

## Reasons for Returning to Abusive Relationships: Effects of Prior Victimization

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Studies have demonstrated that women with a history of childhood sexual abuse (CSA) are at increased risk of revictimization, but research has not yet examined whether a history of CSA may affect patterns of remaining in or returning to abusive relationships in adulthood. This study examines the impact of a CSA history on decisions to return to abusive relationships in a sample of 104 adult domestic violence survivors. Participants were interviewed about the number of times that they had previously separated from and returned to their abusive partner, the factors that influenced their decision to return (both psychological/internal and environmental/external factors), and their perceived likelihood of returning in the future. As predicted, CSA survivors ( $n = 34$ ) reported a significantly greater number of past separations than non-CSA survivors ( $n = 70$ ). CSA survivors were also significantly more likely to report that their decisions to return were influenced by emotional attachment to the batterer. CSA survivors did not perceive themselves to be at greater risk of returning in the future, suggesting that they may be more likely to underestimate their vulnerability to returning to the battering relationship. Clinical implications of the findings are discussed.

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**KEY WORDS:** domestic violence; childhood sexual abuse; interpersonal violence; revictimization.

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### INTRODUCTION

There is a considerable body of evidence demonstrating that survivors of childhood sexual abuse (CSA) are at increased risk of experiencing subsequent episodes of victimization (Gidycz *et al.*, 1993, 1995; Himelein, 1995; Kessler & Bieschke, 1999; Messman & Long, 1996). Those who suffer multiple incidents of victimization display higher levels of trauma-related symptomatology (Follette *et al.*, 1996; Nishith *et al.*, 2000; Schaaf & McCanne, 1998), and shame and self-blame (Kellogg & Hoffman, 1997), than victims of single episode abuse. Exposure to episodes of violence throughout the lifetime may exert a cumulative effect, in which the distress experienced due to the current episode may be exacerbated

by feelings about previous incidents of trauma (Nishith *et al.*, 2000; Terr, 1991). The clinical implications of these studies underscore the importance of conducting research that examines the factors or processes that may predispose CSA survivors to suffering additional episodes of victimization.

The experience of the initial episode of abuse may lead to a variety of cognitive, affective, and behavioral effects that can increase the risk of further victimization (Davies & Frawley, 1994). Various models have been proposed to explain the effects of CSA and the mechanisms by which revictimization may occur, including learning theory, relationship choices, traumatic sexualization, and learned helplessness (for review, see Messman & Long, 1996). Despite differences among these models, there is some degree of consensus in that all propose that exposure to early abuse impacts personality and interpersonal functioning (Grauerholz, 2000). Trauma theorists have also focused on the ways in which CSA may lead to long-term trauma-related symptomatology and may affect relationship models and functioning (Blizard & Bluhm, 1994;

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Chu, 1992; Herman, 1992; Young & Gerson, 1991). Recent research has provided empirical support for these hypotheses.

Many CSA survivors suffer long-term effects in the form of trauma-related symptomatology (Arata, 2000; Nishith *et al.*, 2000; Rodriguez *et al.*, 1997). Trauma-related defenses may serve to keep the survivor from experiencing overwhelming memories and feelings (Blizard & Bluhm, 1994). However, the compartmentalization of and sense of disconnection from the traumatic abuse may exacerbate the likelihood of further victimization, in part by compromising the abuse survivor's ability to perceive danger in a relationship (Chu, 1992). As a result, the abused person may be at risk of becoming involved in relationships that reenact the physical or sexual abuse suffered in childhood. More recent research has also focused on the impact of trauma on relational models and suggests that adults with a CSA history may have difficulty recognizing or responding to the threat of relational abuse or negotiating relationship boundaries (Classen *et al.*, 2001; Cloitre *et al.*, 1997; Elliot, 1994; Kessler & Bieschke, 1999; Wilson *et al.*, 1999).

