



Family Violence: Department of Justice Canada Overview Paper

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FAMILY VIOLENCE: DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE CANADA OVERVIEW PAPER

Note to Readers

This overview paper provides introductory and statistical information about family violence that is relevant to all the other overview papers in this series, which cover the following topics:

- spousal abuse
[<http://canada.justice.gc.ca/eng/pi/fv-vf/facts-info/sa-vc.html>]
- dating violence
[<http://canada.justice.gc.ca/eng/pi/fv-vf/facts-info/dati-freq.html>]
- child abuse
[<http://canada.justice.gc.ca/eng/pi/fv-vf/facts-info/child-enf.html>]
- sexual abuse and exploitation of children and youth
[http://canada.justice.gc.ca/eng/pi/fv-vf/facts-info/sex_abu.html]
- abuse of older adults
[<http://canada.justice.gc.ca/eng/pi/fv-vf/facts-info/old-age.html>]

WHAT IS FAMILY VIOLENCE?

Family violence includes many different forms of abuse, mistreatment or neglect that adults or children may experience in their intimate, family or dependent relationships. The definition of family violence continues to evolve as the nature and extent of violence within intimate relationships and families becomes better understood.

In the past two decades, more public and professional attention has concentrated on the following issues:

- violence against women in intimate relationships (intimate partner violence¹ or woman abuse), including spousal abuse, [<http://canada.justice.gc.ca/eng/pi/fv-vf/facts-info/sa-vc.html>] dating violence [<http://canada.justice.gc.ca/eng/pi/fv-vf/facts-info/dati-freq.html>] and other forms of violence against women;
- child abuse, [<http://canada.justice.gc.ca/eng/pi/fv-vf/facts-info/child-enf.html>] including sexual abuse and exploitation of children and youth; and [http://canada.justice.gc.ca/eng/pi/fv-vf/facts-info/sex_abu.html]
- abuse of older adults. [<http://canada.justice.gc.ca/eng/pi/fv-vf/facts-info/old-age.html>]²

Forms of Abuse

There are many different forms of abuse, and victims may experience more than one form. Anyone, at any life stage, can be subjected to abuse, but children and dependent adults can be more vulnerable to being victimized in specific ways. (See “Abuse of Children and Dependent Adults” below.)

Although many of the abusive behaviours described below are criminal acts in Canada, some are not. Child welfare legislation and provincial legislation on family and domestic violence address some types of abuse. For more information about the *Criminal Code* provisions that may apply, please see the “Role of the *Criminal Code*” sections of each overview paper.

Physical abuse includes any intentional use of physical force that either injures or risks injuring someone. Physical abuse may include:

- restraining
- confining
- being held underwater
- beating
- hitting or slapping
- shaking
- pushing or shoving
- choking
- biting
- pulling hair
- burning or scalding
- kicking
- assaulting with a weapon³
- performing female genital mutilation (FGM)⁴

These types of physical abuse are all examples of the crime of assault under the *Criminal Code*. The last two examples, assault with a weapon and female genital mutilation, are dealt with under separate provisions of the *Criminal Code* that address some of the more serious forms of assault.

Sexual abuse and exploitation includes all forms of sexual assault, sexual harassment, sexual exploitation⁵ and sexual coercion. Sexual abuse includes forcing a person to participate in any unwanted, unsafe or degrading sexual activity. It also includes using ridicule or other tactics to try to belittle, control or limit a person’s sexuality or their reproductive choices.

Sexual assault is a crime in Canada and includes any unwanted touching of a sexual nature. This may include:

- any kissing, fondling, touching, oral sex or sexual intercourse without consent; and

- continued sexual contact when asked to stop.

Sexual harassment includes unwanted or unwelcome sexual behaviour, actions or words. Many acts of sexual harassment are not crimes but are dealt with under labour or educational institution regulations. Sexual harassment may include:

- making lewd comments or gestures to cause embarrassment, and
- other behaviours, actions or words that are
 - sexual in nature;
 - likely to offend or humiliate;
 - related to a person's gender, sexuality or body parts; and
 - repeated even after the person has been told to stop.

Sexual exploitation is also a crime in Canada. This includes involving someone in prostitution or forcing them to participate in pornographic acts or performances for personal or commercial use.⁶

Sexual coercion includes manipulating a person or situation unfairly in order to get sex. This may include:

- pressuring someone to engage in sexual acts by taunting, belittling, making fun of or harassing them;
- lying to someone or threatening to tell lies about them that would damage their reputation in order to get sex; and
- exploiting or taking sexual advantage of someone, including victims who are younger or intoxicated. This includes using the Internet or date rape drugs⁷ to prey on someone for sex.

Sexual coercion is a crime in Canada when any person involved does not consent. It is not legal consent if the person consenting does not voluntarily agree to engage in the sexual activity in question. The *Criminal Code* sets out a number of circumstances which would make coercive, sexual activity a crime when there is a lack of true consent.⁸

Psychological or emotional abuse involves using words or actions to control, isolate, intimidate or dehumanize someone. Psychological or emotional abuse includes any act or omission that reduces an individual's sense of self-worth; damages their psychological and emotional integrity; or puts them at risk of behavioural, cognitive, emotional or mental disorders. This type of abuse occurs when a person behaves in any of the following ways:

- is cruel, deceitful or manipulative;
- verbally attacks—ridiculing, insulting, name-calling, yelling, screaming or swearing;

- uses constant criticism, verbal threats, social isolation, intimidation or exploitation to dominate someone;
- routinely makes unreasonable demands;
- is excessively jealous and possessive and does not allow someone to have friends or talk to or be with others;
- spreads gossip or rumors about someone; or
- terrorizes a person. (See Criminal harassment below.)

Criminal harassment is a specific form of psychological and emotional abuse, which is a crime in Canada. When perpetrated by current or former intimate partners or other family members, criminal harassment is a form of family violence. Often referred to as stalking or repeatedly following someone from place to place, criminal harassment involves unwanted attention that causes a person to fear for their safety or the safety of someone known to them. It may also include:

- following or contacting someone repeatedly;⁹
- threatening to harm someone, their family members or their pets;
- making repeated, unwanted telephone calls;
- sending constant e-mail messages;
- sending unwanted gifts; and
- spying on someone or tracking their movements.

