefore the first resource.

What must be avoided is the isolation of the protective network of specialized intervention. This demand meets the need of "expert" operators, of the children, and partially also of the operators of the "middle ground".

The latter are hardly able to place themselves usefully in the line that links together the answer to the problem, even if they perceive themselves as useful and often available resources. Their attention is on the child, the main target of their job (often educators), while they appear less inclined to share paths of knowledge and responsibility with the protagonists of the actions of protection.

In a realistic and convincing perspective we believe, on the contrary, that this is one of the points to break up. One of the difficulties is represented by the fact that teachers/educators perceive the problem as outside of their own professional *mission*, putting educational objectives before direct attention towards the child. The overcoming of this obstacle, helps the teacher to adapt the vision of his own job, and above all would put him in the line of the protective intervention. In this case, the teacher is one of the most meaningful missing links of a chain, the first point of the problem is emersion, without having to wait for the evidence of physical signs of violence in the mother or of serious disturbances in the children's behaviour.

The ability of children to decipher their own experiences, but still better those of their parents, represents the first resource. The adults' inability to be credible and inviting subjects, able to give attention and to listen, assumes the characteristics of a form of non-fulfilment that has to be overcome.

If the problem was to collect knowledge elements, not referred to the spreading of violence (at least not through this research), but to characterize the experience of children and to compare it with attitudes of observers with different professional competences, the research achieved its objectives, or at least part of them. The research provides a useful spin-off for a strategic vision that underlines the need for widening social responsibilities in order to cope with the problem of witnessing violence, trying to involve as many actors and competences as possible.

In fact, the phenomenon of witnessing violence shows the characteristics of a social problem, as stated in the introductory part of this publication. Therefore it is a problem whose responsibilities cannot be delegated to a more or less wide group of experts. These experts have to be asked to assume an educational function for the new protagonists, until now strangers to the considered dynamics, trying to break off the isolation of the specialized approach and changing it into a new agreement that widens social responsibilities.

This attitude imposes a paradigmatic change in approach, that should not to be confused with a widening of the professions involved in the protection network. In fact, as appropriately highlighted by the working team of Mola di Bari, we cannot forget that well-being is realized inside the family which cannot be considered like the subject to be taken care of, but like one of the protagonists of this wide social action. The correct vision (also shown by this research) that the phenomenon occurs not in a relationship between violent peers, but between aggressors and victims, and that therefore it is related to a gender reading, helps us in identifying a direction for the job to be developed. This direction is well known and shared by the small network that carried out the research.

To the many who expected definitive answers, we can only apologize for the limits expressed by this research. To those who share the awareness of being before a complex phenomenon, traceable back to social changes, we hope to have offered an original point of view, that will somehow be useful for their work. Besides, also because of the union of Europe, the term "process", was introduced, being aware that we were not referring only to the political one, but also to all the aspects that define a common cultural paradigm, that is the basis for a common way of feeling.

In this sense, we hope this job can offer, also indirectly, a modest contribution.

Annexes

Map of services

By each partner

MOLA DI BARI

The mapping of services in the Mola di Bari area highlights the absence of specific institutions for immigrants; the only action (that emerges from the monitoring cards attached to the "Social Plan of the Area") is the 2 not accompanied foreign minors' insertion in the residential services (updated at 31/12/2003).

The *Consultorio familiare pubblico* (Public family advice bureau), the *Poliambulatorio* (healthcentre/multiple-surgery), the *118* (ambulance) and the Centre for Mental Health are all located in the same building, making easier the cooperation among the different services. There is no private or public paediatric advice bureau.

There are no groups of Alcoholics Anonymous, and no territorial services for Alcoholism in Mola di Bari. All the numerous problems related to alcohol abuse receive a network approach via the Centre for Mental Health, and the *Ser.T.* (Service for drug addiction), often with the collaboration or the signalling made by the only Club of Alcoholics under Treatment (C.A.T. belonging to the A.P.C.A.T. – that stands for Provincial Association of Clubs of Alcoholics under Treatment) present in the area of the city, located in the building of the church "*Matrice*", that tries to give a local response to the problem through the methodology of mutual-aid groups (AMA). The Alcoholism Clinic in the "*Policlinico di Bari*" Hospital where services and a careful methodology are guaranteed is also important for local institutions.