While many studies of revictimization have focused specifically on the risk of multiple episodes of sexual abuse, others have examined the frequency with which CSA survivors become involved in physically abusive relationships in adolescence and adulthood. Messman-Moore and Long (2000a,b) found that CSA survivors were significantly more likely to suffer episodes of physical abuse than non-CSA survivors. Other studies have shown that samples of battered women also report high rates of childhood physical and sexual abuse (Weaver & Clum, 1996). Another important area of inquiry is whether CSA survivors are more likely to suffer continued victimization by remaining with or returning to an abusive partner. Young and Gerson (1991) have applied theories of revictimization in an attempt to understand the relational dynamics of battered women, and have suggested that many domestic violence (DV) survivors have difficulty terminating abusive relationships because of early traumatic experiences. They speculate that women with a history of childhood abuse have had experiences in which they were forced to endure psychological and/or physical pain in order to preserve the relationship with the attachment figure, and that this pattern is likely to persist in adulthood.

To our knowledge, no study has directly explored whether the experience of CSA affects patterns of terminating abusive relationships in adulthood, but there is indirect support for the idea that battered women with a CSA history may be at greater risk of returning to an abusive partner. We found that DV survivors with a CSA history display significantly higher levels of preoc-

cupied and fearful attachment than DV survivors without a CSA history, (Griffing *et al.*, 2001) and theoretical models have suggested that insecure attachment may increase the risk of revictimization (Gold *et al.*, 1999). In addition, Henderson *et al.* (1997) found that battered women with a preoccupied attachment style reported a history of more frequent separations that ended in reunion with the batterer. Research about whether a history of CSA places a woman at risk of returning may be particularly useful in developing intervention programs for DV survivors because of the frequency with which battered women return to abusive relationships (Foa *et al.*, 2000; Griffing *et al.*, 2002; Martin *et al.*, 2000; Schutte *et al.*, 1988; Strube, 1988).

Research is also needed to determine the specific reasons that influence a woman's decision to return to a battering relationship, and to assess whether these factors differ between battered women with and without a history of CSA. In our previous study of a sample of 90 battered women (Griffing *et al.*, 2002), we observed that the majority of participants (66.7%) had returned to the batterer at least once prior to their current presentation at the DV shelter. Participants typically identified several different factors as influential in this decision, and most identified both internal/psychological (e.g., continued attachment, commitment to the batterer, concerns that he had suffered enough) and external/psychological factors (e.g., economic need, pressure from others, legal intervention) as impacting their decision. These findings are consistent with Foa *et al.*'s (2000) proposal for an integrated perspective that examines the role of both psychological and environmental factors in decisions to remain with an abusive partner.

The present study addressed the relationship between a CSA history and difficulties in terminating an abusive relationship in adulthood by examining patterns of separating from abusive relationships in a sample of 104 urban DV survivors. More specifically, we examined the differences between women with and without a CSA history on three factors: (a) frequency of returning in the past, (b) self-identified reasons for returning, and (c) perceived likelihood of future return. We hypothesized that participants with a CSA history would report a greater number of past separation attempts from their current batterer than would participants without a CSA history. We also expected that CSA survivors would be more likely to identify factors relating to emotional attachment as influencing their decision-making process than would non-CSA survivors. Finally, we explored differences between participants with and without a CSA history in their perceived likelihood of returning to the relationship in the future.

## METHOD

### Participants

Participants were 104 female residents of the Urban Women's Retreat, a residential facility for DV victims. The mean age of participants was 26.61 years ( $SD = 6.81$ ), and they were of African American (42.3%), Latina (33.7%), Caribbean (18.3%), or mixed (5.8%) ethnicity. Most participants (98.1%) came to the shelter with at least one child ( $M = 1.44$ ,  $SD = .75$ ) to escape abuse by a spouse (19.2%), cohabitating partner (50%), dating partner (19.2%), or an ex-partner (11.6%). All participants reported having been involved in heterosexual relationships with their batterers.

In terms of education, 39.4% had not completed high school, 32.6% had a high school diploma or its equivalent, and 27.9% had completed college credits or received a college degree. The majority of participants (82.7%) were unemployed at the time of their arrival at the facility, 15.4% of participants were employed (5.8% full-time and 9.6% part-time), and 1.9% were enrolled in school.

### Measures

#### *Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS; Straus, 1979)*

The severe violence subscale of the CTS was used to measure the frequency and severity of the DV. Participants were asked to indicate the frequency with which they had experienced each of six violent acts in the preceding 12 months. Each item was coded for the frequency of abuse in seven categories, ranging from 0 (*never occurred*) to 6 (*occurred more than 20 times in the past year*). Data for the CTS was available for only 92 participants. The CTS has been used extensively in research on DV. This measure was orally administered as part of the structured interview detailed below.

