The Context of Violence for Children of Color: Violence in the Community and in the Media

Marie-Claude Jipguep and Kathy Sanders-Phillips

Exposure to community violence may be associated with psychological distress, greater risk taking and aggression, and learning problems in children of color, while exposure to media violence may be related to increased aggression, psychological trauma, and other psychological and behavioral sequelae. Unfortunately, relationships between children's exposure to community and media violence have not been fully examined. Based on existing findings, this article presents a conceptual model of the potential effects of exposure to community and media violence on child functioning which suggests that the impact may be cumulative and should be examined in future studies of development in children of color.

Low-income children of color in America are exposed to many types of violence. They may experience violence in the home and they experience or observe violence in schools, playgrounds, parks, and the communities in which they play and grow (Veenema, 2001). In addition, children are growing up in a media-saturated environment. Portrayals of violence in the media—through television, video games, and the Internet—touch virtually every child (Gentile & Walsh, 2002; Osofsky, 1999; Singer et al., 1999). While community and media violence affect all racial and ethnic groups, ethnic minority youth, particularly African Americans and Hispanic Americans, may be disproportionately affected by exposure to both community violence and exposure to media violence (Attar, Guerra, & Tolan, 1994; Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1991; Cooley-Quille, Boyd, Frantz, & Walsh, 2001).

Violence refers to immediate or chronic situations that result in injury to the psychological, social, or physical well-being of individuals or groups (American Psychological Association, 1993). Violence, however, is not evenly distributed across all neighborhoods and demographic groups. Evidence suggests that it occurs at a higher rate in low-income/no income neighborhoods, especially among the young, and in public places (Bell & Jenkins, 1993). Research shows that children's exposure to community violence is related to a wide array of behavioral and psychological difficulties (Ceballo, Dahl, Aretakis, & Ramirez, 2001). Similarly, children's exposure to media violence is related to increased aggression, the prevalence of symptoms of psychological trauma, and other psychological and behavioral sequelae (American Academy of Pediatrics, 1995; Gentile & Walsh, 2002; McCann, Sakheim, & Abrahamson, 1988; Rosenthal, 2000; Sanders-Phillips, 1997; Strasburger & Donnerstein, 1999). As this selective review of the literature suggests, the level of children's exposure to community violence or media violence may vary; however, the psychological and behavioral risks that are associated with children's exposure to these types of violence are remarkably similar.

Journal of Negro Education, Vol. 72, No. 4 (Fall 2003)

This article reviews existing findings on exposure to community violence and exposure to media violence and on the associated adverse psychosocial and behavioral outcomes in children and adolescents. The lack of scientific inquiry linking the potential cumulative effects of the co-occurrence of exposure to community and exposure to media violence to adverse psychosocial and behavioral outcomes in children, particularly children of color, is noted. Based on the literature review, a conceptual model of the relationship between exposure to community violence and psychosocial adjustment and risk behaviors in children of color, moderated by exposure to media violence, is presented.

Low-Income Children's Exposure to Community & Media Violence: Effects and Responses

Exposure to Community Violence

While the nation publicly mourns shootings at schools such as Columbine High School in Littleton, Colorado, life-threatening community violence is a daily obstacle for many low-income, inner-city children (Ceballo et al., 2001). Groves (1997) defines community violence as the chronic and pervasive presence of violence and violence-related events within an individual's proximal environment. In the case of children, exposure to community violence specifically refers to their exposure, as witnesses or through actual experience, to acts of interpersonal violence perpetrated by individuals to whom they are not intimately related (Linares, 2001). The violence occurs within the confines of their neighborhood and includes a wide range of events such as gang wars, drive-by shootings, sniper attacks, and widespread sexual, physical, and emotional abuse (Hamblen & Goguen, 2003). Like the home, the neighborhood should provide a primary safe haven for children. However, in the aftermath of violence, the neighborhood loses its protective and comforting quality, thereby giving rise to problems that affect children's physical health, safety, and psychological adjustment (Margolin, 1998; Margolin & Gordis, 2000). The Surgeon General's Report on Youth Violence (2001) asserts that exposure to or involvement in community violence can disrupt normal development for children and adolescents, with profound effects on their mental, physical, and emotional health. Community violence produces "social disaster," a situation associated with a dramatic and overwhelming destruction of the infrastructure of daily life. This ravage occurs at precisely the time when children need reliable social infrastructure to ensure their normal development (Garbarino, 1993; Garbarino, Dubrow, Kosteleny, & Pardo, 1992).

In the United States, the ethnic group most affected by violence is also the one most affected by poverty. African American youth are the ethnic group most exposed to violence, followed by Hispanic Americans, and Whites (Crouch, Hanson, Saunders, Kilpatrick, & Resnick, 2000). Research shows that 80% of all African American children live in "distressed" communities, which are characterized by both high levels of poverty *and* crime (Kuther & Wallace, 2003; Logan, Cole, & Leukefeld, 2002; McLoyd, 1998; Staveteig & Wigton, 2000). For example, Shakoor and Chalmers' (1991) survey of 1,035 African American elementary and high school students in Chicago's South Side showed that approximately 70% of all respondents had witnessed at least one robbery, stabbing, or shooting, and 46% had been a victim of one of eight violent crimes (i.e., threatened with a weapon, robbed, raped, shot, or stabbed). Low-income urban neighborhoods are beset by a high turnover of residents that threatens their stability and there are higher levels of community disorganization, which may explain why residents tend to feel less attachment to their community (Fraser, 2002). Over the last decade, data has consistently shown that in inner-city neighborhoods, one third or more of all preteen and teenage children

have been directly victimized, and almost all the children have been exposed to community violence. In a survey of 6th, 8th, and 10th graders in New Haven, Connecticut, Marans and Cohen (1993) found that very few children were able to avoid being exposed to violence. Forty percent reported witnessing at least one violent crime in the past year and almost all eighth graders knew someone who had been killed in a violent incident.

For some children of color, exposure to community violence is combined with exposure to family violence. According to Straus (1974) and Perry (2002), the home is the most violent place in America. Perry (2002) reports that, in 1995, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) reported that 27% of all violent crime involved family-on-family violence and 48% involved violence in the home that was perpetrated by acquaintances. Children are often the witnesses to, or victims of, these violent acts. Intrafamilial abuse, neglect, and domestic battery account for most of the exposure to violence suffered by children in America (see Horowitz, Weine, & Jekel, 1995; Koop & Lundberg, 1992; Perry, 2002). Moreover, because of the stresses of urban life, which include societal oppression related to being a member of a secondary social group, high rates of crime and unemployment, substandard housing, inadequate schools, and limited medical and mental health resources, low-income children of color may be particularly vulnerable to the impacts of exposure to community violence (Bell, 1982; Jackson & Neighbors, 1982; Warner & Weist, 1996). In a recent survey of 2,248 inner-city elementary school children, Schwab-Stone and colleagues (1995) found that 74% of the children reported feeling "unsafe" in their neighborhood, riding the school bus, and walking to school.