Criminal harassment can cause victims to feel intimidated and to experience psychological and emotional distress. Acts of criminal harassment are often followed by acts of violence.¹⁰

Economic or financial abuse includes acting without consent in a way that financially benefits one person at the expense of another. Economic or financial abuse may include:

- manipulating or exploiting someone for financial gain, including theft, fraud, forgery or extortion;¹¹
- withholding money to buy food or medical treatment¹² or generally denying access to financial resources; and
- preventing a person from working or controlling their choice of occupation.

Many forms of financial abuse are crimes in Canada.

Spiritual abuse includes:

- preventing a person from engaging in spiritual or religious practices;
- using a person’s religious or spiritual beliefs to exploit, manipulate, dominate or control them; and
- ridiculing or belittling someone’s beliefs.

Abuse of Children or Dependent Adults

Children, youth and dependent adults may experience other specific forms of abuse.

Sexual abuse and exploitation of children and youth occurs when an older child, adolescent or adult takes advantage of a younger child or youth for sexual purposes. Sexual abuse and exploitation can be perpetrated on children of all ages, from infancy to adolescence. For more information about the sexual abuse and exploitation of children and youth, see the “Sexual Abuse and Exploitation of Children and Youth Overview Paper”. [http://canada.justice.gc.ca/eng/pi/fv-vf/facts-info/sex_abu.html]

Exposing a child to family violence is a form of psychological and emotional abuse. This form of abuse is discussed further in “Exposure to Family Violence” and “Consequences for Children Exposed to Family Violence” sections of the “Child Abuse Overview Paper”, and in the “Consequences for Child Witnesses and Other Indirect Victims” in the “Spousal Abuse Overview Paper”. [<http://canada.justice.gc.ca/eng/pi/fv-vf/facts-info/sa-vc.html>].

Neglect is often chronic and therefore usually involves repeated incidents. Neglect involves either intentionally or unintentionally denying or failing to provide adequately for a child or dependent adult. Some forms of neglect are crimes in Canada. These may include:

- failing to provide the necessities for the person’s physical, psychological or emotional development and well-being; and
- failing to provide for food, clothing, shelter, personal hygiene, medical care or protection from harm.¹³

Failing to provide a sense of love, safety and worth can also be a form of neglect. Although this form of neglect is not necessarily a crime, it is addressed in provincial and territorial child protection legislation.

More information on neglect is included in the “Child Abuse Overview Paper” and the “Abuse of Older Adults Overview Paper”.

Individuals who live in institutionalized care facilities may also experience institutional abuse. This form of abuse is discussed further in the “Abuse of Older Adults Overview Paper”. [<http://canada.justice.gc.ca/eng/pi/fv-vf/facts-info/old-age.html>].

HOW WIDESPREAD IS FAMILY VIOLENCE IN CANADA?

Reporting and Disclosure Issues

The full extent of family violence in Canada is difficult to calculate because, often, it is not disclosed or reported either by the victim or by those who witness or suspect it is occurring.

Reasons for Failing to Disclose or Report Abuse or Exploitation

Reasons why victims may not disclose abuse or exploitation

A person who is abused or exploited may endure the violence or exploitation for a long time before seeking support—or they may never tell anyone. The reasons why victims may keep abuse secret relate to their circumstances, feelings, beliefs and level of knowledge about family violence.

Circumstances

- *Age and/or developmental stage:* Very young children may be unable to articulate or communicate what has happened to them.
- *Physical frailty or disability:* People with physical or cognitive disabilities may have limited access to others or to communications devices, or they may be unable to articulate what has happened to them.
- *Literacy, language or cultural barriers:* People who do not speak English or French could be unable to access services and supports in their own language, or they may fear deportation or other complications relating to their sponsorship or immigration status. For more information, see *Abuse is Wrong in Any Language*.
[<http://www.justice.gc.ca/eng/pi/fv-vf/pub/index.html> that Abuse is Wrong in Any Language publications]
- *Geographic or social isolation:* People who live in rural or remote communities, or who are not connected to others in their communities may lack access to information, resources, supports and services.
- *Dependency:* Victims may be emotionally, physically, or economically dependent on the perpetrator.
- *Social pressure:* Victims may feel social pressure to maintain a relationship and protect the family's or the community's reputation.

Feelings and beliefs

- Victims often feel conflicting emotions and suffer confusion or shame. They may believe that the abuse is their fault and that they will be punished for telling. Depending on their situation, victims may fear any of the following outcomes if they tell someone about the abuse:

- They will not be believed
 - They or their family will be rejected or stigmatized
 - Their sexual identity will be questioned
 - They or the abuser will be removed from the home
 - They will no longer be allowed to have contact with their parent(s) or children
 - They will be abandoned or institutionalized
 - They will lose custody of, or access to, their children.
- The abuser could have manipulated, bribed, coerced or threatened the victim to prevent them from telling anyone about the abuse. The victim therefore might be afraid of the abuser's revenge.
 - The victim might still love the perpetrator and want the relationship to continue, hoping that the abuse will stop. The person who has been abusive may have expressed feelings of remorse. The following link accesses a diagram of the cycle of abuse. [<http://canada.justice.gc.ca/eng/pi/fv-vf/pub/abus/aiv-me/index.html>]
 - Victims sometimes do not want to admit that they have been abused. They may want to protect family members, including the abuser, by keeping the abuse and related family problems secret. They might not want the abuser, who may be their spouse, parent or child, to be removed from the home, go to jail, or have a criminal record.
 - Victims may have personal views about family, relationships and child-rearing that emphasize privacy and condone the use of physical punishment. They may be influenced by gender role beliefs that support inequality and violence in relationships. They may not believe that involving child welfare authorities or the criminal justice system will stop the abuse—or that these systems will be able to help or protect them. They may also fear that child welfare involvement may break up their family.

Knowledge

- Victims may not know how to report abuse, or they may be afraid of what will happen when a report is made.

Reasons why persons who witness or suspect abuse may not report it

Other people—including professionals, neighbours, friends and other relatives or family members—may witness or suspect abuse, but not report it. Their reasons for not reporting relate to their circumstances, feelings, beliefs and level of knowledge.

Circumstances

- *Dependence on the perpetrator:* Depending on their circumstances, other relatives and family members may be physically, emotionally or economically dependent on the abuser and may be fearful of what will happen if they report the abuse.