#### *Structured Interview*

This measure, developed for use in this and other studies at the Urban Women's Retreat (Griffing *et al.*, 2001, 2002; Martin *et al.*, 2000), includes a combination of open-ended and structured questions covering the following content areas.

**CSA History.** A participant was defined as a CSA survivor if she reported having experienced any form of forced sexual contact prior to age 16. Information was collected about four descriptive features of the abuse, which was coded categorically (subcategories are listed

**Table I.** Descriptive Features of Episodes of Childhood Sexual Abuse

	Percentage of Participants ( $n = 34$ )
<b>Perpetrator of the primary/only episode</b>	
Parent	17.6
Other relative	50.0
Friend/family friend	2.9
Acquaintance	29.4
<b>Number of perpetrators</b>	
One	82.4
Two	14.7
Three	2.9
<b>Age at the time of the abuse</b>	
Prior to age 7	44.1
Ages 7 through 12	41.2
Ages 13 through 15	14.7
<b>Frequency of the abuse</b>	
Once	32.3
A few times	11.8
Many times	55.9
<b>Duration of the abuse</b>	
Data not available	11.8
Single episode	32.3
Less than 1 year	26.5
1–2 years	14.7
3–5 years	5.9
Over 5 years	8.8

in Table I): (a) relationship to the perpetrator, (b) age at onset of abuse, (c) frequency of abuse, and (d) duration of abuse. For participants who were abused by multiple perpetrators, responses about descriptive features were coded separately for each episode of abuse.

**DV History.** Participants were asked about the duration of the DV relationship and the duration of the abuse they endured.

**Reasons for Returning in the Past.** All participants were asked if they had previously separated and then returned to their abuser. Participants who reported having returned in the past were asked the number of times that they had done so. They were then asked their reasons for returning in the following manner: "many women report having returned to abusive relationships in the past for different reasons, I'm going to read a list of reasons and ask you to tell me which, if any, of these reasons have influenced your decision to return in the past." Those participants then selected, from the checklist of factors detailed below, reasons for returning. Although reliability and validity data are not available, this checklist was developed by the researchers and pilot tested in interviews with over 100 DV survivors.

Items on the checklist represented eight categories: (a) batterer remorse, two items ("he promised you that

he would change,” “he seemed sorry about what he had done”); (b) emotional attachment, two items (“you missed him a lot,” “you didn’t want the relationship to end”); (c) economic need, two items (“you needed the money to support yourself and/or your children,” “you had nowhere else to live”); (d) batterer suffering, three items (“he seemed to need you,” “he threatened to kill himself,” “you felt like he was punished enough by your leaving”); (e) promises of counseling, two items (“he agreed to get counseling,” “he agreed to get treatment for substance abuse”); (f) legal intervention, one item (“he learned a lesson by getting arrested, going to jail or from legal problems”); (g) fear of escalating abuse, one item (“you were scared he might get angrier and hurt you or your children”); and (h) pressure from others, one item (“you were pressured to return by your family or friends”).

*Perceived Likelihood of Returning in the Future.* All participants were presented with the same checklist detailed above and asked to identify any factors that might cause them to consider returning in the future. They were then asked to assess the likelihood, on a 4-point Likert scale, that they would return to the batterer at some point in the future.

### Procedure

The structured interview described above was completed privately with each participant by a female member of an independent evaluation unit. All interviewers held graduate research degrees, received ongoing training in the use of the instrument, and participated in monthly project meetings. Prior to the interview, the evaluator assured the participant that her participation was voluntary and would not in any way affect the services that she received. Participants were typically interviewed within 1 month of admission to the facility ( $M = 15.01$  days,  $SD = 13.41$ ).

## RESULTS

### History of CSA

Participants were categorized into two groups: history of CSA ( $n = 34$ , 32.7%) or no history of CSA ( $n = 70$ , 67.3%). Data regarding the descriptive features of the first/primary episode of abuse are presented in Table I. For the six participants who reported abuse by multiple perpetrators, only the information regarding the primary/most severe incident was included in Table I, in order to facilitate data presentation.