In Mola di Bari there are no: specific institutions for non accompanied foreign minors; a *tutor* for minors; public and private residential services for girls, women and minors living temporary difficulties; Antiviolence Centres (welcome centre, refugees, useful telephones, etc.). The "Social Plan of the Area" should improve the situation.

The school services in Mola di Bari area are: 1 crèches, 9 kindergartens (public and private), 4 elementary schools, 2 middle schools, 3 high schools and the "Accademia delle Belle Arti".

Health services in Mola di Bari

<i>KIND OF SERVICE</i>	<i>Num.</i>	<i>NOTES</i>
<i>Medical officers</i>	26	- n. 21 general practitioners (1 every 1.300 inhabitants) - n. 5 paediatricians (more than 1 every 500 inhabitants 0-11 years old)
<i>First aid station</i>	1	One 118 centre (ambulance)
<i>Healthcentre/Multiple-surgeries</i>	1	AUSL BA/4 socio-health district n. 6

Advice bureau and social public services

<i>KIND OF SERVICE</i>	<i>Num.</i>
<i>Public family advice bureau</i>	1
<i>Private family advice bureau (both lay and religious)</i>	0
<i>Paediatric advice bureau</i>	0
<i>Basic social services</i>	1
<i>Municipal libraries</i>	1
<i>Employment office</i>	1

Churches and religious and private services of a preventive kind

<i>KIND OF SERVICE</i>	<i>Num.</i>	<i>NOTES</i>
<i>Churches</i>	5	-
<i>Charity/Caritas</i>	1	Refectory for poors in the Church "Matrice"
<i>Centres for life aid</i>	1	Association "Movement for life"
<i>Sport associations</i>	16	
<i>Other voluntary associations</i>	11	A.I.D.O. – (Italian Association Organ Donors) ALIBLU A. Pinto – Radio First Aid Emergency FRATRES – (Blood Donors) AVIS – Mola di Bari Group of Blood Donors PROTEZIONE CIVILE (Civil Protection) INSIEME LEGA TUMORI (Association for cancer) VOLONTARI VINCENZIANI The Divine Life Society – Branch (Yoga) - E.N.P.A. Consiglio Interparrocchiale (Inter-church council)

Specific public and private services

<i>KIND OF SERVICES</i>	<i>Num.</i>
<i>Service of childhood Neuropsychiatry</i>	1
<i>Centre for Mental Health</i>	1
<i>SERT (Service for drug addiction)</i>	1
<i>Service for Alcoholism (territorial and Hospital)</i>	1

Services addressed to women, minors and families (updated at 2005)

<i>KIND OF SERVICES</i>	<i>Num.</i>
<i>Female associations (addressed only to women)</i>	1
<i>Educational Community</i>	1
<i>Diurnal socio-educational centre</i>	1
<i>Family Community</i>	1

Public safety

<i>KIND OF SERVICES</i>	<i>Number of Operators</i>
<i>Carabinieri</i>	24
<i>Municipal Police</i>	15

CARRARA

The mapping of Carrara services aimed at providing a snapshot of the situation from the citizen's point of view and, in particular, the resources addressed to the target of this research.

Therefore the schools first of all: crèches, kindergartens, elementary schools, middle schools, high schools and university. Then the churches (a total of 14) and, finally, 39 different services: 6 social cooperatives operating in the area of Massa - Carrara (in some cases operating within the national health service) and all the kinds of police (Police headquarters, Carabinieri and Municipal Police).

The analysis is in the table with the distinction of the services by intervention areas.