- *Concern about the demands of becoming involved:* Some people may fear that it will take too much time or energy to report abuse. They could feel that they will be unable to cope if they become involved in any way.
- *Shame and stigma:* Other relatives and family members may feel ashamed of having abuse in their family and fearful of what will happen if they report the abuse.

Feelings and beliefs

- *Disbelief:* They may not believe that the victim has been abused.
- *Do not believe reporting will be helpful:* They may not believe that reporting abuse is in the victim's best interest, or that reporting the abuse will solve the problem. They may believe that no appropriate services are available to help the victim, or they may want to avoid having the victim or abuser removed from the home.
- *Personal views:* They may hold personal views that hinder their willingness to report abuse. For example, they may want to protect family privacy, or they may believe that the physical punishment is not abusive.

Knowledge

- *Lack of knowledge:* They may not know about the signs of abuse, or they could believe that the abuse is not serious if there are no visible or serious injuries.
- *Lack of understanding:* They may not understand or know about their responsibility to report abuse. They may not know that they can report the abuse, or that they can report it without being identified and without legal consequences, unless the report is false and made maliciously. Most provincial and territorial child welfare laws require anyone, including professionals and members of the public, who suspects that a child is being maltreated to make a report to the appropriate child welfare authority.¹⁴

For these and other reasons, many cases of family violence are still not reported to either police or child welfare authorities.

National Studies, Surveys and Other Data Sources on Family Violence in Canada

Since the 1980s, the federal government has gathered national-level information on family violence in Canada. Examples of ground-breaking studies and surveys include the 1984 *Badgley Report on Child Sexual Abuse*,¹⁵ the 1993 *Violence Against Women Survey*,¹⁶ the 1993 *Canadian Panel on Violence Against Women*¹⁷ and the 1996 *Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples*.¹⁸ National surveys, such as the *General Social Survey* (GSS), the *Canadian Incidence Study of Reported Child Abuse and Neglect*, and the *Uniform Crime Reporting Survey*, provide valuable information on victimization and crime trends related to many forms of family violence. The results of national surveys and research have made it clear that family violence is not just an individual, private or family matter; it is a pervasive and complex societal problem in Canada.

Data Sources for the Department of Justice Canada Overview Papers

Although many cases of abuse are still not reported to either police or child welfare authorities, data from national victimization surveys, police reports and child welfare authorities are the most complete sources of information about family violence. This overview paper series presents some of the key data on family violence as drawn from the following publications:

- *Family Violence in Canada: A Statistical Profile*, is an annual publication prepared by Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics since 2000 [<http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/85-224-x/85-224-x2008000-eng.pdf>]. These reports include data from the following sources:
 - the *General Social Survey* (GSS), a national survey that has collected information on victimization in several cycles, including 1988, 1993, 1999 and 2004;
 - the *Incident-based Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR2) Survey*, which provides data on individual criminal incidents from a sub-set of police services across Canada; and
 - the *Homicide Survey*, which provides data on all homicide incidents from police services across Canada.
- *Canadian Incidence Study of Reported Child Abuse and Neglect—2003—Major Findings*.¹⁹ [<http://www.phac-aspc.gc.ca/cm-vee/csca-ecve/index-eng.php>]. The *Canadian Incidence Study of Reported Child Abuse and Neglect* (CIS) is a national study that estimates the extent of reported child abuse in Canada based on data from child welfare authorities. The CIS 2003 is the second CIS study conducted at the national level. The results provide key data on the incidence of reported child maltreatment and the characteristics of the children and families investigated by Canadian child welfare services. During the fall 2003, the CIS 2003 tracked 14,200 child maltreatment investigations conducted using a representative sample of 63 child welfare service areas across Canada.²⁰

- *Individual Research Studies:* In some cases, where national data do not yet exist, the overview papers provide findings from relevant research studies, including research from the Department of Justice Canada and other sources.
[<http://canada.justice.gc.ca/eng/pi/fv-vf/pub/index.html>]

Key Data on Family Violence

Some of the most recent national data on family violence indicate the following:

- An estimated 7 percent of Canadian women and men aged 15 years and over who were in a current or previous, marital or common-law relationship, experienced some form of spousal violence in the five years prior to the 2004 GSS.²¹ This includes a rate of 7 percent for women (653,000 women) and 6 percent for men (546,000 men).²²
- Not all incidents of spousal or intimate partner violence are reported to the police. According to the 2004 GSS, less than one-third (28 percent) of spousal violence victims reported the violence to the police and, before they did, almost two-thirds (61 percent) had experienced more than one violent incident.²³
- The 2004 GSS indicates that Aboriginal people were three times more likely than those who were non-Aboriginal to be victims of spousal violence. Overall, 21 percent of Aboriginal people (24 percent of Aboriginal women and 18 percent of Aboriginal men) said that they had suffered violence from a current or previous spouse or common-law partner in the five-year period up to 2004. The rate for non-Aboriginal people was 7 percent in the same period.²⁴
- According to the 2004 GSS, more than 2.3 million Canadians aged 15 years and older had been stalked in the five years prior to the survey. About 17 percent of stalking victims reported being stalked by current or former intimate partners.²⁵
- Family violence harms many people who are not the direct target. According to the 2004 GSS, a person other than the spouse was harmed or threatened in 11 percent of spousal assaults in the previous five years of which 44 percent of these were children under the age of 15. In addition, 394,000 spousal violence victims, representing one third (33 percent) of all victims of spousal violence, reported that children saw or heard this violence.²⁶

Other data sources indicate that:

- In 2006, almost one quarter (22 percent) of all the incidents of violent crime reported to the police²⁷ were committed by a family member, and more than half of the victims of family violence were victimized by their spouse.²⁸ The majority (83 percent) of police-reported spousal violence in 2006 involved female victims, while male victims accounted for 17 percent.²⁹
- In 2006, the rate of police-reported physical and sexual assaults against children and youth was higher than the rate for adults. Parents were the most common perpetrators

of violence against children, particularly physical assault.³⁰ Male family members were accused in 96 percent of family-related sexual assaults and 71 percent of physical assaults against children and youth. Female family members were accused in 4 percent of family-related sexual assaults and 29 percent of physical assaults against children and youth.³¹

- In 2003, an estimated 217,319 child maltreatment investigations were conducted in Canada, excluding Quebec. Almost half (47 percent) of these were substantiated (confirmed after an investigation).³² Another 13 percent were suspected but could not be confirmed by available evidence.
- Two percent of all victims of violent crime in 2005 were older adults, aged 65 and older. Family members were accused in 30 percent of these incidents.³³
- Between 1996 and 2005, nearly half (46 percent) of the solved homicides in Canada were family-related. Spousal homicides accounted for 17 percent of all solved homicides during this period. In 2005 alone, 74 spousal homicides were reported to police.³⁴
- Between 1997 and 2005, according to the Homicide Survey, 26 percent of the victims of spousal homicide cases (687 victims) involved a homicide-suicide, i. e., a homicide in which the accused committed suicide. Roughly 5 percent of incidents involved prior threats of—or attempts at—suicide, and occurred most often among male spouses.³⁵

WHAT FACTORS PLAY A ROLE IN FAMILY VIOLENCE?