There is growing literature on the effects of exposure to community violence on children, as evidenced by comprehensive review articles and numerous empirical investigations. Research results show that exposure to community violence has direct and indirect relationships to numerous mental health problems such as aggressive and/or antisocial behaviors, posttraumatic stress disorder, depression, suicidal behavior, anxiety, and academic difficulties (Mazza & Overstreet, 2000). According to Margolin and Gordis (2000), community violence statistics, generally collected through interview or survey methods, reflect the number of children who are personally victimized, or directly observed family members, schoolmates, neighbors, and peers being the target of violence. Whereas child abuse and interparental aggression often are kept private, community violence is discussed widely, often resulting in rapidly spreading ripple effects. More important, the impact of exposure to community violence goes beyond emotional and behavioral disorders, affecting children's views of the world and of themselves, their ideas about the meaning and purpose of life, their expectations for future happiness, and their moral development (Garbarino, Kosteleny, & Dubrow, 1991; Margolin & Gordis, 2000; Ney, Fung, & Wickett, 1994). Thus, even children who do not directly witness community violence often hear repeated accounts of a specific incident, and may form their own mental imagery of the event.

For example, previous studies document a link between exposure to community violence and aggressive behavior (Margolin & Gordis, 2000). In a study of children's social behavior as a function of the neighborhood and family context, researchers found that neighborhood context and socioeconomic status were associated with childhood aggression and peer relations beyond the variance accounted for by family characteristics (Fraser & Garcia 2003; Kupersmidt, Griesler, DeRosier, Patterson, & Davis, 1995). Gorman-Smith and Tolan (1998) found that exposure to community violence was associated with increased aggression in inner-city African American and Hispanic American boys. Adolescents exposed to community violence tend to show high levels of aggression and acting out, accompanied by revenge seeking, school problems, truancy, anxiety, and behavioral problems (Fonagy, Target, Steele, & Steele, 1997; Loeber et al., 1993). In low-income, urban

African American adolescents, direct exposure to community violence (e.g., witnessing violence) is related to reports of intrusive thoughts and feelings, difficulties with concentration, and vigilant or avoidant behavior (Jenkins & Bell, 1997; Loeber & Dishion, 1983). O'Keefe (1997) found that exposure to community and school violence significantly predicted aggressive acting-out behaviors, internalization (i.e., depression, withdrawal) among adolescent boys and girls, even when controlling for effects of family violence and other sociodemographic variables.

Researchers have also noted to a link between anxiety and exposure to community violence. Of the anxiety disorders, posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) is most widely recognized as having physiological concomitants, although all anxiety disorders affect physiological, behavioral, and cognitive systems. This may be because the onset of PTSD is necessarily preceded by an external stressor (Kendall & Hammen, 1995). Fitzpatrick and Boldizar (1993) established that exposure to community violence, especially witnessing and victimization, was positively correlated with and predicted PTSD symptomatology in low-income African American youth, particularly girls. Symptoms included distractibility, intrusive and unwanted fears and thoughts, and feelings of not belonging (Parsons, 1994). In extreme cases of exposure to violence, children and adolescents may exhibit symptoms akin to PTSD (Osofsky, 1999), including re-experiencing traumatic events in dreams and play, constricted affect, diminished interest in once pleasurable activities, startled reactions, sleep problems, and avoidance behaviors (Berman, Silverman, & Kurtines, 2000; Ceballo et al., 2001).

Current findings also indicate that exposure to violence is associated with self-reported alcohol use, aggression, and participation in antisocial activities among urban schoolchildren (Schwab-Stone et al., 1995). Sanders-Phillips (2003) found that victimization, witnessing community violence, and frequency and/or severity of exposure to community violence are associated with increased cigarette smoking, illegal drug use, and alcohol consumption among low-income urban African American and Hispanic American girls. In addition, psychological symptoms (e.g., external locus of control, hopelessness, and depression) moderate the effect of exposure to community violence on cigarette smoking, illegal drug use, and alcohol consumption. Findings also showed that high severity of exposure to community violence is related to increased sexual risk in African American and Hispanic American girls. Being a victim of violence is correlated with feelings of despondency about having either a happy or long life, as well as feelings of being unloved, uncared for, and afraid (Howard, Feigelman, Li, Cross, & Rachuba, 2000).

Exposure to community violence may also influence basic psychobiological processes (Cooley-Quille et al., 2001; Cooley-Quille & Lorion, 1999). According to Perry (2003), children at highest risk for poor outcomes are those exposed to violence in their homes, community, and schools. These children must grow and learn in an atmosphere of threat and must adapt to this atmosphere of fear. Persistent fear and the neurophysiological adaptations to this fear can alter the development of the child's brain, resulting in changes in physiological, emotional, behavioral, cognitive, and social functioning (Perry, 2003). Children in a state of fear retrieve information from the world differently from children that feel calm. An important reflection of this is how the sense of time is altered in alarm states. Sense of future is foreshortened and the critical time for the individual shrinks. The threatened child is not thinking (nor should she think) about months from now. Immediate reward (e.g., drug use, aggression, sexual behavior) is most reinforcing and consequences of behavior become almost inconceivable to the threatened child (Perry, 2003).

Overall, there is ample evidence that exposure to community violence has negative effects on development and adaptive functioning in low-income minority children (e.g.,

Attar et al., 1994; Cooley-Quille et al., 2001; Fitzpatrick & Boldizar, 1993; Jenkins & Bell, 1994). Research shows that exposure to community violence is associated with diminished perceptions of risk (Schwab-Stone et al., 1995), and among urban African American children, self-reported use of violence is significantly correlated with previous exposure to violence such as self-reported exposure to violence and victimization in the community (DuRant, Cadenhead, Pendergrast, Slavens, & Linder, 1994). There is also increasing concern that children who live in areas where violence occurs and who watch violence on television and in the movies, are at much greater risk for behaving violently and engaging in other risky behaviors (DeWitt, 2003).

Exposure to Media Violence

The phenomenon of media violence is one of the most extensively studied issues in the social and behavioral sciences, spanning more than 1,000 publications in recent years (cf. Geen, 1994; Hogben, 1998; Kiewitz & Weaver, 2001; Zillman & Weaver, 1999). Both professionals and parents have worried about the harmful effects of mass media on children and adolescents. In the 1920s, parents were concerned about how Hollywood movies viewed in theaters allowed young people to be together unchapperoned in the darkness watching bigger-than-life scenes of kissing and romance (Brown & Whitherspoon, 2002). Of late, the introduction of new media and the widespread distribution and consumption of mass media have given way to intense debate about the extent to which products like films, television, music videos, video games, and now the Internet, affect youth behavior and social development (Brown & Whiterspoon, 2002; Watkins, 2000). The most pressing public concern seems to be about the contribution of television, movie, and video game violence to the perpetration of actual violence in society (Cantor, 2000).

Media violence is often defined as:

> . . . any overt depiction of a credible threat of physical force or the actual use of such force intended to physically harm an animate being or group of beings. Violence also includes certain depictions of physically harmful consequences against an animate being or group that occurs as a result of unseen violent means. Thus, there are primary types of violent depictions: credible threats, behavioral acts, and harmful consequences. (National Television Study, 1998, p. 41)

> This definition insures that depictions classified as violent represent actual physical aggression directed against living beings. Such physical action lies at the heart of any conception of violence, and limiting [the] definition to this type of portrayal (as opposed to including, for example, verbal aggression that might intimidate) renders it a conservative measure of [media] violence. (National Television Study, 1996, p. I-36)

Although other definitions of media violence differ slightly, Bartholow, Dill, Anderson, and Lindsay (2003) report that most scholars agree with the definition provided by the National Television Study. In the *Global Study on Children's Media Behavior*, Joel Groebel (2001) remarked that, over a broad range of research methodologies (e.g., content analyses, behavioral research, cultural studies), the terms "aggression" and "violence" in the media are defined generally as "behavior that leads to harm to another person" (Bartholow et al., 2003).