Services divided in the nine intervention areas

<i>Intervention Area</i>	<i>Health</i>	<i>Social</i>	<i>Alcohol Problems</i>	<i>Psychiatry</i>	<i>Childhood family</i>	<i>Immigration</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Rights</i>	<i>Prostitution</i>
<i>Absolute Value</i>	5	10	2	4	2	4	6	6	1
<i>Incidence%</i>	12,5%	25,0%	5,0%	10,0%	5,0%	10,0%	15,0%	15,0%	2,5%

If we analyze the availability per kind of service, the distribution is shown in the table.

Kind of services

Kind of service	Welcome Houses	Listening Centres	Documentation Centres	Educational Centres	Therapy Centres	Health Emergency	Territorial Bureau	Information Bureau
Absolute Value	3	8	4	1	5	5	5	8
Incidence%	7,7%	20,5%	10,2%	2,6%	12,8%	12,8%	12,8%	20,5%

Carrara offers a wide range of services: some of them (the majority) directly managed by the AUSL (Local Health Unit) or the Municipality, others managed by voluntary associations.

The range of problems is wide as well: from health to prostitution, passing through childhood and families. If the presence of services testifies the soundness of the social protection network of an area, it is also true that coverage of the intervention areas can be more or less wide: there is a specific, strong deficiency of services against violence on women.

Women's protection is mostly managed by public services or by associations; however in these cases the opportunities available are just "listening" centres. Other opportunities are services usually addressed to other kind of problems, such as: first aid station, the Caritas Centre or the Police functions. In all these cases the problems related to violence on women are true emergencies, but managed in places not specifically dedicated to coping with them. Therefore, the problem is not only the absence of an adequate network, but also the inadequacy of the existing opportunities in the area. Two weak aspects regarding perspectives and future challenges.

Analyzing the data, it is possible to notice that 25% of the services are of a social kind, followed by services for women and on rights with 15% approximately. The public services concentrate on activities or on high health integration activities, such as the territorial services (addressed to cope with social and health problems altogether). There is only one information bureau, managed within the national health service, by a local association, and only two "listening" centres. There are no public welcome structures, of first or second level.

First of all, it is possible to observe how the majority of services are managed by the national health service and with universality characteristics (available for everybody). However, the consistent presence of associations is an important resource for the area; in fact, 18 services (46%) out of 39 are managed by Associations.

Lay associations tend to manage information bureaux and "listening" centres. The latter are related to the female topic and are located inside the different unions.

Obviously, religious associations tend to assist people (welcome structures and houses of primary or secondary kind) perhaps, also, thanks to the availability of unused buildings.

Public Institutions (in particular the AUSL which is the Local Health Unit) manage more difficult services, while the associations manage, in general, easier services, from a structural and economical point of view.

The most widespread services are "listening" centres and information bureaux while there is a deficiency of educational services for children, apart from schools. Of note is the good level of documentation centres and their differentiation per thematic area.

This map of services does not list public paediatricians and medical officers, that are very numerous, but they are a strong part of the Italian health service and are, however, included in the table below. Also specialized wards of the local Hospital are not listed.

AUSL (Local Health Unit) and Social Services (First aid station of Carrara, Gynaecological and Obstetrical first aid station, Psychological Service ASL1, Public advice bureau, Ser.T-AS (drug addiction service), Centre for Mental Health, Basic Health Service - Socio Health District, Avenza Point, D.S.S. Sant'Antonio, D.S.S. Marina, D.S.S. Carrara, Coordination Health Services, Medical Association of Carrara, Institute of Public Assistance (several bureaux), Public Paediatricians)	(14)
SOCIAL COOPERATIVES	(6)
PUBLIC ORDER ORGANIZATIONS (Police Headquarters, Carabinieri, Municipal Police)	(3)
IMMIGRATION (UIL union bureau, Municipal Immigrates Bureau - Association El Kandil, SUNIA, Betania House, Caritas, Association "Papa Giovanni XXIII" - Welcome House)	(6)
CONSULTANCIES ON RIGHTS (Association ADIPEI, Association "Il Dialogo", Documentation Centre on Handicap, GEA c/o Pari Opportunità – Carrara, CIF, House of rights and cultures, Observatory of family right – at the Court of Massa-Carrara, Tribunale del malato, Cittadinanza attiva, Red Cross - Volunteers Nurses, SRI SATHIA SAI, ACCA)	(10)
LISTENING (COUNSELLING) CENTRES (Volunteers Groups "Vincenziano", Woman Centre of the Province, Padri Gesuiti Carrara, Fondazione Suore del Cappelletto, Sacro Cuore, Cooperative COMPASS, Comitato Pari Opportunità, UIL-Woman Project, CGIL- Woman Project, CISL- Woman Project)	(9)
CENTRES FOR MENTAL HEALTH (Psychiatric mutual-aid groups, Alcoholism CAI, OGAP, ACAT, CIAF-Bonascola)	(5)