Dynamics

Abuse is sometimes described as a misuse of power and a violation of trust. An abuser may use various tactics to gain access to a victim. Once access is gained, the abuser will isolate, manipulate and exert power and control over the victim, and will prevent the victim from telling anyone about the abuse or seeking support.

Often, power differences between the perpetrator and the victim play a role in the abuse. Abused adults or children are often in a position of dependence on the person who is abusing them. For example, the victim may be abused by a parent, sibling, other relative, caregiver, guardian, spouse, common-law or dating partner. Perpetrators of sexual abuse tend to be older than their young victims and are likely to be more knowledgeable about sexual activity. They may spend a lot of time befriending and grooming their victims. They may use threats, physical force, or forms of psychological coercion, such as bribery, deception or trickery, to gain access to their victims and to make them compliant.

The abuse may happen once and consist of a single act, or it may involve various tactics and occur in a repeated and escalating pattern over a period of months or years. Abuse may change form over time. The abusive acts may become more serious, frequent and

intrusive. The abuser may act alone or be part of a group that abuses the victim. In many cases, the negative impact on victims can last a lifetime.

Causes

There are many forms of family violence and many theoretical perspectives on its causes. Some experts believe that family violence is linked to power imbalances in relationships and inequities in our society. This view is supported by the fact that abusers are often in a position of power or trust over their victims. Other experts focus on the socio-psychological characteristics of the individuals involved. Regardless of the diversity in perspective, it is clear that family violence is a complex problem with many different, contributing factors—at the individual, relationship and societal levels.

People from every walk of life—regardless of gender, age, race, ethnicity, education, cultural identity, socio-economic status, occupation, religion, sexual orientation, physical or mental abilities or personality—may be vulnerable to being abused.

Vulnerable Groups

The most vulnerable groups in our society³⁶ are Aboriginal people,³⁷ children and youth, women, individuals with low socio-economic status,³⁸ people with disabilities,³⁹ visible minorities,⁴⁰ immigrants and refugees,⁴¹ gays and lesbians⁴² and individuals living in rural and remote communities.⁴³ For people in these vulnerable groups, being victimized and abused are linked to the web of intersecting inequalities⁴⁴ they experience.

Increasingly, it is believed that a person's vulnerability to abuse is linked to factors that affect and marginalize individuals and communities, such as living conditions, including inadequate housing and geographic isolation; unemployment; economic vulnerability, including poverty; sexism; racism; discrimination; disability; homophobia; social isolation; language or literacy barriers; dislocation;⁴⁵ and colonization.⁴⁶ In addition, negative social attitudes about aging and discrimination against older adults in society⁴⁷ may contribute to abuse.

Many children who were sent to institutions in the past, including residential schools, experienced abuse. Most of these children were from marginalized groups in our society, including children with disabilities, children from racial and ethnic minorities, Aboriginal children and children living in poverty.⁴⁸

All the marginalizing factors and intersecting inequalities compound the effects of the abuse and decrease the likelihood of it being reported. The factors are often combined with a lack of access to the criminal justice and child welfare systems and other community services and supports, including community and health services, housing and long-term care facilities. Caregivers may experience barriers that prevent them from acquiring the necessary skills, resources and supports to prevent abuse, or they may lack access to the services and supports they need to address it.

Family Violence in Aboriginal Communities

According to a 2003 report by the Aboriginal Healing Foundation, family violence in Aboriginal communities is linked to a complex web of factors at the individual, extended family, community and social-environmental levels. The violence involves a number of social problems that operate as a syndrome, and it is linked to the historical experiences of Aboriginal peoples in Canada.⁴⁹

For Aboriginal peoples, the experience and devastating consequences of colonization—in particular, the undermining of traditional beliefs and values, and family and community structures through the residential school system—have contributed to social problems, including family violence, that are experienced in some Aboriginal communities today.⁵⁰

In some Aboriginal communities, family violence and abuse have become part of their way of life. The violence itself takes many forms and occurs among individuals, nuclear and extended families, and communities. It is connected to a larger pattern of intergenerational abuse and, as a result, the violence is almost always linked to individual or collective trauma and the need for healing.

All of these factors and the resulting behaviours have profound implications that must be considered when developing appropriate community responses.⁵¹

WHAT ARE THE CONSEQUENCES OF FAMILY VIOLENCE?

Consequences for Victims

Family violence has devastating consequences for victims. For individuals who experience family violence, the violence can have psychological, physical, behavioural, academic, sexual, interpersonal, self-perceptual or spiritual consequences.⁵² Depending on the nature, extent and duration of the abuse, the effects may appear immediately, or they may emerge over time. Often, the effects of family violence on an individual are not recognized or understood by others, adding to the isolation experienced by those who are abused. In some cases, consequences can be fatal.

Abuse can also be devastating for those who are not the intended target. For example, children who are exposed to violence in their homes may experience serious effects that threaten their health, safety, behaviour, emotional and social development, and educational progress.⁵³

For more information about the consequences for victims, please refer to the other overview papers in this series.

Consequences for Abusers

Abusers are responsible for the violence and harm they cause. In some cases, abusers may have been abused or exposed to abuse themselves. They may have learned that

abuse is a legitimate way of exerting power and control over others. They may continue to harm others even if it destroys their relationships or has other negative consequences on their lives. Although there is little research in this area, perpetrators risk many negative repercussions:

- involvement in the criminal justice system and criminal sanctions, such as incarceration and a criminal record;
- destruction of current relationships and the possibility of jeopardizing future relationships;
- shame, rejection and social condemnation;
- involvement with the child welfare system and loss of custody or access to their children; and
- dismissal or other sanctions for those working in care settings.