The National Television Study estimates that nearly two out of three television programs, including children's programming, contain some violence, averaging about six violent acts per hour. Fewer than 5% of these programs feature an antiviolence theme or prosocial message that emphasizes alternatives to or consequences of violence (Center for Communications and Social Policy, 1998). Of all video games available (e.g., educational, nonviolent strategy, sports, etc.), the most heavily marketed and consumed by children are violent (Anderson & Bushman, 2001). Whereas most 4th graders, boys and girls alike, favor violent video games (Buchman & Funk, 1996), most 8th to 12th graders report that

their parents never check the ratings of video games before allowing their purchase and never limit the time they spend playing video games (Walsh, 2000).

There is consensus among much of the research community that violence on television leads to aggressive behavior by children and teenagers who watch the programs. This conclusion is based on laboratory experiments and on field studies. Although not all children become aggressive, the correlations between violence and aggression are positive (Strasburger & Donnerstein, 1999). The majority of empirical inquiries into the effects of media violence depart from the premise that media images instruct and motivate behavior because children acquire new skills or behavioral scripts primarily through observation of models (Gidwani, Sobol, DeJong, Perrin, & Gortmaker, 2002). To the contrary, a primary aim of the "effects paradigm" has been to explore how media socializes youths in ways that impair their ability to mature into socially responsible citizens (Chandler, 1992; Watkins, 2000).

Findings from recent studies support the conclusion that there is a strong association between violence on television and aggressive behavior. A 10-year review of the media literature by Villani (2001) found that the primary effects of media exposure (e.g., television and movies, rock music and music videos, advertising, video games, computers, and the Internet) included increased violent and aggressive behavior, increased high-risk behaviors such as alcohol and tobacco use, and accelerated onset of sexual activity in children and adolescents. Huesmann's and colleagues (2003) assessment of longitudinal relations between children's exposure to television violence, aggression, and violent behavior in young adulthood showed that childhood exposure to media violence predicts young adult aggressive behavior in both males and females. Initiated in 1977, the study found that children who identify with aggressive television characters and perceive violence to be more realistic are most at risk for later aggression. Specifically, men who were high television violence watchers as children were convicted of crimes at over three times the rate of other men. Similarly, women who were high television watchers as children were more likely to have thrown something at their spouses, to have responded to someone who made them mad by shoving, punching, beating, or choking the person, to have committed some type of criminal act, and to have committed a moving traffic violation. These women reported having punched, beaten, or choked another adult at over four times the rate of other women.

In addition, identification with aggressive television characters and perceived realism of television violence also predict later aggression. Research suggests that children who witness either fictional or real violence on TV sometimes may develop symptoms of PTSD. Joshi and Kaschak (1998) found that 10% of 702 high school students sought counseling for negative reactions to TV violence, citing such problems as nightmares, anxiety, fear of being alone, and school absences. Fraser (2002) argues that exposure to violence on television can influence a child's character and personality, including the willingness to commit violence. He has written that a steady diet of television violence can also lead to indifference toward violence committed toward others. Furthermore, exposure to television violence contributes to a "mean world" syndrome of heightened mistrust and an exaggerated view of the prevalence of violence in the real world. Researchers have also examined the general increase in risk-taking behavior that follows television viewing. Klein and colleagues (1993) examined incidences of sexual intercourse, drinking, smoking cigarettes and marijuana, cheating, stealing, cutting class, and driving a car without permission among 2,760 randomly selected 14- to 16-year-olds from 10 urban areas. For all the young people surveyed, these behaviors correlated with frequency of television viewing, even when variables such as race, gender, and parental education were accounted for.

Television viewership among African American children and adolescents is higher than their White counterparts (Pointdexter & Stroman, 1981). Low-income children of color in urban neighborhoods, where access to safe play areas is relatively limited, are more likely to spend extended periods in self-care (Dennison, Erb, & Jenkins, 2002; Miller, 1995). Research shows that, outside of school, television viewing, video game playing, and listening to music are the activities in which children spend the most time (Dennison et al., 2002). Social and economic factors may explain this trend (Greenberg & Dominick, 1969). Watkins (2000) argues that high levels of television viewership tend to correspond with low economic status. Because poor and working class children are less likely to have access to nonschool related extracurricular activities, they may spend more time at home, thus increasing their viewership of television. In addition, because African American children are more likely to be reared in single parent households, they may not receive the same degree of parental supervision as White children, and children who are poorly supervised are exposed to violence across the range of popular entertainment mediums, such as television (Fraser, 2002). Furthermore, low-income children of color in single parent homes watch more television, more movies, and listen to more radio each day than children in two-parent homes. Similar patterns are found for parental education level in that lower education levels are associated with higher electronic media use (Roberts, Foehr, Rideout, & Brodie, 1999). Consequently, African American youth and other low-income children of color may be more likely to use television for companionship (Surlin & Dominick, 1970–71).

Some researchers (e.g., Donnerstein, Slaby, & Eron, 1994) argue that media diets high in violence increase aggression, fear, desentization, and appetites for more media violence. Despite conclusions to the contrary (e.g., Friedlander's (1993), contention that prosocial messages on television can have greater effects on behavior than antisocial messages), there are research results suggesting that children's media exposure to violence and risk behaviors, in particular, may cause them to model that behavior (Bushman & Anderson, 2001; Gruber & Grube, 2000). Researchers have documented numerous effects related to both the level of media exposure and the content of media consumed. Many negative outcomes are correlated with increased levels of viewing television (Gentile & Walsh, 2002). Specifically, adolescents turn to the media for information on developmental issues, such as sex, gender roles, relationships, which they, in turn, interpret and integrate into their self-representation (Chapin, 2000; Clark & Richman, 2002). In general, the media depicts a world in which unhealthy behaviors such as physical aggression, unprotected sex, smoking, and drinking are glamorous and risk free. It would be hard for young people today not to be seduced by this media view since they are growing up in a media-saturated environment (Brown & Whiterspoon, 2002). Research suggests that what children and adolescents see and hear in the media helps shape their thoughts and behavior. In particular, increasingly graphic content in the media may be desensitizing young people to violence, aggression, and explicit sexual content (Clark & Richman, 2002).

Effects related to media violence are also present for media other than television. For example, Provenzo's (1991) study of popular video games noted that the majority (40:47) of the games were violent in nature. Berkowitz (1993) has suggested that one way that exposure to violent video games may lead to greater aggression is through the construction, elaboration, and priming of aggressive thought networks. When a person is exposed to a violent video game, aggressive cognitions and affects are activated. Repeated exposure to aggressive video games could make aggressive cognitions and affects available, thus increasing the likelihood of aggressive responses. In the long term, this would mean that chronic exposure to violent video games would lead to increases in the tendency of an individual to act aggressively and this effect would be pervasive (Berkowitz, 1993). Some

studies indicate that violent video game play increases children's overt aggressive behavior (Chambers & Ascione, 1987; Irwin & Gross, 1995; Silvern & Williamson, 1987). Silvern and Williamson (1987) found both increases in aggressive behavior and decreases in preteen-agers prosocial behavior following violent game play. Anderson and Dill (2000) found that young people (e.g., college students) who played a violent video game act more aggressively toward an opponent than those who play a nonviolent game. Anderson & Bushman (2001) have argued that exposure to violent video games may pose a public health threat to children and youth, including college-age individuals. Exposure may be negatively associated with prosocial behavior and positively associated with heightened levels of aggression and mistrust in young people and children. According to these researchers, exposure to video games may be positively related to the main mechanism underlying long-term effects on the development of aggressive personality—aggressive cognition. Increased levels of video game play are also correlated with poorer grades (Gentile, Lynch, Linder, & Walsh, in press). Finally, exposure is positively related to aggressive affect and physiological arousal (Anderson & Bushman, 2001).