LISBON

Lisbon, capital of a country, shows many centres and services addressed to respond to violence-related problems, both directly towards the subjects suffering it, and indirectly towards people witnessing it.

Therefore, there is a peculiar distribution of medical services, social centres, departments and public institutions of assistance, specialised listening units, private anti-violence centres.

Below there is the complete and updated map of the situation of the city.

Doctors (Lisbon) (public and private)

- Not specialized – 2.023
- General surgery – 292
- Stomatologist – 200
- Gynaecologist – 311
- Familiar and general medicine – 496
- Ophthalmologist – 228
- Orthopaedist – 147
- Paediatrician – 343
- Psychiatrist – 277

Social Services – Local services of Social Security

Social Action - Direcção-Geral da Segurança Social, da Família e da Criança

The social action system:

Assures protection in kind and in cash to all citizens, mainly those in socio-economic need and living in situations of social exclusion, through social services and financial support.

Social services for different age groups and for people with diversified needs

Financial support for individuals and families in need

Support for programmes to combat social exclusion

Promotes social integration and the improvement of the quality of life of individuals, families and groups, either by the public sector itself or through partnerships among public and private institutions that contribute towards building a more harmonious and cohesive society.

Conditions of access to the system:

- assessment of the socio-economic situation of individuals and their families;
- availability of the network of establishments and services in which the person lives or in other surrounding neighbourhoods.

In order to qualify, individuals need to contact the Social Security Services that operate as front line open for all attendance centres.

Social services respond to a variety of needs. A first case assessment is made by a social worker from the Social Security Services, who then tries to find the adequate solution to the problem. The aim of this first contact is to provide all the information, guidance and support that individuals and families need.

DEPARTMENTS AND INSTITUTIONS IN CHARGE

- 1 - Directorate General of Social Security, Family and Child
- 2 - Institute of Social Security, I.P.
- 3 - Social Security Services
- 4 - Private Social Solidarity Institutions
- 5 - Other Private Institutions

Mental Health Centres (in Public and private Hospitals) – Mental Health Policy

Hospitals publics and private specialized in Mental Health: 39

(36 psychiatrics and children psychiatrics and 3 for persons with problems with alcohol and drugs)

Beds capacity: 2640 beds (60, 2% beds are in 5 psychiatric hospitals).

Human resources: 422 psychiatrists, 160 psychologists, 40 child psychiatrists, 124 Social Workers, 65 Occupational therapists, 1227 nurses, 15 deaf-and-dumb therapists, 9 child educators, 3 Educational therapists, 7 teachers of special education and 7 doctors of general medicine

Public programmes for people with addiction (drugs and alcohol)

- Prevention and Treatment – Health Ministry
- Specialized Units
- Counselling Centres
- Units of therapy
- Units of treatment (methadone)
- Therapeutics Community
- Centres – self help groups
- Units of information and health education

Self-help groups for people with addictions
In all Units of SPTT.