Some abusers kill their victims and themselves as well. Data on homicides and homicide-suicides are provided in the overview papers on spousal abuse, child abuse, and abuse of older adults.

Consequences for Families and Communities

Family violence affects victims, their families and communities. Family members, friends, neighbours, volunteers and caregivers may feel worried, confused, anxious, angry or helpless when abuse occurs. In some cases, depending on the nature of the family members' relationship with and dependence on the abuser, they feel shame, guilt and anger about their inability to protect the victim and to stop the abuse. Many of the negative consequences victims may experience—including mental health problems, or the use of self-destructive coping strategies, such as substance abuse—may have direct impacts on family members and others. Similarly, communities are affected when violence occurs and individuals who have been victimized are unable to participate fully or make a positive contribution to community life.

Consequences for Society

Beyond the enormous personal and social costs of family violence are the economic costs for Canadian society. Although the total costs related to all forms of family violence have yet to be calculated, two key cost studies in specific areas have suggested that the costs are very high. A research study reviewing the costs of various forms of violence against women, including women abused in intimate relationships, estimates that Canadian society pays \$4.2 billion per year in social services, education, criminal justice, labour, employment, health and medical costs. The total criminal justice costs alone were about \$900 million per year.⁵⁴

Another study measured the costs of child abuse in Canada in 1998, including the judicial, social services, education, health, employment and personal costs of violence.

According to this study, the total cost of child abuse for Canadian society was more than \$15 billion, including more than \$600 million in judicial costs.⁵⁵

PREVENTING AND RESPONDING TO FAMILY VIOLENCE

In cases of family violence, victims and abusers are involved in intimate or dependent relationships and often have strong emotional ties. Given the extent of family violence in Canada—as well as the complexity of this issue and its enormous impact—an effective response requires the ongoing commitment and collaboration of community members, practitioners and all levels of government across Canada. Community services and supports for victims, such as shelters, are essential.

The Department of Justice Canada and its partners, including provincial and territorial governments, non-governmental organizations and the private sector, are working together to ensure that the criminal justice system responds more effectively to protect victims and to hold abusers accountable. Justice Canada recognizes that to be effective, criminal justice system personnel must participate in multidisciplinary and cross-sector approaches. Key strategies include legal reform, public and professional education, research, and support for programs and services. Much of this work is linked to the federal government's current Family Violence Initiative, [<http://www.phac-aspc.gc.ca/ncfv-cnivf/familyviolence/index.html>] which focuses primarily on violence against women and children occurring in the home. Other areas of activity include, for example, the Aboriginal Justice Strategy [<http://canada.justice.gc.ca/eng/pi/ajs-sja/index.html>], the Policy Centre for Victims Issues [<http://canada.justice.gc.ca/eng/pi/pcvi-cpcv/index.html>], and the Supporting Families Experiencing Separation and Divorce Initiative (formerly the Child-Centred Family Justice Strategy). [<http://canada.justice.gc.ca/eng/pi/pad-rpad/index.html>]

Reforming the Law and Enhancing Its Implementation

Justice Canada is responsible for ensuring that the *Criminal Code* effectively addresses family violence. This includes:

- determining acts that are criminal offences under the law
- providing options for police and prosecutors in charging and prosecuting offenders
- specifying the factors that judges should take into account in sentencing offenders
- creating measures that can be used to protect victims from being re-victimized while they are involved with the criminal justice system or afterwards
- providing options for dealing with offenders.

Justice Canada monitors how existing *Criminal Code* provisions are being applied in cases of family violence and, where necessary, proposes changes or additions to the

provisions of the *Criminal Code*. For a list of changes that have been made to the *Criminal Code* to improve the ability of the criminal justice system to address family violence, see the “Legislative Reforms” section of Justice Canada’s Family Violence Initiative website. [<http://canada.justice.gc.ca/eng/pi/fv-vf/laws-lois.html>]

Justice Canada works with its provincial and territorial partners to identify common issues and to exchange information in order to improve the effectiveness of charging practices, prosecutorial practices, and measures that protect victims and deal with abusers.

Other Strategies to Prevent and Respond to Family Violence

In addition to reforming the law and enhancing its implementation, Justice Canada is involved in many other strategies to prevent and respond to family violence.

Public legal education

Justice Canada, in partnership with public legal education organizations across Canada, actively supports and promotes public legal education on the issue of family violence. For example, the booklet *Abuse is Wrong* provides general information about family and intimate partner abuse. The emphasis is on educating Canadians about the prevalence and dynamics of family violence, their legal rights and options, and the criminal justice process in cases of family violence. This includes developing culturally appropriate materials, such as *Abuse is Wrong in Any Language* and *Abuse is Wrong in Any Culture*. [<http://canada.justice.gc.ca/eng/pi/fv-vf/pub/index.html>]

Professional development and resources

Justice Canada recognizes that the response of justice system personnel in cases of family violence is crucial. Police, Crown attorneys, judges, probation officers, victim-witness assistance personnel, correctional personnel and others play a key role in providing services that are sensitive, appropriate and supportive. Justice Canada is involved in developing resources to promote awareness of family violence, knowledge of the dynamics of family violence, and an understanding of best practices in cases of family violence. Justice Canada, with its provincial and territorial partners, has also developed and distributed key resources, such as *Criminal Harassment: A Handbook for Police and Crown Prosecutors*, for justice system personnel. [<http://canada.justice.gc.ca/eng/pi/fv-vf/pub/har/index.html>]

Research, data collection and information-sharing

Justice Canada recognizes the important role of research and data collection in enhancing our understanding of family violence and in developing effective measures for preventing and responding to cases of family violence. Justice Canada works with researchers across Canada to examine emerging issues. The focus is on learning from the experiences and insights of family violence victims, criminal justice system practitioners and communities. The information is used to improve the response to family violence. [<http://canada.justice.gc.ca/eng/pi/rs/index.html>]

Support for program and service delivery

Effective programs and services for victims of family violence are essential. Justice Canada is involved in supporting program development and its implementation through pilot-testing new models. These initiatives improve the criminal justice system's response to family violence, including implementing new approaches to prosecution and providing additional mechanisms for supporting victims and witnesses. The types of pilot projects and activities that are funded include:

- assessment of the response of the criminal justice system and professionals to family violence;
- development of new strategies, models and tools to improve service/program delivery to family violence victims in crisis;
- development and implementation of support for child victims and witnesses of family violence in the criminal justice process;
- development of family violence resource tools for service providers, including those in hard-to-reach communities, such as rural and Aboriginal communities; and
- development of information, strategies and tools for easier access to services relating to family violence to meet the needs of vulnerable groups, such as older adults, people with disabilities and immigrants.