Children may also be exposed to violence through other forms of the media. Researchers have found that children and adolescents can spend nearly equal amounts of time listening to the radio, although music is used frequently as an accompaniment to other activities (Christenson & Roberts, 1998; Klein et al., 1993). One study found that more than half of all 15- to 16-year-olds had seen the majority of the most popular, recent R-rated movies (Greenberg et al., 1993). Another study found that 92% of males and 84% of females had seen or read Playboy or Playgirl by age 15 (Brown & Bryant, 1989). As evidenced by the creation of the Parents' Music Resource Center and the policy of labeling music products containing violent lyrics, public concern with potential deleterious effects of listening to songs with violent lyrics has grown (Anderson, Carnagey, & Eubanks, 2003; Gore, 1987; Klein et al., 1993; Wass, Miller, & Redditt, 1991). Recent research has documented the high levels of exposure to popular music in the lives of children, especially as children become older and enter adolescence. It has been estimated that, by the 12th grade, *children and teenagers will have spent as much time listening to music and watching music videos as they have in school* (Fried, 2003; Zillman & Gan, 1997). As a result, researchers have objectively studied the relationship between popular music genres such as rap or heavy metal and negative behaviors among teens. A comprehensive analysis of rock music videos of all genres demonstrated that 22.4% of all music videos portrayed overt violence, 20% of all rap videos contained violence, and weapon carrying was depicted in 25% of all music videos (DuRant et al., 1997).

Anderson, Carnagey, and Eubanks (2003) examined the effects of songs with violent lyrics on aggressive thoughts and hostile feelings among undergraduate male and female students. Findings showed that violent songs increased feelings of hostility in the absence of provocation or threat. Anderson et al. (2003) concluded that listening to violent angry lyrics may contribute to the development of an aggressive personality, as is true for long-term television violence effects. In addition, repeated exposure to media violence (i.e., lyrics, television, video games) can indirectly create a more hostile social environment, which further promotes the development of hostility biases in a person's internal makeup. High levels of Internet use have been associated with less time spent with people, less communication, and increased depression and loneliness (Gentile & Walsh, 2002; Singer, Slovak, Frierson, & York, 1998).

Research findings also show that rap music can be related to a greater acceptance of violence among low-income minority youth, as well as predictions that they themselves would engage in violence (Johnson, Jackson, & Gatto, 1995). Certain types of rap music elicit negative attitudes towards women (Gan, Zillman, & Mitrock, 1997; St. Lawrence &

Joyner, 1991), a greater acceptance of violence against women (Barongan & Hall, 1995), and an increased acceptance of antisocial behavior (Hansen & Hansen, 1990). 'Gangsta rap,' in particular, might contribute to adverse psychosocial and behavioral in low-income minority children. This musical style often involves references to street gangs, gunplay, drug use, and violence, and has been cited in extolling violent and misogynic behavior (Youth and Violent Music, 2000). Recently, Wingood and colleagues (2003) studied a sample of African American adolescent females living in lower income neighborhoods over a 12-month period to determine whether exposure to rap music videos at baseline could predict the occurrence of health risk behaviors and sexually transmitted diseases at follow-up. Researchers found that adolescents who had greater exposure to rap music videos were 3 times more likely to have hit a teacher; more than 2.5 times as likely to have been arrested; 2 times as likely to have had multiple sexual partners; and more than 1.5 times as likely to have acquired a new sexually transmitted disease, used drugs, and used alcohol over the 12-month follow-up period.

A Conceptual Model Exploring the Moderating Effect of Media Violence in Children Exposed to Community Violence

This literature review suggests that exposure to community or media violence may negatively impact the behavioral and psychosocial development of children and adolescents. These effects include increased aggression/development of favorable attitudes about using violence to resolve conflicts, desensitization to violence and the victimization of others, and beliefs that the world is unsafe and dangerous (Robinson, Wilde, Navracruz, Haydel, & Varady, 2001). While existing literature documents the high levels of community violence to which children of color may be exposed, results suggest that low-income minority children may also be exposed to high levels of media violence. Therefore, exposure to media violence may exacerbate the negative effects of exposure to community violence on the development and adaptive functioning of low-income children of color.

Although a sizeable literature has been accumulated on the psychosocial and adaptive functioning of children exposed to *either* community or media violence, there is a critical gap in our knowledge regarding the effects of contemporaneous exposure to community and media violence. The exception is a recent study conducted by Singer and colleagues (1999). They examined the relative contributions of exposure to violence, parental monitoring, and television-viewing habits to children's self-reported violent behaviors. A total of 2,245 elementary and middle school students were asked how often they had witnessed or engaged in a violent act. Self-reported violent behavior was linked to exposure to violence, watching a lot of television, and a lack of parental monitoring. Findings revealed that the combination of demographic variables, parental monitoring, television-viewing habits, and exposure to violence explained 45% of students' self-reported violent behaviors. Violence exposure and parental monitoring were the most influential contributors in explaining children's violent behaviors, accounting for 24% and 5% of the variance in violent behaviors, respectively.

This study is an important first step in expanding our understanding of the potential cumulative effects of exposure to both community and media violence in children of color. The findings of Singer et al. (1999) suggest that exposure to community violence is an important predictor of poor outcomes; however, exposure to media violence may moderate the relationship. This finding, while requiring further investigation and replication, is consistent with the current state of the literature and with the definition of a moderating variable. Numerous theoretical and empirical reviews of experimental, cross-sectional, longitudinal, and meta-analyses on the effects of exposure to community violence

(e.g., Acosta, Albus, Reynolds, Spriggs, & Weist, 2001; Margolin & Gordis, 2000; Osofsky, 1999; Veenema, 2001) or media violence (e.g., Anderson & Bushman, 2001; Cantor, 2002; Gruber & Grube, 2000; Paik & Comstock, 1994; Pennell & Browne, 1999) in children and adolescents have been published. It is clear that exposure to community violence accounts for a large proportion of the variance explained in adverse psychosocial and behavioral outcomes; however, it does not account for potential sources of unexplained variance in these outcomes. According to Hunter, Schmidt, and Jackson (1982), moderating variables may account for residual or unexplained variance. In low-income children of color, media violence may serve as a critical moderating variable in the relationship between exposure to community violence and poor outcomes.

