

FAMILY VIOLENCE: A FACT SHEET FROM THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE CANADA

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WHAT IS FAMILY VIOLENCE?

"Family violence" is a term that includes the many different forms of abuse, mistreatment or neglect that adults or children may experience in their intimate, kinship or dependent relationships. As our understanding of the nature and extent of violence within intimate relationships and families improves, and our insight deepens, the definition of family violence continues to evolve.

During the past two decades, much public and professional attention has concentrated on family violence from the perspective of those who are victimized. In particular, the emphasis has been on:

- violence against women in intimate relationships or woman abuse including [spousal abuse](#), dating violence and other forms of violence against women
- [child abuse](#) including physical abuse, sexual abuse and exploitation, neglect, and emotional abuse (including exposure to spousal abuse); and
- abuse of older adults.¹

There are many different forms of abuse, and a person may be subjected to more than one form.

Physical abuse may consist of just one incident or it may happen repeatedly. It includes:

- using physical force in a way that injures someone, or puts them at risk of being injured including beating, hitting, shaking, pushing, choking, biting, burning, kicking or assaulting with a weapon²
- rough handling
- confinement
- dangerous or harmful use of force or restraint
- female genital mutilation is another form of physical abuse.

Sexual abuse and exploitation includes:

- all forms of sexual assault, sexual harassment, or sexual exploitation³
- forcing a person to participate in any unwanted, unsafe or degrading sexual activity
- using ridicule or other tactics to try to denigrate, control or limit a person's sexuality or reproductive choices
- using a child for sexual purposes—including fondling, inviting, manipulating or forcing a child to engage in sexual activity or intercourse
- rape, sodomy or exhibitionism
- involving a child in prostitution or pornography.

Neglect is often chronic and it usually involves repeated incidents. It includes:

- failing to provide what a child or dependent adult requires for his or her physical, psychological or emotional development and well-being
- failing to provide or denying food, clothing, shelter, cleanliness, medical care, protection from harm, or a sense of being valued and loved.

Emotional abuse includes:

- harming a person's sense of self and putting them at risk of serious behavioural, cognitive, emotional or mental disorders
- attacking a person verbally - for example, by yelling, screaming, name calling, criticizing, threatening, intimidating, yelling, screaming and name calling
- using criticism, verbal threats, social isolation, intimidation or exploitation to dominate someone
- routinely making unreasonable demands
- criminally harassing or "stalking"⁴ - which may include threatening a person or their loved ones, damaging their possessions or harming their pets
- terrorizing a person
- exposing a child to family violence.

Economic or financial abuse includes:

- stealing from or defrauding someone⁵
- withholding money to buy food or medical treatment⁶
- manipulating or exploiting someone for financial gain
- denying access to financial resources
- preventing a person from working, or controlling their choice of occupation.

Spiritual abuse includes:

- preventing a person from engaging in their spiritual or religious practices
- using a person's religious or spiritual beliefs to manipulate, dominate or

control them

- ridiculing or denigrating someone's beliefs.

An abuser may use a number of different tactics to gain access to a victim, exert power and control over the victim, and prevent the victim from telling anyone about the abuse or seeking support. Abused adults or children are often in a position of dependence on the person who is abusing them: they may be abused by, for example, a parent, sibling, other relative, caregiver, guardian, spouse, same-sex or dating partner. Abuse is a misuse of power and a violation of trust. The abuse may happen once, or it may involve various tactics and occur in a repeated and escalating pattern over a period of months or years. The abuse may change form over time.

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HOW WIDESPREAD IS FAMILY VIOLENCE IN CANADA?