For further information on Justice Canada's efforts to prevent and respond to family violence, visit Justice Canada's family violence website and the overview papers on spousal abuse [<http://canada.justice.gc.ca/eng/pi/fv-vf/facts-info/sa-vc.html>], child abuse [<http://canada.justice.gc.ca/eng/pi/fv-vf/facts-info/child-enf.html>], sexual abuse and exploitation of children and youth [http://canada.justice.gc.ca/eng/pi/fv-vf/facts-info/sex_abu.html], abuse of older adults [<http://canada.justice.gc.ca/eng/pi/fv-vf/facts-info/old-age.html>] and dating violence. [<http://canada.justice.gc.ca/eng/pi/fv-vf/facts-info/dati-freq.html>]

FOR FURTHER READING

Visit Justice Canada's family violence website and the overview papers on:

- spousal abuse [<http://canada.justice.gc.ca/eng/pi/fv-vf/facts-info/sa-vc.html>];
- child abuse [<http://canada.justice.gc.ca/eng/pi/fv-vf/facts-info/child-enf.html>];
- sexual abuse and exploitation of children and youth [http://canada.justice.gc.ca/eng/pi/fv-vf/facts-info/sex_abu.html];

- abuse of older adults [<http://canada.justice.gc.ca/eng/pi/fv-vf/facts-info/old-age.html>]; and
- dating violence. [<http://canada.justice.gc.ca/eng/pi/fv-vf/facts-info/dati-freq.html>]

WHERE TO GET MORE INFORMATION ON FAMILY VIOLENCE

Family Violence Initiative

[<http://canada.justice.gc.ca/eng/pi/fv-vf/index.html>]

National Clearinghouse on Family Violence

[<http://www.phac-aspc.gc.ca/ncfv-cnivf/familyviolence/>]

ENDNOTES

¹ Intimate partner violence is violence that a woman or man may experience at any time during an intimate relationship. This includes from the time two people become interested in and involved with one another; as the relationship develops; while it is breaking down; or after it has ended. Dating violence is also a form of intimate partner violence. See “Dating Violence Overview Paper” [<http://canada.justice.gc.ca/eng/pi/fv-vf/facts-info/dati-freq.html>] for more information. JHG Consulting, “Intimate Partner Violence Training”, (Ottawa: Correctional Service of Canada project, 2005). Module 1.

² Other forms of abuse, such as sibling abuse, parent abuse, and ritual abuse, have also been explored.

³ Assault and unlawful confinement are criminal offences in Canada.

⁴ For further information about female genital mutilation, see World Health Organization, “Female genital mutilation”, at <http://www.who.int/reproductive-health/fgm/index.html>, and UNICEF, “Child protection from violence, exploitation and abuse: female genital mutilation/cutting”, at http://www.unicef.org/protection/index_genitalmutilation.html.

Female genital mutilation is a crime in Canada under section 268 of the *Criminal Code of Canada* and has serious health consequences. See C. Wekerle and D.A. Wolfe, “Child Maltreatment”, Chapter 14 in *Child Psychopathology*, edited by E.J. Mash and R.A. Barkey, 2nd ed. (New York: Guilford Press, 2003 [see confirm date note in master list]).

⁵ Sexual assault and sexual exploitation are criminal offences in Canada.

⁶ Kathleen Coulborn Faller, *Understanding and Assessing Child Sexual Maltreatment* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2003): 19-21.

⁷ See, for example, information on date rape drugs from the University of Calgary: <http://www.ucalgary.ca/security/daterape>

⁸ See section 273.1 of the *Criminal Code of Canada*.

⁹ A single incident that is overtly threatening may be considered criminal harassment. See Department of Justice Canada, *Stalking is a Crime Called Criminal Harassment* (Ottawa: Department of Justice Canada, 2003).

¹⁰ See Statistics Canada, *Family Violence in Canada: A Statistical Profile 2005*. (Ottawa: Minister Responsible for Statistics Canada - Minister of Industry Canada, 2005). Department of Justice Canada. *A Handbook for Police and Crown Prosecutors on Criminal Harassment*. 2nd ed. (Ottawa: Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada, 2004): 1; Department of Justice Canada. *Stalking is a Crime Called Criminal Harassment* (Ottawa: Department of Justice Canada, 2003).

¹¹ Theft, fraud, forgery and extortion are criminal offences in Canada.

¹² Withholding the necessities of life, such as money to buy food or medical treatment, is a criminal offence in Canada.

¹³ Withholding the necessities of life, such as money to buy food or medical treatment, is a criminal offence in Canada.

¹⁴ Contacts for local child welfare agency can be found in local telephone books or through the Centre of Excellence for Child Welfare (<http://www.cecw-cepb.ca/provinces-territories>).