Women's associations / Public and private shelters (NGO's)

- AMCV – Associação de Mulheres Contra a Violência –(Counselling Centre and Shelters)
- CIDM – Comissão para a Igualdade e Direitos das Mulheres Serviço de Atendimento às vítimas de violência doméstica (Counselling and Information)
- APAV – Associação de Apoio à vítima (Counselling and Information)
- UMAR – União de Mulheres Alternativa (Counselling Centre and Shelters)

Police

- PSP – Polícia de Segurança Pública (Public Police)
- GNR – Guarda Nacional Republica (Military Police)
- PJ – Polícia Judiciaria (Specialized Police in Crime)
- Ministério Público – DA
- IML – Instituto de Medicina Legal (medical examiners)

GÖTTINGEN

From Göttingen comes an accurate description of the services addressed to people involved in the topic of witnessing violence and to its ramifications, with the dimensioning of the services and their receptive ability in the city.

Social and medical sector:

-
- 89 Day nurseries with 3.963 places (378 for 1,5 year olds, 3.030 for 3-6 year olds in kindergarten and 528 for children in the afternoon)
 - 130 Children's playgrounds
 - 15 Children's and young people's meeting places with social workers
 - 58 Student hostels (5.771 places)
 - 23 Old people's homes and geriatric care centres with 2.590 places
 - 5 Health and advise centres
 - 6 Hospitals with 2.349 beds
 - 108 Family doctors
 - 289 Specialised doctors
 - 31 Psychotherapists for children and young people
 - 2 Centres for Mental Health
 - 1 Section in town hall especially for the support of children and young people with 28 staff members
 - 9 Counselling centres for children, young people and families
 - 1 Counselling centre for addicted people (drugs, alcohol,)
 - 11 Counselling organizations for disable people
 - 1 Health centre with information about self-help groups for all topics
 - 13 Counselling centre for migrants
 - 1 Counselling centre for AIDS
 - 1 Shelter for women (places for 10 women with children)
 - 1 Counselling centre for women
 - 1 Health centre form women
 - 1 Emergency call and Counselling centre for women who are effected by sexual violence
 - 2 Official women representative offices
 - 1 Counselling centre form women who stay sometimes in mental health centres
 - 1 Counselling centre for women and couples who are pregnant
 - 1 Counselling centre for lesbian women
-

Keywords

List of keywords describing best your project (please use the form attached);

Beneficiaries		
X Children	<input type="checkbox"/> Young people	<input type="checkbox"/> Women
Specific groups (maximum 2)		
<input type="checkbox"/> Homosexuals	<input type="checkbox"/> Migrants	<input type="checkbox"/> Refugees
<input type="checkbox"/> Asylum Seekers	<input type="checkbox"/> Trafficked Persons	<input type="checkbox"/> Ethnic minorities
<input type="checkbox"/> Handicapped	<input type="checkbox"/> Domestic workers	<input type="checkbox"/> People in prostitution
<input type="checkbox"/> Elderly	<input type="checkbox"/> Prisoners	
Targeted Audience (maximum 2)		
<input type="checkbox"/> Violent men	<input type="checkbox"/> Perpetrators / offenders	<input type="checkbox"/> Public Authorities
<input type="checkbox"/> General Public	X Medical staff	X Educational staff
<input type="checkbox"/> Police staff	<input type="checkbox"/> Judicial staff	<input type="checkbox"/> Media / Journalists
Daphne II Objectives (maximum 1)		
<input type="checkbox"/> Set up of multidisciplinary networks	X Studies of phenomena linked to violence	<input type="checkbox"/> Expansion of the knowledge base, including the exchange of good practice
<input type="checkbox"/> Raising awareness among targeted audiences towards violence		
Specific Objectives (maximum 1)		
<input type="checkbox"/> Treatment programmes for offenders	<input type="checkbox"/> Treatment programmes for victims	<input type="checkbox"/> Identification and exchange of good practice and experience
X Mapping surveys, studies and research	<input type="checkbox"/> Field work with involvement of the beneficiaries	<input type="checkbox"/> Creation of multidisciplinary networks
<input type="checkbox"/> Training and design of educational packages	<input type="checkbox"/> Awareness-raising activities targeted to specific audiences	<input type="checkbox"/> Awareness-raising material
<input type="checkbox"/> Dissemination of the results obtained under Daphne I and II programmes	<input type="checkbox"/> Development of activities contributing to positive treatment	
Areas (maximum 3)		
<input type="checkbox"/> Sexual violence	<input type="checkbox"/> Gender violence	X Violence in family
X Violence in domestic context	<input type="checkbox"/> Violence in schools	<input type="checkbox"/> Violence in institutions
<input type="checkbox"/> Violence in urban areas	<input type="checkbox"/> Violence in rural areas	<input type="checkbox"/> Violence in the work place
<input type="checkbox"/> Trafficking in human beings	<input type="checkbox"/> Commercial sexual exploitation	<input type="checkbox"/> Internet
<input type="checkbox"/> Child Pornography	<input type="checkbox"/> Racism	<input type="checkbox"/> Self-harm
<input type="checkbox"/> Physical punishment	<input type="checkbox"/> Female genital mutilation	X Health impacts
Instruments (maximum 2)		
<input type="checkbox"/> Network with NGOs	<input type="checkbox"/> Multisector network	X Awareness-raising
<input type="checkbox"/> Dissemination of good practice	<input type="checkbox"/> Guidelines / Counselling	X Models (analysis / Development)
<input type="checkbox"/> Training	<input type="checkbox"/> Production of materials	<input type="checkbox"/> Conference / seminar
<input type="checkbox"/> Telephone / Internet Helpline	<input type="checkbox"/> Field work	