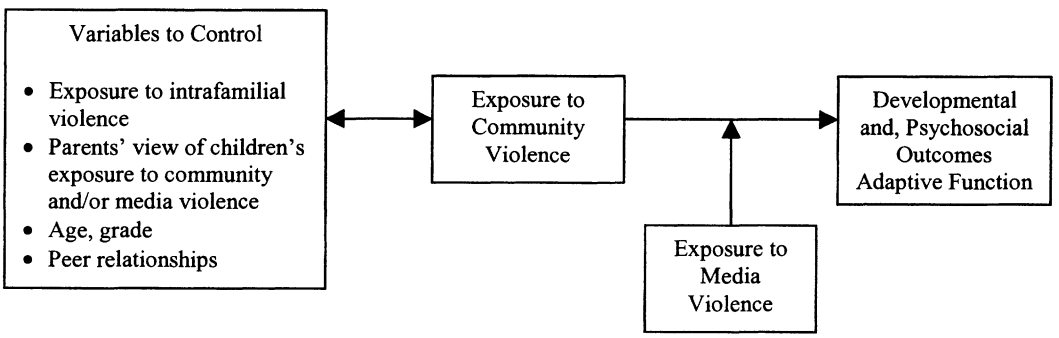
Based on the existing literature, a conceptual model of the potential moderating effect of media violence in the relationship between exposure to community violence and adverse psychosocial and behavioral outcomes in low-income children of color is proposed (see Figure 1).

This model posits that exposure to community violence is a significant correlate of poor development and psychosocial outcomes as well as maladaptive functioning in children. However, the degree of the impact of exposure to community violence on children's outcomes may depend, in part, on the level of exposure to media violence. Based on this model, we would predict that children who are exposed to high levels of both community and media violence will have significantly poorer outcomes than children exposed to community violence alone. That is, we predict that exposure to high levels of media violence will exacerbate the relationship between exposure to community violence and poor outcomes.

These relationships may be particularly important to the development of low-income children of color. Children of color living in low-income urban neighborhoods may be bombarded by violence in the home, in the neighborhood, and in the media. In addition, their position in marginal and secondary social groups may significantly increase the level of other stressors in their lives (Dubrow & Garbarino, 1989; Kuther & Wallace, 2003; Sanders-Phillips, 2002). For example, they may be routinely forced to walk extra street blocks on their way to and from school to avoid unsafe areas and violent locations. In addition, they are often instructed by their parents to adhere to several distinct survival-like rules. These may include not walking alone in the neighborhood, running and getting

FIGURE 1

A model for assessing the moderating effect of media violence in children exposed to community violence



out of the way if and when gunshots are fired, staying inside and not lingering in hallways, staying away from windows, hitting the floor as soon as they hear gunshots, going in and out of buildings quickly, and avoiding contact with other people (Dubrow & Garbarino, 1989; Kuther & Wallace, 2003). Also, because many of these children may spend extended periods of time in self-care, they may have higher exposure to the media. As a result, they may be more exposed to violence in television, video games, and/or in musical lyrics. Consequently, they may experience negative outcomes such as increased aggressive behavior, desensitization, interpersonal hostility, antisocial behavior, and risky conduct (Miller, 1995).

At the recently held *Workshop on Children Exposed to Violence: Current Status, Gaps, and Research Priorities* (2002), it was argued that we cannot understand the development of behaviors or responses to community violence in children of color without reference to the effects of mass media and other stressors (Sanders-Phillips, 2002). Low-income children of color must too often endure the cumulative effects of exposure to community violence, media violence, poverty, racism, oppression, and other forms of abuse. These experiences reinforce feelings of alienation from the larger society as well as feelings of helplessness and powerlessness that may be extended to life, in general, and to health, in particular (Sanders-Phillips, 1997, 2002). Consequently, it is important to examine how exposure to different types of violence may influence the developmental trajectories of children of color and how other stressors such as exposure to racism, oppression, or acculturative stress may interact with exposure to community and/or media violence to precipitate psychological distress and poor outcomes. It is also important to identify the mechanisms by which exposure to community and media violence impact psychological function in children of color. Current findings suggest that exposure to violence may directly impact psychological, physical, and social well-being in children as well as indirectly impacting parental behaviors, social norms, and cultural norms. As an example, for children exposed to violence at home and in the community, media images of violence may be the major sources of values, reinforcing what they have seen modeled in their daily lives (Perry, 2002).

The findings presented in this article reinforce the importance of future research on the impact of exposure to multiple forms of violence on children of color. This research should attempt to disentangle the respective influence of exposure to community violence and exposure to media while examining the nature and mechanisms by which these experiences combine to hasten the development of dysfunction in low-income children of color. Given the links between early exposure to community and media violence, and aggression and behavioral problems later in life, it is important to develop and test models of prevention and intervention that protect children of color from the deleterious effects of growing up in the context of violence.

References

Acosta, O. M., Albus, K. E., Reynolds, M. W., Spriggs, D., & Weist, M. D. (2001). Assessing the status of research on violence-related problems among youth. *Journal of Clinical Psychology, 30*(1), 152–160.

American Academy of Pediatrics. (1995). Media violence. *Pediatrics, 95*, 949–951. Retrieved May 19, 2003, from http://www.aap.org.

American Psychological Association. (1993). *Volume I: Summary report of the American Psychological Association Commission on Violence and Youth*. Washington, DC: Author.

Anderson, C. A., & Bushman, B. J. (2001). Effects of violent video games on aggressive behavior, aggressive cognition, aggressive affect, physiological arousal, and prosocial behavior: A meta-analysis review of the scientific literature. *Psychological Science, 12*(5), 353–359.

Anderson, C. A., Carnagey, N. L., & Eubanks, J. (2003). Exposure to violent media: The effects of songs with violent lyrics on aggressive thoughts and feelings. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 84,* 960–971.

Anderson, C. A., & Dill, K. E. (2000). Video games and aggressive thoughts, feelings, and behavior in the laboratory and in life. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 78,* 772–790.

Attar, B. K., Guerra, N. G., & Tolan, P. H. (1994). Neighborhood disadvantage, stressful life events, and adjustment in urban elementary school children. *Journal of Clinical Child Psychology, 23,* 391–400.

Barongan, C., & Hall, G. C. (1995). The influence of misogynous rap music on sexual aggression against women. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 19,* 195–207.

Bartholow, B. D., Dill, K. E., Anderson, K. B., & Lindsay, J. J. (2003). The economics of media violence. Retrieved from http://www.lrc.edu/psy/dillk/The%20economics%20of%20media%20violence.htm.

Bell, C. C. (1982). Black intrapsychic survival skills: Alteration of states of consciousness. *Journal of the National Medical Association, 23,* 217–228.

Bell, C., & Jenkins, E. (1993). Community violence and children on Chicago's southside. *Psychiatry, 56,* 46–54.

Berkowitz, L. (1993). *Aggression: Its causes, consequences, and control.* New York: McGraw Hill.

Berman, S. L., Silverman, W. K., & Kurtines, W. M. (2000). Children's and adolescents' exposure to community violence, post-traumatic stress reactions, and treatment implications. *The Australasian Journal of Disaster and Trauma Studies, 2000, 1.* Retrieved May 9, 2003, from http://www.massey.ac.nz/~trauma/issues/2000-1/berman.htm.

Brown, D., & Bryant, J. (1989). Uses of pornography. In D. Zillman & J. Bryant (Eds.), *Pornography: Research advances and policy considerations* (pp. 3–24). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Brown, J. D., & Whiterspoon, E. M. (2002). The mass media and American adolescents' health. *Journal of Adolescent Health, 31,* 153–170.