It is very difficult to know the full extent of family violence in Canada because, in many cases, the violence remains hidden. A person who is being abused may endure the violence or abuse for a long time before seeking support. Often, individuals who are abused - or others who either witness or suspect abuse - do not tell anyone about the abuse. Individuals may be reluctant - or unable - to talk about or report abuse for many different reasons including:

- stage of development or age: very young children or older adults may not be able to communicate what has happened to them
- feelings of shame, self-blame, denial or powerlessness
- fear of the abuser
- fear of being stigmatized or of having their sexual identity questioned
- personal views about family, relationships and child rearing which emphasize privacy and condone the use of physical punishment
- emotional attachment to, or economic dependency on, the abuser
- lack of knowledge about the signs of abuse, or belief that the abuse is not serious if there are no visible or serious injuries
- physical or cognitive disabilities: people with disabilities may have limited access to others, or to communications devices
- cultural or language barriers: for example, people who do not speak either English or French may not be able to seek support using their own language or may not have access to services/ support in their own language
- geographic or social isolation: people in rural or remote communities, or who are not connected to others in their communities, may lack access to information, resources, supports and services
- not knowing how to report abuse, or being afraid about what happens when a report is made.

In particular, victims may be reluctant to involve authorities because they:

- do not want to be removed from the home
- do not want the abuser to be removed from the home, go to jail or have a criminal record
- do not believe that involving child welfare authorities or the criminal justice system will stop the abuse, or
- do not believe that child welfare authorities or the criminal justice system can help or protect them.

Many cases of family violence are still not reported to either police or child welfare authorities - although there are some signs that reporting is increasing.⁷ Meanwhile, the federal government, since the 1980s, has begun gathering national-level information on family violence in Canada. Key examples include the 1984 *Badgley Report on Child Sexual Abuse*,⁸ the 1993 *Violence Against Women Survey*,⁹ the 1993 *Canadian Panel on Violence Against Women*,¹⁰ the 1996 *Royal Commission on Aboriginal People*,¹¹ the [1999 General Social Survey](#) ¹², and the 2001 [Canadian Incidence Study of Reported Child Abuse](#) ¹³. These studies have made it clear that, far from being a private individual or family matter, family violence is a pervasive and complex societal problem in Canada.

Some of the most recent sources indicate, for example:

- Based on a survey of approximately 26,000 Canadians, an estimated 7% of people who were married or living in a common-law relationship experienced some form of violence in the five years prior to the survey.¹⁴
- There are also many "unintended" victims of family violence including the children in close to half a million households in Canada who have seen or heard one parent being assaulted by the other.¹⁵
- There were an estimated 135,573 child maltreatment investigations in Canada in 1998 (a rate of almost 22 investigations per 1,000 children aged 0 to 15). Almost half (45%) of the investigations were substantiated. Ten percent (10%) of child maltreatment investigations involved alleged sexual abuse (38% of these were substantiated).¹⁶
- Police data for 1999 indicates that 60% of all sexual assault victims are children and youth (under age 18). Parents are responsible for 42% of these sexual assaults.¹⁷
- Two percent (2%) of all victims of violent crime in 1999 were older adults (aged 65 and older).¹⁸
- In the past two decades, police data indicates that, of all individuals who were murdered, approximately one third were killed by a relative.¹⁹

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WHAT FACTORS CONTRIBUTE TO FAMILY VIOLENCE?

There is no single, definitive cause of family violence, and many people - regardless of gender, age, race, ethnicity, education, cultural identity, socioeconomic status, occupation, religion, sexual orientation, physical or mental abilities or personality - may be vulnerable to being abused at any stage of their life. Family violence is a complex problem, in which many different factors (individual, relationship and societal) play a role. Most experts believe that family violence is linked to inequalities and power imbalances in our society. Most abusers are in a position of power over their victims.

There is increased understanding that a person's vulnerability to abuse may be increased by factors such as dislocation²⁰, colonization²¹, racism, sexism, homophobia, disability, poverty and isolation.²² For example, in the past, many children sent to institutions experienced abuse. Most of these children were from marginalized groups in our society including, among others, children with disabilities, children from racial and ethnic minorities, Aboriginal children and children living in poverty.²³

Lack of access to community services and supports, and to the child welfare and criminal justice systems, may further increase a person's vulnerability to being abused - or compound the effects of abuse.

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WHAT ARE THE CONSEQUENCES OF FAMILY VIOLENCE?