As shown in Table I, there was considerable variability in the descriptive features of the abuse. The majority of participants suffered intrafamilial abuse, with 17.6% reporting abuse by a father or stepfather, and an additional 50% reporting abuse by another relative (e.g., uncle, grandfather, etc.). In most cases, participants reported that they suffered repeated abuse, with 55.9% reporting that they were abused “many times,” and 11.8% reporting that they were abused “a few times.” Nearly half (44.1%) of the CSA survivors were abused in early childhood (prior to age 7).

### Current Levels of Relational Violence

To determine whether there were differences in the severity of the battering relationship between participants with and without a CSA history, we examined three areas: (a) frequency of DV within the past year (CTS score), (b) duration of the battering relationship, and (c) duration of the DV. On the CTS, participants reported an average score of 8.21 ( $SD = 5.92$ ). There were no significant differences between the frequency of DV experienced by CSA survivors ( $M = 8.43$ ,  $SD = 4.79$ ) and non-CSA survivors ( $M = 8.05$ ,  $SD = 6.61$ ),  $F(1, 90) = .76$ ,  $p = ns$ . There were also no significant differences in the duration of the abusive relationship between participants with ( $M = 5.05$  years,  $SD = 4.64$ ) and without ( $M = 5.24$  years,  $SD = 4.42$ ) a CSA history,  $F(1, 95) = .08$ ,  $p = ns$ . Finally, there were no significant differences in the duration of the abuse between CSA survivors ( $M = 3.21$ ,  $SD = 3.80$ ) and non-CSA survivors ( $M = 2.46$ ,  $SD = 2.82$ ),  $F(1, 101) = 1.28$ ,  $p = ns$ . As these three analyses indicated no significant differences in the severity, frequency, or duration of the relational violence, we did not control for the level of relational violence in subsequent analyses.

### FREQUENCY OF PRIOR SEPARATIONS FROM THE BATTERER

Most participants (66.3%) had separated from and returned to their batterer at least once prior to their current presentation at the shelter. Of participants who had previously returned to the batterer, the majority (97.1%) had done so multiple times ( $M = 4.39$ ,  $SD = 3.81$ ). As predicted, there were significant differences in the frequency of returning between participants with and without a CSA history. CSA survivors were more likely to report having previously returned to the batterer,  $\chi^2(1, N = 104) = 3.86$ ,  $p < .05$ , than non-CSA survivors. CSA survivors also reported a significantly

**Table II.** Percentage of Participants Endorsing Each Reason as Influencing Their Past Decisions to Return to the Battering Relationship

Reason endorsed	History of CSA (%), <i>n</i> = 34	No history of CSA (%), <i>n</i> = 70	$\chi^2$
Emotional attachment	70.6	41.4	7.79**
Economic need	32.4	38.6	.38
Fear of escalating abuse	23.5	30.0	.48
Legal intervention	17.6	21.4	.20
Pressure from others	17.6	20.0	.08
Batterer expressed remorse	79.4	55.7	5.54**
Batterer appeared to be suffering	50	30.0	3.95*
Promises of counseling	44.1	30.0	2.01

\* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$ .

greater number of prior separations ( $M = 4.47$ ,  $SD = 4.34$ ) than non-CSA survivors ( $M = 2.16$ ,  $SD = 3.17$ ),  $F(1, 102) = 9.51$ ,  $p < .01$ .

### Self-Identified Reasons for Having Returned to the Batterer

Chi-square analyses were performed to examine between-group differences in participants' self-identified reasons for having returned to the batterer. As hypothesized, CSA survivors were more likely to report having previously returned because of emotional attachment to the batterer. These analyses also revealed that CSA survivors, compared to non-CSA survivors, were significantly more likely to have previously returned because the batterer expressed remorse, and because they felt that the batterer had "suffered enough." Table II represents the percentage of participants endorsing each of the eight types of reasons for returning, along with chi-square statistics indicating significant between-group differences.

### Perceived Likelihood of Future Return

In order to explore differences between participants with and without a CSA history in terms of expectations for returning in the future, two comparisons were performed: (a) perceived likelihood of future return, and (b) number of reasons that might influence a future return. The results indicated no significant between-group differences in the perceived likelihood of returning to the relationship,  $F(1, 102) = .39$ ,  $p = ns$ , or in the number of reasons endorsed for contemplating a future return,  $F(1, 102) = .49$ ,  $p = ns$ .