Links

- Associação de Mulheres Contra a Violência - Lisbon (Portugal) www.amcv.org.pt
- Artemisia Association - Florence (Italy) www.associazioni.comune.firenze.it/artemis
- Microcosmos Social Cooperative - Siena (Italy) www.microcosmos.coop
- Lelio e Lisli Basso-Issoco Foundation - International Section - Rome (Italy)
www.internazionaleleliobasso.it
- Municipality of Mola di Bari (Italy) www.comune.moladibari.ba.it
- Municipality of Carrara (Italy) www.comune.carrara.ms.it
- Italian Federation Paediatricians (Italy) www.fimp.org
- Therapeutische Frauenberatung e.V. - Göttingen (Deutschland)
www.therapeutische-frauenberatung.de

Questionnaires

CHILDREN QUESTIONNAIRE

Nationality
City
Operator

Children Task

We ask you to take part to a project that involves many other children living in different countries far from your city. We need your help in our work with school children: we would like to know better children's thoughts and their feelings about things happening in their family.

Please, fill in this sheet freely, there are no right or wrong answers.

Your answers have to be short, you will have to put a cross!

School: _____ Class: _____ - Age (years): _____

Sex Male  Female 

I live with Mum Dad Brother/Sister Grandfather
 Grandmother Uncle/ Aunt Other

Pets:



Dog



Cat



Rabbit



Fish



Parrot

**A DOG FAMILY LIVES IN A PLACE FAR AWAY
 THIS FAMILY IS COMPOSED OF MUM, DAD AND TWO PUPS**

TRY TO IMAGINE THAT EVERYONE GETS ALONG WELL IN THIS DOG FAMILY

◆ WHAT DO YOU THINK DOGS DO WHEN EVERYONE GETS ALONG WELL IN THIS FAMILY? (one answer)

- They stay home, but everyone does something on his own
- They play all together
- Dog Mum and Dog Dad talk and pups play alone
- They go out and everyone does something on his own
- They go out and do something all together

HOW DOES THE PUP LIVING IN THIS FAMILY FEEL?



Happy



Scared



Angry



Stunned



Sad

HOW DOES THE DOG MUM FEEL?



Happy



Scared



Angry



Stunned



Sad

HOW DOES THE DOG DAD FEEL?