Family violence has devastating consequences for victims. For individuals who experience - or are exposed to - family violence, the violence can have psychological, physical, behavioural, academic, sexual, interpersonal, self-perceptual or spiritual consequences.²⁴ Depending on the nature, extent and duration of the abuse, the effects may appear immediately, or they may emerge over time. Often, the effects of family violence are not recognized or understood by others, adding to the isolation experienced by those who are abused. In some cases, consequences may be fatal.

Abuse can also be devastating for those who are not the intended target. For example, children who are exposed to violence in their homes may experience serious effects that threaten their health, safety, behaviour, emotional and social development, and educational progress.²⁵ In certain cases, they may be removed from their family homes.

Consequences for Abusers

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

learned that abuse is a way of exerting power and control over others. They may continue to harm others even if it destroys their relationships or has other negative consequences for their lives such as involvement in the criminal justice or child welfare systems. Some abusers eventually kill their victims and themselves.

Societal Consequences

Family violence has enormous economic costs for Canadian society. For example, the first research study to estimate the costs of various forms of violence against women, including woman abuse in intimate relationships, found that this problem costs Canadian society an estimated \$4.2 billion per year in social services, education, criminal justice, labour, employment, health and medical costs. Criminal justice costs alone total an estimated \$871,908,582.00 per year.²⁶ The total costs related to all forms of family violence have yet to be calculated but would clearly be much higher.

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PREVENTING AND RESPONDING TO FAMILY VIOLENCE

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

The Department of Justice Canada and its partners, including non-governmental organizations, provincial and territorial governments and the private sector, are working together to ensure that the criminal justice system responds more effectively to protect victims and hold abusers accountable. The Department recognizes that to be effective, the efforts of the criminal justice system must contribute to the development of multidisciplinary and intersectoral approaches. Key strategies include legal reform, public and professional education, research and support for programs and services. Much of this work is linked to the federal government's current [Family Violence Initiative](#), which focuses primarily on violence against women and children that occurs in the home. Other areas of activity include, for example, the [Aboriginal Justice Strategy](#), the [Victims of Crime Initiative](#), the [National Strategy on Community Safety and Crime Prevention](#) and the [National Children's Agenda](#).

Reforming the Law and Enhancing its Implementation

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

- determining acts that are criminal offences under the law

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

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

The Department works with its provincial and territorial partners to identify common issues and exchange information across all jurisdictions to improve the effectiveness of charging practices, prosecutorial practices, and measures to protect victims and deal with abusers.

Other Strategies to Prevent and Respond to Family Violence

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

Public legal education

The Department of Justice Canada, in partnership with public legal education organizations across Canada, actively supports and promotes public legal education on the issue of family violence. The emphasis is on educating Canadians about the prevalence and dynamics of family violence, their legal rights and options, and the criminal justice process in cases of family violence.

Professional development and resources

The Department of Justice Canada recognizes that the response of criminal justice system personnel in cases of family violence is crucial. Police, Crown Attorneys, judges, probation officers, victim-witness assistance personnel, correctional personnel and others play a key role in providing services and supports that are sensitive, appropriate and supportive. The Department is involved in developing resources to promote awareness of family violence issues, knowledge of the dynamics of family violence, and an understanding of best practices in cases of family violence. The Department, with its provincial and territorial partners, has developed and disseminated a number of key resources, such as *Criminal Harassment: A Handbook for Police and Crown Prosecutors*, for justice system personnel.

Research, data collection and information sharing

The Department of Justice Canada recognizes the important role of research and

data collection in enhancing our understanding of family violence and in developing effective measures for preventing and responding to cases of family violence. The Department works with researchers across Canada to examine emerging issues. The focus is on learning from the experiences and insights of the victims of family violence, and criminal justice system practitioners, and on using that information in ways that will improve the response to family violence.

Support for program and service delivery

Effective programs and services for victims of family violence are essential. The Department of Justice Canada is involved in efforts to support program development and implementation including:

- pilot testing of new models for prevention and intervention in cases of family violence including new approaches to prosecution and additional mechanisms for supporting victims and witnesses, and
- the implementation of community-based prevention initiatives that address risk factors for family violence.