- ¹⁵ See Committee on Sexual Offences Against Children and Youth, *Sexual Offences Against Children in Canada: Report of the Committee on Sexual Offences Against Children and Youth* [the Badgley Report] (Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, 1984).
- ¹⁶ See Karen Rodgers, “Wife assault: The findings of a national survey”, *Juristat* 14, 9 (Ottawa: Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Statistics Canada; Cat. No.85-002).
- ¹⁷ See Canadian Panel on Violence against Women, *Final Report of the Canadian Panel on Violence against Women: Changing the landscape: ending violence—achieving equality* (Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, 1993).
- ¹⁸ See Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, *The Path to Healing* (Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, 1993).
- ¹⁹ See Nico Trocmé et al. *Canadian Incidence Study of Reported Child Abuse and Neglect—2003: Major Findings* (Ottawa: Public Health Agency of Canada; Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada, 2005).
- ²⁰ Nico Trocmé et al. *Canadian Incidence Study of Reported Child Abuse and Neglect—2003: Major Findings* (Ottawa: Public Health Agency of Canada; Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada, 2005) 1.
- ²¹ Statistics Canada. Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics. *Family Violence in Canada: A Statistical Profile 2005* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada; Cat. No.85-224 XIE, 2005): 8.
- ²² Statistics Canada. Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics. *Family Violence in Canada: A Statistical Profile 2005* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada; Cat. No.85-224 XIE, 2005): 8.
- ²³ Statistics Canada. Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics. *Family Violence in Canada: A Statistical Profile 2005* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada; Cat. No.85-224 XIE, 2005): 25-26.
- ²⁴ Statistics Canada. Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics. *Family Violence in Canada: A Statistical Profile 2005* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada; Cat. No.85-224 XIE, 2005): 20.
- ²⁵ Statistics Canada. Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics. *Family Violence in Canada: A Statistical Profile 2005* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada; Cat. No.85-224 XIE, 2005): 34-35.
- ²⁶ Statistics Canada. Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics. *Family Violence in Canada: A Statistical Profile 2005* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada; Cat. No.85-224 XIE, 2005): 73.
- ²⁷ The Incident-based Uniform Crime reporting (UCR2) survey in 2006 collected data from a subset of 149 police services across Canada representing approximately 90% of the Canadian population.
- ²⁸ Statistics Canada. Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics. *Family Violence in Canada: A Statistical Profile 2008* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada; Cat. No.85-224 X, 2008): 10.
- ²⁹ Statistics Canada. Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics. *Family Violence in Canada: A Statistical Profile 2008* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada; Cat. No.85-224 X, 2008): 12.
- ³⁰ Statistics Canada. Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics. *Family Violence in Canada: A Statistical Profile 2008* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada; Cat. No.85-224 X, 2008): 26.
- ³¹ Statistics Canada. Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics. *Family Violence in Canada: A Statistical Profile 2008* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada; Cat. No.85-224 X, 2008): 27.
- ³² Nico Trocmé et al. *Canadian Incidence Study of Reported Child Abuse and Neglect—2003: Major Findings* (Ottawa: Public Health Agency of Canada; Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada, 2005): 1.

³³ Data from 2005 UCR2 Survey, as reported in: Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, *Family Violence in Canada: A Statistical Profile 2007* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada; Cat. No. 85-224-XIE, 2007): 32.

³⁴ Statistics Canada. Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics. *Family Violence in Canada: A Statistical Profile 2007* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada; Cat. No.85-224 XIE, 2007): 9.

³⁵ Statistics Canada. Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics. *Family Violence in Canada: A Statistical Profile 2005* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada; Cat. No.85-224 XIE, 2005): 60.

³⁶ Jacinthe Loubier, “A Statistical Profile of Vulnerable Canadians”, *JustResearch*, 13 (2005): 57-61.

³⁷ See: Statistics Canada. Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics. *Victimization and offending among the Aboriginal population in Canada* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada; Cat. No. 85-002 XIE, 2006); and Larry Chartrand and Celeste McKay, *A Review of Research on Criminal Victimization and First Nations, Métis and Inuit Peoples 1990 to 2001* (Ottawa: Department of Justice Canada, 2006).

³⁸ Health Canada, *Breaking the Links Between Poverty and Violence Against Women*. Prepared by Jane Gurr, Louise Mailloux, Dianne Kinnon and Susan Doerge (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1996).

³⁹ Research has shown that individuals with disabilities experience high rates of abuse. Specific vulnerabilities may include: dependence on others for care; mobility, communications or transportation barriers; social isolation; poverty; discrimination; and specific fears about reporting abuse, e.g., institutionalization. See Public Health Agency of Canada. National Clearinghouse on Family Violence, *Violence Against Women with Disabilities*. Overview Paper prepared by Doris Rajan, The Roehrer Institute (Ottawa: National Clearinghouse on Family Violence, 2004); Public Health Agency of Canada. National Clearinghouse on Family Violence, *Family Violence and People with Intellectual Disabilities*. Overview Paper prepared by Dick Sobsey, J.P. Das Developmental Disabilities Centre, University of Alberta (Ottawa: National Clearinghouse on Family Violence, 2002); Jamie C. MacDougall, *Family Violence and the Deaf—Legal Education and Information Issues: A National Needs Assessment* (Ottawa: Department of Justice Canada, 2000); L’Institut Roehrer Institute, *Harm’s Way: The Many Faces of Violence and Abuse Against Persons with Disabilities* (Toronto: L’Institut Roehrer Institute, 1995).

⁴⁰ Visible minorities may experience linguistic or cultural barriers, racism, and other social and economic barriers that may increase their vulnerability to victimization. See Katrina Pacey, *Assisting Immigrant and Refugee Women Abused by Their Sponsors: A Guide for Service Providers* (Vancouver: B.C. Institute Against Family Violence, 2003); Ekuwa Smith, “Key elements of the homelessness experience among immigrant and refugee women”, *Responding to Partner Violence, National Network on Partner Violence Against Immigrant and Visible Minority Women Electronic Bulletin*, 2 (2005); Ekuwa Smith, *Nowhere to Turn? Responding to Partner Violence Against Immigrant and Visible Minority Women* (Ottawa: Canadian Council on Social Development, 2004); Yasmin Jiwani, *Intersecting Inequalities: Immigrant Women of Colour, Violence & Health Care*, (Vancouver: Feminist Research, Education, Development & Action, 2001); Swati Shirwadkar, “Canadian Domestic Violence Policy and Indian Immigrant Women”, *Violence Against Women*, 10, 8, (2004): 860-879; Helene Berman and Jasmin Jiwani (Eds.), *In the Best Interests of the Girl Child, Phase II Report*, (Ottawa: Alliance of Five Research Centres on Violence, 1999); Helene Berman and Jasmin Yiwani (Eds.), *Violence Prevention and the Girl Child: Final Report*, (Ottawa: Alliance of Five Research Centres on Violence, 2002).

⁴¹ New immigrants and refugees may face unique vulnerabilities due to cultural and linguistic barriers, racism and other forms of discrimination; lack of access to the criminal justice system and other services and supports; and specific fears of reporting abuse, e.g., complications in immigration or sponsorship status.