Buchman, D. D., & Funk, J. B. (1996). Video and computer games in the '90s: children's time commitment and game preference. *Children Today, 24,* 12–16.

Bureau of Justice Statistics. (1991). *Criminal victimization in the United States, 1989.* Washington DC: U. S. Department of Justice.

Bushman, B. J., & Anderson, C. A. (2001). Media violence and the American public: Scientific facts versus media misinformation. *American Psychologist, 56,* 477–489.

Cantor, J. (2000). Media violence. *Journal of Adolescent Health, 27S,* 30–34.

Cantor, J. (2002, April). *The psychological effects of media violence on children and adolescents.* Paper presented at the Colloquium on Television and Violence in Society. Centre d'études sur le media HEC Montréal, Canada.

Ceballo, R., Dahl, T. A., Aretakis, M. T., & Ramirez, C. (2001). Inner-city children's exposure to community violence: How much do parents know? *Journal of Marriage & the Family, 63*(4), 927–941.

Center for Communications and Social Policy. (1998). *National television violence study* (vol. 3). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Chambers, J. H., & Ascione, F. R. (1987). The effects of prosocial and aggressive video games on children's donating and helping. *Journal of Genetic Psychology, 148,* 499–505.

Chandler, D. (1992). Television violence and children's behaviour. Retrieved May 26, 2003, from http://www.aber.ac.uk/media/Modules/TF33120/tv-violence_and_kids.html.

Chapin, J. R. (2000). Adolescent sex and mass media: A development approach. *Adolescence, 35*(140), 799–811.

Christenson, P. G., & Roberts, D. F. (1998). *It's not only rock 'n roll: Popular music in the lives of adolescents.* Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.

Clark, T. L., & Richman, H. (2002). Media exposure and desensitization to graphic imagery. *Journal of Psychology and the Behavioral Sciences, 6.* Retrieved May 13, 2003, from http://alpha.fdu.edu/psychweb/JPBS2002-Vol.16.html.

Cooley-Quille, M., Boyd, R. C., Frantz, E., & Walsh, J. (2001). Emotional and behavioral impact of exposure to community violence in inner-city adolescents. *Journal of Clinical Child Psychology, 30*(1), 199–206.

Cooley-Quille, M., & Lorion, R. (1999). Adolescents' exposure to community violence: Sleep and psychopsysiological functioning. *Journal of Community Psychology, 27*, 367–375.

Crouch, J. L., Hanson, R. F., Saunders, B. E., Kilpatrick, D. G., & Resnick, H. S. (2000). Income, race/ethnicity, and exposure to violence in youth: Results from the National Survey of Adolescents. *Journal of Community Psychology, 28*, 625–641.

Dennison, D. A., Erb, T. A., & Jenkins, P. L. (2002). Television viewing and television in bedroom associated with overweight low-income preschool children. *Pediatrics, 109*, 1028–1035.

DeWitt, S. (2003). Children and television. Retrieved August 3, 2003, from http://www3.uakron.edu/hefe/flm/costv.htm.

Donnerstein, E., Slaby, R. G., & Eron, L. D. (1994). The mass media and youth aggression. In L. D. Eron, J. H. Gentry, & P. Schlegel (Eds.), *Reason to hope: A psychosocial perspective on violence and youth* (pp. 219–250). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Dubrow, N., & Garbarino, J. (1989). Living in the war zone: Mothers and young children in public housing development. *Child Welfare, 68*, 3–21.

DuRant, R. H., Cadenhead, C., Pendergast, R. A., Slavens, G., & Linder, C. W. (1994). Factors associated with the use of violence among urban Black adolescents. *American Journal of Public Health, 84*, 612–617.

DuRant, R. H., Rich, M., Emans, S. J., Rome, E. S., Allred, E., & Woods, E. R. (1997). Tobacco and alcohol use behaviors portrayed in music videos: a content analysis. *American Journal of Public Health, 87*, 1131–1135.

Fitzpatrick, K. M., & Boldizar, J. P. (1993). The prevalence and consequences of exposure to violence among African American youth. *American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry, 32*, 424–430.

Fonagy, P., Target, M., Steele, M., & Steele, H. (1997). The development of violence and crime as it relates to security of attachment. In J. D. Osofsky (Ed.), *Children in a violence society* (pp. 150–177). New York: Guilford Press.

Fraser, J. (2002, October 4). *Path to violence: Seeds of delinquency and violent crime are painted in childhood* (Children, Youth & Family Background, Report #9). Retrieved June 25, 2003, from http://www.ncforum.org/archives.htm.

Fraser, J. A. M., & Garcia, C. (2003). *Living with community violence: Children draw their neighborhoods.* Retrieved September 25, 2003, from the Southern California Studies Center University of Southern California web site: http://www.usc.edu/dept/geography/SC2/sc2/pdf/farver.pdf.

Fried, C. B. (2003). Stereotypes of music fans: Are rap and heavy metal fans a danger to themselves or others? *Journal of Media Psychology, 8*(3). Retrieved June 7, 2003, from http://www.calstatela.edu/faculty/sfischo/Fried%20rev.pdf.

Friedlander, B. Z. (1993). Community violence, children's development, and mass media: in pursuit of new insights, new goals, and new strategies. *Psychiatry, 56*(1), 66–81.

Gan, S., Zilllman, D., & Mitrook, M. (1997). Stereotyping effect of Black women's sexual rap on White audiences. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology, 19*, 381–399.

Garbarino, J. (1993). Children's response to community violence: What do we know? *Infant Mental Health Journal, 14*, 103–115.

Garbarino, J., Dubrow, N., Kosteleny, K., & Pardo, C. (1992). *Children in danger: Coping with the consequences of community violence.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Garbarino, J., Kosteleny, K., & Dubrow, C. (1991). What children can tell us about living in danger. *American Psychology, 46*, 376–383.

Geen, R. G. (1994). Television and aggression: What the evidence shows. In D. Zillman, J. Bryant, & A. C. Hutchinson (Eds.), *Media, children, and the family: Social scientific, psychodynamic, and clinical perspectives* (pp. 151–162). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Gentile, D. A., & Walsh, D. A. (2002). A normative study of family media habits. *Applied Developmental Psychology, 23*, 257–178.

Gentile, D. A., Lynch, P. J., Linder, J. R., & Walsh, D. A. (in press). The effects of violent video game habits on adolescent hostility, aggressive behaviors, and school performance. *Journal of Adolescence.*