## DISCUSSION

The results of the present study provide empirical support for theoretical papers which propose that experiences of early abuse may play a critical role in the difficulty that many battered women have in terminating abusive relationships in adulthood (Blizard & Bluhm, 1994; Young & Gerson, 1991). They also suggest that CSA survivors may be vulnerable to an additional type of revictimization in the form of remaining with an abusive partner. Approximately one-third (32.4%) of participants had suffered CSA, and those participants appeared to experience a greater struggle in their efforts to permanently leave a battering partner. As hypothesized, CSA survivors were significantly more likely to have previously returned to the abusive relationship than were non-CSA survivors, and they had done so more than twice as often ( $4.47 \times$  vs.  $2.16 \times$ ). The fact that CSA survivors reported more frequent separations that ended in reunion with the batterer suggests that a history of early sexual abuse may affect long-term decisions about leaving abusive partners in adulthood.

An analysis of the explanations that women provided for why they had returned to the battering relationship provided additional information about ways in which early sexual victimization may affect adult relational patterns. A CSA history was uniquely associated with particular reasons for returning to the batterer. As hypothesized, compared to non-CSA survivors, CSA survivors were significantly more likely to have previously returned because of continued emotional connection to the batterer (e.g., they missed him or did not want the relationship to end). The results also indicated differences between CSA survivors and non-CSA survivors in the frequency with which they had returned because of the batterer's expressions of remorse (i.e., he seemed sorry about his behavior

or promised to change), and because they believed that the batterer had “suffered enough” (i.e., he seemed needy or threatened to commit suicide). CSA survivors were significantly more likely than non-CSA survivors to have returned to the batterer for both of these reasons.

Our prediction that women with a CSA history would be at elevated risk of returning to the relationship for reasons of emotional attachment was based on theoretical explanations of revictimization presented earlier in this paper. We had not formulated hypotheses about the relationship between a CSA history and other reasons why women might return to abusive partners. The unexpected findings that CSA survivors, compared to non-CSA survivors, were also more likely to have returned because of the batterer’s expressions of remorse and because they felt that the batterer had suffered enough, are particularly interesting. These reasons for returning appear similar to emotional attachment in that they relate to the survivor’s feelings about the batterer and to her desire to preserve that relationship. In that sense, these three reasons (emotional attachment, batterer remorse, and batterer suffering) appear to form a construct of internal or psychological factors.

These internal factors stand in contrast to reasons that are better described as external or environmental factors, in that they are largely outside the control of the DV survivor. External factors would include economic need, legal intervention, the fear of escalating abuse, and pressure from others. There were no significant differences between CSA survivors and non-CSA survivors in the frequency of having returned to the batterer because of any of the external factors identified in this study. The fact that many participants, regardless of their CSA history, were influenced by these external factors in their past efforts to leave the abusive relationship is consistent with previous research indicating that many women return to abusive relationships because of economic need, a legal commitment to the batterer, or a fear of further violence (Foa *et al.*, 2000; Horton & Johnson, 1993; Strube & Barbour, 1983; Walker & Meloy, 1998). These findings underscore the importance of continuing to provide and of increasing both the availability and the accessibility of services to address these issues (e.g., safe housing, legal assistance) in order to help battered women to make the separation permanent.

An intriguing finding with important clinical implications was the pattern of differential endorsement for internal and external factors between participants with and without a CSA history. As noted above, CSA survivors and non-CSA survivors appeared to be affected by external factors with similar frequency, but CSA survivors were also significantly more likely to be influenced by

internal factors. These data suggest that women who have suffered early sexual abuse may be influenced by their affective experience and emotional connection to the batterer, above and beyond the role of external factors that impede most women trying to leave an abusive relationship. Battered women with a CSA history may be less likely to leave the relationship and more likely to return after having done so. It appears that for women with a long history of sexual abuse, the greatest impediment to leaving and remaining away from an abusive relationship may be in their difficulty coping with the emotional experience of leaving the batterer. Such women may benefit from psychotherapy focused on helping them to explore their emotional experience, i.e., the effects of their childhood experience on their current relational functioning.