For further information on the Department of Justice Canada's efforts to prevent and respond to family violence, please see the Department's [family violence web site](#) and the fact sheets on [spousal abuse](#) and [child abuse](#).

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SUGGESTED RESOURCES ON FAMILY VIOLENCE

Alliance of Five Research Centres on Violence. *Violence Prevention and The Girl Child: Final Report*. Research funded by Status of Women Canada, 1999.

Canada. Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics. *Family Violence in Canada: A Statistical Profile, 2000*. Ottawa: Statistics Canada; Cat. No. 85-224-XPE, 2000.

Canada. Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics. *Family Violence in Canada: A Statistical Profile, 2001*. Ottawa: Statistics Canada; Cat. No. 85-224-XPE, 2001.

Canada. Department of Justice Canada. *A Handbook for Police and Crown Prosecutors on Criminal Harassment*. Ottawa: Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada, 1999.

Canada. Department of Justice Canada. *Synthesis of Department of Justice Research Findings on Spousal Assault*. Working document prepared by Tammy Landau. Ottawa: Department of Justice Canada, 1998 [Online]. Available on Internet: <<http://www.canada.justice.gc.ca/en/ps/rs/rep/wd98-5a-e.pdf>>

Canada. Health Canada. *Canadian Incidence Study of Reported Child Abuse and Neglect - Final Report*. Report prepared by Nico Trocmé, Bruce MacLaurin, Barbara Fallon, Joanne Daciuk, Diane Billingsley, Marc Tourigny, Micheline Mayer, John Wright, Ken Barter, Gale Burford, Joe Hornick, Richard Sullivan and Brad McKenzie. Ottawa: Minister of Public Works and Government Services,

2001.

Canada. Health Canada. *National Clearinghouse Fact Sheets on Family Violence* (series). Ottawa: Health Canada. Available on Internet:
<<http://www.hc-sc.gc.ca/hppb/familyviolence/>>

Canada. Health Canada. *The Consequences of Child Maltreatment: A Reference Guide for Health Practitioners*. Report prepared by Jeff Latimer. Ottawa: Health Canada, 1998 [Online]. Available on Internet:
<<http://www.hc-sc.gc.ca/hppb/familyviolence/html/98p057eO.html>>

Dauvergne, Mia and Holly Johnson. "Children Witnessing Family Violence." *Juristat*. 21, 6. Ottawa: Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Statistics Canada; Cat. No. 85-002-XPE, 2001.

Duffy, Ann and Julianne Momirov. *Family Violence: A Canadian Introduction*. Toronto: James Lorimer & Company Ltd. 1997.

Greaves, Lorraine and Olena Hankivsky. *Selected Estimates of the Costs of Violence Against Women*. London, Ontario: Centre for Research on Violence Against Women and Children, 1995.

Hotton, Tina. "Spousal Violence after Marital Separation." *Juristat*. 21, 7. Ottawa: Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Statistics Canada; Cat. No. 85-002-XPE, 2001.

Johnson, Holly. *Dangerous Domains: Violence Against Women in Canada*. Toronto: Nelson, 1996.

Law Commission of Canada. *Restoring Dignity: Responding to Child Abuse in Canadian Institutions*. Ottawa: Minister of Public Works and Government Services, 2000.

Leventhal, Beth and Sandra E. Lundy, eds. *Same-Sex Domestic Violence: Strategies for Change*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1999.

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WHERE TO GET MORE INFORMATION ON FAMILY VIOLENCE

[Department of Justice Canada Family Violence Web Site](#)

[National Clearinghouse on Family Violence](#)

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ENDNOTES

¹ Other forms of abuse such as sibling abuse, parent abuse, and ritual abuse have

also been explored.

[2](#) Assault and unlawful confinement are criminal offences in Canada.

[3](#) Sexual assault, sexual harassment and sexual exploitation are criminal offences in Canada.