Happy



Scared



Angry



Stunned



Sad

◆ IN YOUR OPINION, WHAT DO THE PUPS LIKE TO DO IN THIS FAMILY? (one answer)

- They like to play
- They like to sleep
- They like to hide themselves
- They like to go out
- They like to stay home

NOW TRY TO IMAGINE ANOTHER DOG FAMILY WHERE OLD DOGS QUAREL A LOT. THIS FAMILY IS COMPOSED OF MUM, DAD AND TWO PUPS TOO

◆ WHAT DO YOU THINK THAT CAN HAPPEN IN THIS FAMILY? (one answer)

- Dog Mum and Dog Dad quarrel and bark loud
- Dog Mum and Dog Dad quarrel and make peace
- Dog Mum and Dog Dad quarrel and, they bit and scratch
- Dog Dad bit and scratch Dog Mum
- Dog Mum bit and scratch Dog Dad

◆ WHAT DO YOU THINK PUPS DO WHEN DOG MUM AND DOG DAD QUARREL SO LOUD UP TO BITING EACH OTHER? (one answer)

- The pups look at it
- The pups try to reconcile their parents
- The pups hide
- The pups do not realize it
- The pups call for help another dog

HOW DOES THE PUP LIVING IN THIS FAMILY FEEL?



Happy



Scared



Angry



Stunned



Sad

HOW DOES THE DOG MUM FEEL?



Happy



Scared



Angry



Stunned



Sad

HOW DOES THE DOG DAD FEEL?



Happy



Scared



Angry



Stunned



Sad

◆ IN YOUR OPINION, WHAT DO THE PUPS LIKE TO DO IN THIS FAMILY? (one answer)

- They like to play
- They like to sleep
- They like to hide themselves
- They like to go out
- They like to stay home

◆ **WHAT COULD OLD DOGS LEARN TO DO NOT TO BEHAVE BADLY IN THEIR FAMILY? (one answer)**

- They could stop screaming
- They could stay more time with their pups
- They could not coming to blows and not biting
- They could call for help a friend

◆ **IN YOUR OPINION, WHERE DO THE LITTLE ONES SEE OLD ONES BEHAVING BADLY? (one answer)**

- TV
- Home
- Stadium
- Street
- Gardens
- School

◆ **IN YOUR OPINION, IF A LITTLE ONE NEED HELP WHOM CAN HE ASK FOR IT? (max 3 answers)**

- Mum
- Dad
- Brother/Sister
- Grandfathers/Uncles
- Friend
- Animal
- Teacher
- Policeman
- Nobody

OPERATOR QUESTIONNAIRE**PERCEPTION AND KNOWLEDGE OF WITNESSING VIOLENCE PHENOMENON BY OPERATORS IN SCHOLASTIC, EDUCATIONAL, SOCIAL AND HEALTH SECTOR**

SEX: 1. F 2. M AGE: PROFESSION:

SECTOR 1. Public 2. Private How long have you been working with children?

Witnessing intra-familial violence definition

Minors witnessing domestic violence is described as a child having experience of any kind of ill-treatment (actions of physical, verbal, psychological, sexual and economic violence) committed on referring persons or other adults or minors who are affectively significant persons. This definition includes violence of minors on other minors and/or family members as well as ill-treatment and abandoning of pets. The child can have experience of these actions directly (when they occur in his field of perception) or indirectly (when the minor knows about that), and/or he can perceive their effects (Cismai 2003).

1 In your opinion which are minors domestic witnessing violence main causes? (max 3 answers)

1. Violence is part of male gender socialization processes
2. Sex power imbalance
3. Children are considered parents private properties, therefore it does not matter if they witness to traumatic situation
4. Actually children who witness to domestic violence do not suffer direct traumatic effects
5. Violence is a relationship form everybody will be exposed to it in some moment of his/her life
6. People who commit violent actions, while letting children witness, are ill