CSA survivors and non-CSA survivors perceived themselves to be at similar risk of returning to the batterer in the future. Given that CSA survivors had experienced a greater struggle in their effort to leave the batterer in the past, one might speculate that they would actually be more likely to return to the batterer in the future. This idea is indirectly supported by previous research indicating that greater psychological commitment to the relationship significantly predicted the likelihood of returning to the batterer (Strube & Barbour, 1983). We were not able to explore whether participants’ expectations of returning were predictive of their doing so because of the cross-sectional nature of this research; prospective analyses would be an important contribution toward this end. In our previous research, we observed that most battered women appear to underestimate their likelihood of returning to the batterer regardless of their awareness of the prevalence with which battered women return to abusive relationships in the general population (Martin *et al.*, 2000) and their own personal experiences of having returned in the past (Griffing *et al.*, 2002). Our current findings raise the question of whether CSA survivors, a group that appears to be at elevated risk of returning, are at particular risk of underestimating their vulnerability to returning or the difficulties that they are likely to encounter in permanently terminating the relationship. These findings merit further investigation because researchers have found that denial is closely linked with revictimization among survivors of sexual assault (Proulx *et al.*, 1995).

These findings also provide important information about revictimization and DV in a sample of inner city, minority women whose voices are often unheard in the DV literature (American Psychological Association, 1996; Crowell & Burgess, 1996). The small but emerging body of literature that addresses the relationship between ethnicity and interpersonal violence underscores the importance of conducting additional research on this topic. West

and Williams (2000) found high rates of partner abuse among African American women with a CSA history. Studies have suggested that African American women who are exposed to DV, in comparison to Caucasian women, may be at increased risk of developing post-traumatic stress disorder (Axelrod *et al.*, 1999) and appear more vulnerable to experiencing symptoms of depression that persist after the relational violence subsides (Campbell & Soeken, 1999). In addition, Kaslow and her colleagues (Kaslow *et al.*, 1998, 2000) have found that both CSA and partner abuse were significantly associated with suicide attempts in African American women. Few studies have specifically examined factors associated with CSA in Latina samples, but Romero and Wyatt (1999) observed that there are specific issues affecting Latina women, such as a tendency toward nondisclosure, and emphasized the need for further research addressing these issues. The present study adds to this literature by demonstrating the pronounced impact of CSA on decisions to remain in an abusive relationship within a multiethnic sample. Further studies are needed to determine whether the impact of CSA on decisions to return to or to permanently leave abusive relationships varies according to cultural or socioeconomic factors.

Several methodological limitations may also affect the extent to which these findings may be generalized to other samples. The sample consisted exclusively of battered women in a shelter, and as such they are not representative of all battered women. The dichotomous nature of the checklist used to assess reasons for returning only allowed for the examination of the presence or absence of each factor, while it is more likely that these variables are complex and interrelated. The retrospective nature of participants' responses is subject to a variety of biases, and in particular retrospective data collection on CSA may be subject to both underreporting and overreporting biases. Most participants reported suffering severe CSA (perpetrated by a family member, occurring repeatedly, and/or occurring in early childhood), and the sample size was not sufficient to allow for an investigation of whether abuse-related features affected the frequency of and reasons for returning. In addition, we were unable to control for the potentially confounding effects of other forms of interpersonal trauma, such as childhood physical abuse and exposure to DV.

Despite these limitations, the present study has important implications for clinicians who work with battered women and for future research on this topic. Clinicians should assess DV survivors for the presence of prior victimization, and should be cognizant of ways in which this history may affect their clinical presentation and their process of trying to terminate the relationship. Battered

women with a CSA history may require more intensive services to help them to terminate the relationship than battered women who did not suffer CSA. Current intervention programs often focus on providing concrete services (such as shelter and economic assistance), and psychoeducation about DV. While it is essential to continue to provide these services, they may be necessary but not sufficient for a subgroup of battered women who are struggling most profoundly with their continued attachment. It may be particularly useful to engage these women in a dialogue around feelings of connection and attachment to the batterer (Carey, 1997).

Future research should address other ways in which a history of CSA may differentiate between battered women. Research also needs to examine the relative contributions of child abuse (both physical and sexual) to adult physical and sexual victimization, and of the impact of multiple episodes of childhood victimization. Research with larger sample sizes would also help to allow for a determination of whether specific features of the childhood abuse are associated with different patterns of separating from the abusive relationship. This is particularly important given recent findings that the severity of the initial abuse is associated with increased alienation and decreased social competence (Haviland *et al.*, 1996) and with a greater likelihood of revictimization (Arata, 2000; Fergusson *et al.*, 1997).

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