[4](#) Criminal harassment is a criminal offence in Canada.

[5](#) Theft and fraud are criminal offences in Canada.

[6](#) Withholding the necessities of life, such as money to buy food or medical treatment, is a criminal offence in Canada.

[7](#) Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, *Family Violence in Canada: A Statistical Profile* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada; Cat. No. 85-224-XPE, 2001): 27. The 1999 General Social Survey found that there have been significant increases in women reporting spousal abuse to the police and contacting social services. This may be the result of efforts to reduce the stigma of spousal abuse, increase public awareness, improve training for police and other criminal justice personnel, increase the availability of police- and court-related victim support services, and increase public confidence in the criminal justice system's ability to deal with cases of spouse abuse effectively.

[8](#) See: Committee on Sexual Offences Against Children and Youth, *Sexual Offences Against Children in Canada: Report of the Committee on Sexual Offences Against Children and Youth* [the Badgley Report](Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, 1984).

[9](#) See: Karen Rodgers, "Wife assault: The findings of a national survey," *Juristat*, 14, 9 (Ottawa: Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Statistics Canada; Cat. No.85-002).

[10](#) See: Canadian Panel on Violence against Women, *Final Report of the Canadian Panel on Violence against Women: Changing the landscape: ending violence - achieving equality* (Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, 1993).

[11](#) See: Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, *The Path to Healing*. (Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, 1993).

[12](#) See: Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, *Family Violence in Canada: A Statistical Profile* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada; Cat. No. 85-224-XPE, 2000).

[13](#) See: Canada, Health Canada, *Canadian Incidence Study of Reported Child Abuse and Neglect- Final Report*. Report prepared by Nico Trocmé, Bruce MacLaurin, Barbara Fallon, Joanne Daciuk, Diane Billingsley, Marc Tourigny, Micheline Mayer, John Wright, Ken Barter, Gale Burford, Joe Hornick, Richard Sullivan and Brad McKenzie (Ottawa: Minister of Public Works and Government

Services Canada, 2001).

¹⁴ Data from the 1999 General Social Survey, as reported in: Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, *Family Violence in Canada: A Statistical Profile* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada; Cat. No. 85-224-XPE, 2000): 5.

¹⁵ Data from the 1999 General Social Survey, as reported in: Mia Dauvergne and Holly Johnson, "Children Witnessing Family Violence," *Juristat*, 21, 6 (Ottawa: Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Statistics Canada, Cat. No. 85-002-XPE, 2001): 1.

¹⁶ Canada, Health Canada, *Canadian Incidence Study of Reported Child Abuse and Neglect - Final Report*. Report prepared by Nico Trocmé, Bruce MacLaurin, Barbara Fallon, Joanne Daciuk, Diane Billingsley, Marc Tourigny, Micheline Mayer, John Wright, Ken Barter, Gale Burford, Joe Hornick, Richard Sullivan and Brad McKenzie (Ottawa: Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada, 2001): xiv-xv.

¹⁷ Data from UCR2 Survey, as reported in: Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, *Family Violence in Canada: A Statistical Profile* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada; Cat. No. 85-224-XPE, 2001): 13.

¹⁸ Data from UCR2 Survey, as reported in: Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, *Family Violence in Canada: A Statistical Profile* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada; Cat. No. 85-224-XPE, 2000): 5.

¹⁹ Data from Homicide Survey, as reported in: Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, *Family Violence in Canada: A Statistical Profile* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada; Cat. No. 85-224-XPE, 2000): 6.

²⁰ "Dislocation" means being removed from one's language, culture, family and community. Dislocation is a situation that has affected Aboriginal children who were sent to residential schools, as well as immigrants and refugees to Canada.

²¹ "Colonization" is "that process of encroachment and subsequent subjugation of Aboriginal peoples since the arrival of Europeans. From the Aboriginal perspective, it refers to loss of lands, resources, and self-direction and to the severe disturbance of cultural ways and values." Source: Emma D. LaRoque, *Violence in Aboriginal Communities* Reprinted from the Book "The Path to Healing" with permission from the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (Ottawa: Health Canada, 1994): 73.