2 How many minor witnessing domestic violence situations do you believe there are in your life and work environment? 1. None 2. Not many 3. Some 4. A lot 5. A large amount 6. I do not know**3 Does witnessing violence proposed definition remind you some child you met in your professional life? 1. Yes 2. No 3. I do not know****4 If you answered "yes" to the last question, how did you know about that situation? (max 3 answers)**

1. Child direct revelation (verbal, written)
2. Parent direct revelation
3. A family member revelation
4. Other children revelation
5. Other operators communication
- 6 Other adult communication
- 7 Judicial authority communication

5 How did you feel when you suspected that a child could have witnessed to domestic violence? (max 2 answers) 1. Confused 2. Angry 3. Anguished 4. Incredulous 5. Impotent 6. No particular emotion**6 What action was taken for that child?**

- | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|--------|---|--------|
| 1. Report to social services | YES NO | 5. The headmaster was informed | YES NO |
| 2. Meeting with who made violence | YES NO | 6. The situation was reported to judicial authorities | YES NO |
| 3. Meeting with who received violence | YES NO | 7. Nothing was done | YES NO |
| 4. A teachers' meeting was called | YES NO | | |

7 Which institution/ or operator took responsibility for the situation?

- | | | | |
|-------------------|--------|-------------------------------|--------|
| 1 Social services | YES NO | 5 Ordinary solicitor's office | YES NO |
| 2 Health services | YES NO | 6 Minors shelter community | YES NO |
| 3 Police | YES NO | 7 None of the precedent | YES NO |
| 4 Minors court | YES NO | | |

8 Do you believe that the action taken was adequate? 1. Yes 2. No 3. I do not know

9 What can domestic witnessing violence effects be on children?

- | | | |
|---|-----|----|
| 1. No particular effect because children are not direct victims of violence in these situations | YES | NO |
| 2. Children learn aggressive and violent relationship forms | YES | NO |
| 3. Psychological disorders | YES | NO |
| 4. Sexualised behaviours | YES | NO |
| 5. Attention disorder and drop in scholastic performances | YES | NO |
| 6. Psychosomatization (gastrointestinal troubles, cephalaeas, sleep disorders, etc.) | YES | NO |
| 7. Relationship difficulties in adulthood | YES | NO |
| 8. Parental difficulties in adulthood | YES | NO |

10 On account of your professional role, what minimum aims do you believe you could improve to assure a constant and precocious attention to minor witnessing violence problem? (max 2 answers)

1. Take part in training activities to gather more information about the problem?
2. Pay more attention to children's needs in my job activities?
3. Enhance relationships with families?
4. Learn to cooperate with other services/operators?

11 Which main personal and professional qualifications are necessary to achieve above-mentioned minimum aims? (max 3 answers)

1. Interpersonal communication/negotiation abilities?
2. Collaboration abilities?
3. Problems identification and analysis abilities
4. Abilities in management of multidisciplinary intervention processes?
5. Abilities to recognize one's own emotions and the effect of violence
6. Knowledge of main features of violence on mothers and violence on minors?
7. Knowledge of effects of witnessing and direct violence?

12 What contribution could you assure in order to protect a child victim of witnessing domestic violence? (max 3 answers)

1. Colleagues awakening
2. Support and direct aid to the child?
3. Awakening of operators working in contact with children?
4. Family support?
5. Facilitating integration between institutions and operators
6. Collaboration to the accomplishment of protection and tutelage actions made by other institution
7. Merely fulfil my professional/law duties
8. None
9. I do not know?

13 In your opinion, what factors can facilitate prevention and reduction of minor witnessing domestic violence situations? (max 3 answers)

1. Cultural awakening
2. Modification of gender power relations
3. More specific training for operators which work in contact with children and families
4. Creation of more social and health services to attend to children and families
5. Enforce children's self-protection skills
6. More severe laws
7. Enhance cooperation between schools, social and health services, judicial authorities, and operators working with children and families
8. To make reporting to judicial authority compulsory for operators working with children when they are aware of witnessing domestic violence cases
9. More collaboration between Services working against violence on women and Services working against violence on children

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