Gidwani, P. P, Sobol, A., DeJong, W., Perrin, J. M., & Gortmaker, S. L. (2002). Television viewing and initiation of smoking among youth. *Pediatrics, 110*(3), 505–508.
Gore, T. (1987). *Raising PG kids and an X-rated society.* Nashville TN: Abingdon Press.
Gorman-Smith, D., & Tolan, P. (1998). The role of exposure to community violence and developmental problems among inner-city youth. *Developmental and Psychopathology, 10,* 101–116.
Greenberg, B. S., & Dominick, J. R. (1969). Racial and social class differences in teen-agers' use of television. *Journal of Broadcasting, 13*(4), 331–344.
Greenberg, B. S., Siemicki, M., Dorfman, S., Heeter, C., Stanley, C., Soderman, A., & Linsangan, R. (1993). Sex content in R-rated films viewed by adolescents. In B. S. Greenberg, J. D. Brown, & N. L. Buerkel-Rothfuss (Eds.), *Media, sex and the adolescent* (pp.45–58). Hampton, NJ: Hampton Press.
Groebel, J. (2001). Media violence in cross-cultural perspective. In D. G. Singer & J. L. Singer (Eds.), *Handbook of children and the media* (pp. 255–268). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
Groves, B. M. (1997). Growing up in a violent world: The impact of family and community violence on young children and their families. *Topics in Early Childhood Special Education, 17*(1), 74–102.
Gruber, E., & Grube, J. W. (2000). Adolescent sexuality and the media: A review of current knowledge and implications. *Western Journal of Medicine, 172,* 210–214.
Hamblen, J., & Goguen, C. (2003). *Community violence—A National Center for PTSD fact sheet.* Retrieved June 18, 2003, from the National Center for Posttraumatic Stress Disorder web site: http://www.ncptsd.org/facts/specific/fs_comm_violence.html.
Hansen, C. H., & Hansen, R. D. (1990). Rock music videos and antisocial behavior. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology, 11,* 357–369.
Hogben, M. (1998). Factors moderating the effect of television aggression on viewer behavior. *Communication Research, 25,* 220–247.
Horowitz, K., Weine, S., & Jekel, J. (1995). PTSD symptoms in urban adolescent girls: compounded community trauma. *Journal of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry, 34*(10), 1353–1361.
Howard, D. E., Feigelman, S., Li, X., Cross, S., & Rachuba, L. (2000). The relationship among violence victimization, witnessing violence, and youth distress. *Journal of Adolescent Health, 31*(6), 455–62.
Huesmann, L. R., Moise-Titus, J., Podolsky, C. A., & Eron, L. D. (2003). Longitudinal relations between children's exposure to TV violence and their aggressive and violent behavior in young adulthood: 1977–1992. *Developmental Psychology, 39*(2), 201–221.
Hunter, J. E., Schmidt, F. L., & Jackson, G. B. (1982). *Meta-analysis: Cumulating research findings across studies.* Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
Irwin, A. R., & Gross, A. M. (1995). Cognitive tempo, violent video games, and aggressive behavior in young boys. *Journal of Family Violence, 10,* 337–350.
Jackson, J. S., & Neighbors, H. W. (1982, May). *Assessing Black mental health: A national survey.* Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Psychiatric Association, Toronto.
Jenkins, E. J., & Bell, C. C. (1994). Violence among inner-city high school students and post-traumatic stress disorder. In S. Friedman (Ed.), *Anxiety disorders in African Americans* (pp. 76–88). New York: Springer Publishing Company.
Jenkins, E. J., & Bell, C. C. (1997). Exposure and response to community violence among children and adolescents. In J. D. Osofsky (Ed.), *Children in a violent society* (pp. 9–31). New York: Guilford Press.
Johnson, J. D., Jackson, L. A., & Gatto, L. (1995). Violent attitudes and deferred academic aspirations: Deleterious effects of exposure to rap music. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology, 16,* 27–41.
Joshi, P. T., & Kaschak, D. G. (1998). Exposure to violence and trauma: Questionnaire for adolescents. *International Review of Psychiatry, 10,* 208–215.
Kendall, P. C., & Hammen, C. (1995). *Abnormal psychology.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
Kiewitz, C., & Weaver, J. B. (2001). Trait aggressiveness, media violence, and perceptions of interpersonal conflict. *Personality and Individual Differences, 31,* 821–835.
Klein, J. D., Brown, J. D., Childers, K. W., Oliveri, J., Porter, C., & Dykers, C. (1993). Adolescents' risky behavior and mass media use. *Pediatrics, 92,* 24–31.

Koop, C. E., & Lundberg, G. (1992). Violence in America: A public health emergency. *Journal of the American Medical Association, 22,* 3075–3076.
Kupersmidt, J. B., Griesler, P. C., DeRosier, M. E., Patterson, C. J., & Davis, P. W. (1995). Childhood aggression and peer relations in the context of family and neighborhood contexts. *Child Development, 66,* 360–375.
Kuther, T. L., & Wallace, S. A. (2003). Community violence and sociomoral development: An African American cultural perspective. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 73*(2), 177–189.
Linares, L. O. (2001). Community violence: The effects on children. Retrieved May 5, 2003 from http://www.aboutourkids.org/articles/communityviolence.htm.
Loeber, R., & Dishion, T. J. (1983). Early predictors of male delinquency: A review. *Psychological Bulletin, 94,* 68–98.
Loeber, R., Wung, P., Keenan, K., Giroux, B., Stouthamer-Loeber, M., Van Kammen, W. B., & Maughan, B. (1993). Developmental pathways in disruptive child behaviour. *Development and Psychopathology, 5,* 101–131.
Logan, T. K., Cole, J., & Leukefeld, C. (2002). Women, sex, and HIV: Social and contextual factors, meta-analysis of published interventions, and implications for practice and research. *Psychological Bulletin, 28*(6), 851–885.
Marans, S., & Cohen, A. (1993). Children and inner-city violence: Strategies for intervention. In L. Leavitt & N. Fox (Eds.), *Psychological effects of war and violence on children* (pp. 281–302). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
Margolin, G. (1998). The effects of domestic violence on children. In P. K. Trickett & C. J. Schellenbach (Eds.), *Violence against children in the family and the community* (pp. 57–102). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
Margolin, G., & Gordis, E. G. (2000). The effects of family and community violence on children. *Annual Review of Psychology, 51,* 445–479.
Mazza, J. J., & Overstreet, S. (2000) Children and adolescents exposed to community violence: A mental health perspective for school psychologists. *School Psychology Review, 29,* 86–101.
McCann, I. L., Sakheim, D. K., & Abrahamson, D. J. (1988). Trauma and victimization: A model of psychological adaptation. *The Counseling Psychologist, 16,* 531–594.
McLoyd, V. C. (1998). Changing demographics in the American population: Implications for research on minority children and adolescents. In V. C. McLoyd & L. Steinberg (Eds.), *Studying minority adolescents: Conceptual, methodological, and theoretical issues* (pp. 3–28). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
Miller, B. S. (1995). How children spend out-of-school time. *Child Care Bulletin, 2.* Retrieved April 25, 2003, from http://www.nccic.org/ccb/ccb-ma95/outofsch.html.
National Television Violence Study. (1996). *National Television Study* (vol. 1). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
National Television Violence Study. (1998). *National Television Study* (vol. 3). Santa Barbara: University of California, Santa Barbara, Center for Communication Social Policy.
Ney, P., Fung, T., & Wickett, A. (1994). The worst combinations of child abuse and neglect. *Child Abuse and Neglect, 18,* 705–714.
O'Keefe, M. (1997). Adolescents' exposure to community and school violence: Prevalence and behavioral correlates. *Journal of Adolescent Health, 20,* 368–376.
Osofsky, J. D. (1999). The impact of violence on children. *The Future of Children: Domestic Violence and Children,* 9(3), 33–49.
Paik, H., & Comstock, G. (1994). The effects of television violence on antisocial behavior. A meta-analysis. *Community Research, 2,* 516–546.
Parsons, E. R. (1994). Inner-city children of trauma: Urban violence traumatic stress response syndrome (U-VTS) and therapists' responses. In J. Wilson and J. Lindy (Eds.), *Countertransference in the treatment of PTSD* (pp. 151–178). New York: Guilford Press.
Pennell, A. E., & Browne, K. D. (1999). Film violence and young offenders. *Aggression and Violent Behavior, 4*(1), 13–28.
Perry, B. D. (2002). The vortex of violence: How children adapt and survive in a violent world. Adapted in part from *Maltreated children: Experience, brain development and the next generation* (W. W. Norton & Company, New York, in preparation). Retrieved September 25, 2003, from www.ChildTrauma.org.