²² Information on factors which increase vulnerability to abuse is based on the following publications: Canada, Health Canada, *Like a Wingless Bird: A Tribute to the Survival and Courage of Women Who are Abused and Who Speak Neither English Nor French*. Prepared by Linda MacLeod and Maria Shin (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1994); Canada, Health Canada, *Isolated*,

Afraid and Forgotten: The Service Delivery Needs and Realities of Immigrant and Refugee Women Who Are Battered. Prepared by Linda MacLeod and Maria Shin (Ottawa: Health and Welfare Canada, 1990); Rosalind Savary, "When Racism Meets Sexism: Violence Against Immigrant and Visible Minority Women", *Vis-à-vis*, 12, 1 (Ottawa: Canadian Council on Social Development, 1994); Canada, Health Canada, *Abuse in Lesbian Relationships: Information and Resources.* Prepared by Laurie C. Chesley, Donna MacAulay, and Janice L. Ristock (Ottawa: Minister of Public Works and Government Services, 1998); Beth Leventhal and Sandra E. Lundy (Editors) *Same-Sex Domestic Violence: Strategies for Change* (Thousand Oaks: CA: Sage Publications, Inc., 1999); Canada, Department of Justice Canada, *Research Report - The Ontario Rural Woman Abuse Study (ORWAS): Final Report.* Prepared by Lorie Biesenthal, Lynne Dee Sproule, Mary Nelder, Susan Golton, Donna Mann, Denise Podovinnikoff, Inge Roosendaal, Shellie Warman and Donna Lunn (Ottawa: Department of Justice Canada, 2000); Canada, Department of Justice Canada. *Barriers to Justice: Ethnocultural Minority Women and Domestic Violence: A Preliminary Discussion Paper.* Prepared by Nahid Roboubi and Sharon Bowles (Ottawa: Department of Justice, 1995); L'Institut Roehrer Institute, *Harm's Way: The Many Faces of Violence and Abuse Against Persons with Disabilities* (Toronto: L'Institut Roehrer Institute, 1995); Alliance of the Five Research Centres on Violence, *Violence Prevention and the Girl Child: Final Report* (Research funded by Status of Women Canada, 1999); Canada, Health Canada, *Breaking the Links Between Poverty and Violence Against Women.* Prepared by Jane Gurr, Louise Mailloux, Dianne Kinnon and Susan Doerge (Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services Canada, 1996); Law Commission of Canada, *Restoring Dignity: Responding to Child Abuse in Canadian Institutions* (Ottawa: Minister of Public Works and Government Services, 2001); Emma D. LaRoque, *Violence in Aboriginal Communities* Reprinted from the Book "The Path to Healing" with permission from the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (Ottawa: Health Canada, 1994); and Canada, Health Canada, *Family Violence in Aboriginal Communities: An Aboriginal Perspective - Information from the National Clearinghouse on Family Violence.* Prepared by Karen Green (Ottawa: Health Canada, 1996).

²³ Law Commission of Canada, *Restoring Dignity: Responding to Child Abuse in Canadian Institutions - Executive Summary* (Ottawa: Minister of Public Works and Government Services, 2001): 1-2.

²⁴ Canada, Health Canada, *The Consequences of Child Maltreatment: A Reference Guide for Health Practitioners.* Prepared by Jeff Latimer (Ottawa: Health Canada, 1998) [Online]. Available on Internet: <<http://www.hc-sc.gc.ca/hppb/familyviolence/html/98p057eO.html>>

²⁵ Canada, Health Canada, *A Handbook for Health and Social Service Providers and Educators on Children Exposed to Woman Abuse/Family Violence.* Prepared by Marlies Suderman and Peter Jaffe (Ottawa: Minister of Public Works and

Government Services Canada, 1999): 1.

[26](#) Lorraine Greaves and Olena Hankivsky, *Selected Estimates of the Costs of Violence Against Women* (London, Ontario: Centre for Research on Violence Against Women and Children, 1995): 2.