⁴² Research indicates that, as in heterosexual relationships, gays and lesbians sometimes experience abuse in their intimate relationships. Their vulnerability to abuse, however, may be increased by an overall lack of

awareness of this issue, discriminatory attitudes, homophobia, lack of family support, and fear of reporting abuse in order to avoid coming out. Other factors may include poverty or serious illness. See Public Health Agency of Canada. National Clearinghouse on Family Violence, *Abuse in Gay Male Relationships: A Discussion Paper*. Paper prepared by Kevin Kirkland (Ottawa: National Clearinghouse on Family Violence, 2004); Health Canada. *Abuse in Lesbian Relationships: Information and Resources*. Prepared by Laurie C. Chesley, Donna MacAulay and Janice L. Ristock (Ottawa: Minister of Public Works and Government Services, 1998).

⁴³ Individuals living in rural or remote communities who experience abuse may be made more vulnerable due to the following: distance, geographic isolation, transportation or communications issues, access to/availability of services and support, confidentiality issues, community attitudes/awareness, and the insider/outsider phenomenon. See Yasmin Jiwani et al., “Rural Women and Violence: A Study of Two Communities in British Columbia.” Working Document (Ottawa: Department of Justice Canada, 2000); Deborah Doherty, Muriel McQueen Fergusson Centre for Family Violence Research, *Making Family Violence Law Information Available to People in Rural Areas: An Inventory of Promising Practices* (Ottawa: Department of Justice Canada, 2002); Michelle Aukema, “Sexual Abuse in Rural, Remote and Small Communities” in *Violence in the Family—Social Work Readings and Research from Northern and Rural Canada* edited by Keith Brownlee and John R. Graham (Toronto: Canadian Scholars’ Press, 2005); Department of Justice Canada, *Research Report—The Ontario Rural Woman Abuse Study (ORWAS): Final Report*. Prepared by Lori Biesenthal et al. (Ottawa: Department of Justice Canada, 2000)

⁴⁴ Yasmin Jiwani, *Intersecting Inequalities: Immigrant Women of Colour, Violence & Health Care*, (Vancouver: Feminist Research, Education, Development & Action, 2001).

⁴⁵ “Dislocation” means being removed from one’s language, culture, family and community. Dislocation is a situation that has affected Aboriginal children who were sent to residential schools as well as immigrants and refugees to Canada.

⁴⁶ “Colonization” is “that process of encroachment and subsequent subjugation of Aboriginal peoples since the arrival of Europeans. From the Aboriginal perspective, it refers to loss of lands, resources, and self-direction and to the severe disturbance of cultural ways and values.” Source: Emma D. LaRoque “Violence in Aboriginal Communities” in *The Path to Healing* with permission from the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (Ottawa: Health Canada, 1994): 73.

⁴⁷ Statistics Canada. *Family Violence in Canada: A Statistical Profile 2000* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada; Cat. No: 85-224, 2000): 27; Harbison, 1999, as cited in Statistics Canada. Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics. *Family Violence in Canada: A Statistical Profile 2002* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada; Cat. No: 85-224, 2002): 27.

⁴⁸ Law Commission of Canada, “Restoring Dignity: Responding to Child Abuse in Canadian Institutions.” *The International Journal of Human Rights* 10, 3 (January 2002): 295-302.

⁴⁹ Michael Bopp, Judie Bopp and Phil Lane, Four Worlds Centre for Development Learning, *Aboriginal Domestic Violence in Canada* (Ottawa: The Aboriginal Healing Foundation, 2003); Pauktutit Inuit Women of Canada, *Applying Inuit Cultural Approaches in the Prevention of Family Violence and Abuse*. Research Report for the National Inuit Abuse Prevention Strategy (Ottawa: Pauktutit Inuit Women of Canada, 2005); Native Women’s Association of Canada, Sisters in Spirit Initiative.

⁵⁰ Dr. John H. Hylton et al., *Aboriginal Sexual Offending in Canada* (Ottawa: The Aboriginal Healing Foundation; the Law Commission of Canada, 2002). *Restoring Dignity: Responding to Child Abuse in Canadian Institutions* (Ottawa: Minister of Public Works and Government Services, 2000): 51-70. Michael Bopp, Judie Bopp and Phil Lane, Four Worlds Centre for Development Learning, *Aboriginal Domestic Violence in Canada* (Ottawa: The Aboriginal Healing Foundation, 2003); Pauktutit Inuit Women of Canada, *Applying Inuit Cultural Approaches in the Prevention of Family Violence and Abuse*. Research

Report for the National Inuit Abuse Prevention Strategy (Ottawa: Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada, 2005).

⁵¹ Michael Bopp, Judie Bopp and Phil Lane, Four Worlds Centre for Development Learning, *Aboriginal Domestic Violence in Canada* (Ottawa: The Aboriginal Healing Foundation, 2003): ix-xi.

⁵² Health Canada, *The Consequences of Child Maltreatment: A Reference Guide for Health Practitioners*. Prepared by Jeff Latimer (Ottawa: Health Canada, 1998).

⁵³ Health Canada, *A Handbook for Health and Social Service Providers and Educators on Children Exposed to Woman Abuse/Family Violence*. Prepared by Marlies Suderman and Peter Jaffe (Ottawa: Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada, 1999): 1.

See also: Peter G. Jaffe, Linda L. Baker and Alison J. Cunningham, eds. *Protecting Children from Domestic Violence: Strategies for Community Intervention* (New York: The Guilford Press, 2004); Agar, Sharon, *Interventions for Children Who Witness Intimate Partner Violence: A Literature Review* (Vancouver: The British Columbia Institute Against Family Violence, 2004); Kai-Lee Klymchuk, Mary Cooper and Katrina Pacey, *Children Exposed to Partner Violence: An Overview of Key Issues* (Vancouver: The British Columbia Institute Against Family Violence, 2002); Linda L. Baker et al. "Potential Impacts of Domestic Violence at Different Developmental Stages", in *Children Exposed to Domestic Violence: A Handbook for Police Trainers to Increase Understanding and Improve Community Responses* (London, ON: Centre for Children and Families in the Justice System, 2002).

⁵⁴ Lorraine Greaves and Olena Hankivsky, *Selected Estimates of the Costs of Violence Against Women* (London, Ontario: Centre for Research on Violence Against Women and Children, 1995): 2. See also: Ambrose Leung, *The Cost of Pain and Suffering from Crime in Canada* (Ottawa: Department of Justice Canada, 2004).

⁵⁵ Law Commission of Canada. *The Economic Costs and Consequences of Child Abuse in Canada*. Prepared by Audra Bowlus, Katharine McKenna, Tanis Day and David Right (Ottawa: Law Commission of Canada, 2003).