Perry, B. D. (2003). Violence and childhood: How persisting fear can alter the developing child's brain. Retrieved May 22, 2003, from http://www.terrylarimore.com/PainAndViolence.html.
Pointdexter, P. M., & Stroman, C. A. (1981). Blacks and television: A review of the research literature. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media, 38*(2), 179–192.
Provenzo, E. F. (1991). *Video kids: Making sense of Nintendo.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
Roberts, D. F., Foehr, U. G., Rideout, V. J., & Brodie, M. (1999). *Kids & media @ the new millennium.* Menlo Park, CA: Kaiser Family Foundation. Retrieved April 21, 2003, from http://www.kff.org/conten/1999/1535.
Robinson, T. N., Wilde, M. L., Navracruz, L. C., Haydel, K. F., & Varady, A. (2001). Effects of reducing children's television and video game use on aggressive behavior: a randomized controlled trial. *Archives of Pediatrics & Adolescent Medicine, 155*(1), 17–23.
Rosenthal, B. S. (2000). Exposure to community violence in adolescence: Trauma symptoms. *Adolescence, 35,* 271–284.
Sanders-Phillips, K. (1997). Assaultive violence in the community: Psychological responses of adolescent victims and their parents. *Journal of Adolescent Health, 21,* 356–365.
Sanders-Phillips, K. (2002). *Exposure to community violence and adolescent sexual behaviors: An ecological model.* Paper presented at the Scientific Assembly, National Medical Association, Psychiatry, and Behavioral Sciences Section, Honolulu, HI.
Sanders-Phillips, K. (2003). [Social and psychological factors influencing drug use in adolescents. Preliminary findings]. Unpublished raw data.
Schwab-Stone, M. E., Ayers, T. S., Kasprow, W., Voyce, C., Barone, C., Shriver, T., Weissberg, R. P. (1995). No safe haven: A study of violence exposure in an urban community. *Journal of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry, 34*(10), 1343–1352.
Shakoor, B. H., & Chalmers, D. (1991). Co-victimization of African American children who witness violence and the theoretical implications of its effects on their cognitive, emotional, and behavioral development. *Journal of the American Medical Association, 83,* 233–238.
Silvern, S., & Williamson, P. (1987). The effects of video game play on young children's aggression, fantasy, and prosocial behavior. *Journal of Developmental Psychology, 8,* 449–458.
Singer, M. I., Miller, D. B., Shenyang, G., Flannery, D. J., Frierson, T., & Slovak, K. (1999). Contributors to violent behavior among elementary and middle school children. *Pediatrics,* 104(4), 878–884.
Singer, M. I., Slovak, K., Frierson, T., & York, P. (1998). Viewing preferences, symptoms of psychological trauma and violent behaviors among children who watch television. *Journal of the American Academy of Child Adolescent Psychiatry, 37,* 1041–1048.
St. Lawrence, J. S., & Joyner, D. J. (1991). The effects of sexually violence rock music on males' acceptance of violence against women. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 15,* 49–63.
Staveteig, S., & Wigton, A. (2000). Racial and ethnic disparities: Key findings from the National Survey of America's Families. Washington, DC: Urban Institute. *Assessing the New Federalism* (Brief B-5). Retrieved June 29, 2003, from http://www.urban.org/content/Research/NewFederalism/NSAF/Snapshots/1999Results/KeyFindingsbyRaceandEthnicity/KeyFindings.htm.
Straus, M. (1974). Cultural and organizational influences on violence between family members. In R. Prince & D. Barried (Eds.), *Configurations: Biological and cultural factors in sexuality and family life* (pp. 53–69). Washington, D. C. Health.
Strasburger, V. C., & Donnerstein, E. (1999). Children, adolescents, and the media: issues and solutions. *Pediatrics, 103,* 139–139.
Surgeon's General Report on Youth Violence. (2001, January 1). *Youth violence: A report of the Surgeon General.* Retrieved May 30, 2003, from www.surgeongeneral.gov/library/youthviolence.
Surlin, S. H., & Dominick, J. R. (1970–71). Television functions as a 'third parent' for Black and White teen-agers. *Journal of Broadcasting, 15*(1), 55–64.
Veenema, T. G. (2001). Children's exposure to community violence. *Journal of Nursing Scholarship, 33*(2), 167–173.
Villani, S. (2001). Impact of media on children and adolescents: A 10-year review of the research. *Journal of the American Academy of Child Adolescent Psychiatry, 40*(4), 392–401.
Walsh, D. A. (2000, March 21). *Interactive violence and children: testimony submitted to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Technology, United States Senate.* Minneapolis, MN: National Institute

on Media and the Family. Retrieved April 8, 2003, from http://www.mediafamily.org/press/senateviolence-full.shtml.
Warner, B. S., & Weist, M. D. (1996). Urban youth as witnesses to violence: Beginning assessment and treatment efforts. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 25*, 361–377.
Wass, H., Miller, M. D., & Redditt, C. A. (1991). Adolescent and destructive themes in rock music. *Omega, 19*, 177–186.
Watkins, S. C. (2000). Black youth and mass media: Current research and emerging questions. *African American Research Perspectives, 6*(1). Retrieved June 5, 2003, from http://www.rcgd.isr.umich.edu/prba/perspectives/winter2000/cwatkins.pdf.
Wingood, G. M., DiClemente, R. J., Bernhardt, J. M., Harrington, K., Davies, S. L., Robillard, A., & Hook, E. W., III. (2003). A prospective study of exposure to rap music videos and African American female adolescents' health. *American Journal of Public Health, 93*, 437–439.
Workshop on children exposed to violence: Current status, gaps, and research priorities. (2002). Retrieved July 30, 2003, from http://www.nichd.nih.gov/crmc/cdb/Workshop_on_Children Violence.pdf.
Youth and Violent Music. (2000). *Issue Brief Series*. Studio City, CA: Mediascope Press. Retrieved August 21, 2003, from http://www.mediascope.org/pubs/ibriefs/yvm.htm.
Zillman, D., & Gan, S. (1997). Musical taste in adolescence. In D. J. Hargreaves & A. C. North (Eds.), *The social psychology of music* (pp. 161–187). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
Zillman, D., & Weaver, J. B. (1999). Effects of prolonged exposure to gratuitous media violence on provoked and unprovoked hostile behavior. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 29*, 145–165.

AUTHORS

MARIE-CLAUDE JIPGUEP is a Research Statistician and KATHY SANDERS-PHILLIPS is a Professor and Director of Research of the Program in the Epidemiology and Prevention of Drug Abuse (PEPDA) at Howard University; mjipguep-akhtar@howard.edu and ksandersphillips@aol.com. Dr. Jipguep's interests include psychosocial understanding of violence, HIV/AIDS prevention, and linkages between research and policy related to health and human rights with emphasis on children and women at risk. Dr. Sanders-Phillips' interests include factors related to drug use in communities of color, and the impact of racism on psychosocial functioning and health.