PERSONAL SIMILARITY BASED ON DOG OWNERSHIP AND AGE AND ATTRIBUTION OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR A DOMESTIC VIOLENCE INCIDENT: A TEST OF THE DEFENSIVE ATTRIBUTION THEORY

David M. Day
Toronto Metropolitan University, Department of Psychology, Toronto, Ontario Canada, M5B 2K3

Omega Luxor
York University, Department of Psychology, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, M3J 1P3

Aaron Palachi
Toronto Metropolitan University, Department of Psychology, Toronto, Ontario Canada, M5B 2K3

ABSTRACT

Defensive Attribution Theory posits that observers will be biased in their ascription of responsibility toward the perpetrator of a violent act if they feel personally similar to the perpetrator. Considerable support for the DAT has been found based on broad demographic characteristics, such as ethnicity. However, few studies have examined the DAT using less dominant characteristics. We examined the influence of age and dog ownership on participants' judgements of the attribution of responsibility toward a perpetrator of an act of intimate partner violence. Although the results were mixed, as predicted, identification with the perpetrator was negatively correlated with measures of attribution of responsibility and severity of the incident.

INTRODUCTION

Shaver's (1970) Defensive Attribution Theory (DAT) posits that an observer will view the perpetrator of a criminal act, such as an assault, as less blameworthy for the incident if they perceive themselves as personally similar to the perpetrator, than if they perceive themselves as dissimilar to the perpetrator. The similarity may be based on personal beliefs, values, traits, attitudes, or demographic characteristics. Shaver noted further that the effect also may be observed when the observer feels *situationally* similar to the perpetrator, as when they could see themselves in the same situation or circumstance. Shaver explained that this biased attribution serves as a cognitive defensive response or protective mechanism for the observer by deflecting the attribution of responsibility and blame away from the perpetrator (i.e., blame avoidance) in order to reduce the fear that the observer also may suffer the same fate if in that same situation and also be seen as blameworthy for the incident (Pinciotti & Orcutt, 2020).

A meta-analysis of 22 studies found strong support for the DAT, particularly when the participant-involving manipulation was strong (Burger, 1981). Generally, supportive evidence has been found based on a personal similarity for gender (Locke & Richman, 1999; Rhatigan et al., 2011), ethnicity (Locke & Richman, 1999), age (Shaver, 1970), religion (Hunter and Stringer, 1991), past sexual assault (Miller et al., 2011), and college affiliation (Harrison & Abrishami, 2004). Several theories have been invoked to explain the mechanism underlying the DAT effect, including Social Identity Theory (SIT; Tajfel et al., 1971), and Just World Beliefs (JWB; Lerner, 1980). SIT states that people tend to favor members of their ingroup at the expense of the outgroup. In cases where the observer feels personally similar to the perpetrator, they will show ingroup favoritism and attribute less blame to the perpetrator for the incident. JWB states that "bad people get what they deserved" and if I am like that person, and I am not a bad person, then they must not a bad person either.

Literature Review

Defensive Attribution Theory and the Criminal Justice System

As discussed in the literature, the DAT may explain attributional bias in a criminal context in cases of sexual assault (Bell et al., 1994; Grubb & Harrower, 2009; Panciotti & Orcutt, 2020) and intimate partner violence (IPV; Harrison & Abrishami, 2004; Locke & Richman, 1999; Rhatigan et al., 2011). For example, members of a jury who feel personally similar to a defendant, based on a shared identity, will show greater leniency in rendering a legal decision than jurors who do not feel similar to a defendant (Grubb & Harrower, 2009). Likewise, personal similarity may affect attributions of blameworthiness and responsibility for the victim of a sexual assault or IPV incident, resulting in a harsher legal decision towards the defendant (Miller et al., 2011).

Bell et al. (1994) examined the effect of a stranger versus a date rape scenario on participants' tendency to blame the victim for the assault. Two hundred and thirty-two male and female undergraduate students read one of four scenarios involving either stranger rape or date rape. The stranger rape scenarios involved either the incident occurring as the woman walked to her car or after she accepted a ride from her assailant after her car broke down. The date rape scenarios involved either the incident occurring by a fellow student or by a person of unspecified occupation. Participants' ratings of their perception of similarity to the victim and the perpetrator, their level of empathy, and their victim blaming were gathered. Results indicated that, consistent with the DAT, the similarity rating was negatively correlated with the tendency to blame the victim ($r = -.22, p < .001$). In a similar study, Grubb and Harrower (2009) had 160 undergraduate male and female students complete a measure of attitudes toward rape victims and then read one of three vignettes that described either a date rape scenario, a stranger rape scenario, or a seduction rape scenario. These tasks were followed by the completion of measures of perceived similarity to the victim and to the perpetrator and attribution of blame and responsibility of the victim and the perpetrator. Like the Bell et al. (1994) study, their analyses also revealed a significant correlation between perceived similarity and attribution of blame of a female rape victim ($r = -.24, p < .001$).

In a study of personal similarity based on gender and ethnicity, Locke and Richman (1999) examined the effect of demographic characteristics on observers' attributional bias in the context of intimate partner violence (Locke & Richman, 1999). Participants were 156 male and female European-Americans undergraduate students and 109 male and female African-Americans undergraduate students and were randomly assigned to read one of four scenarios describing a police report of an incident of IPV. They subsequently completed measures of attitudes toward women, beliefs about IPV, endorsement of racist statements, opinions about the vignette, including their sympathy for, and attribution of blameworthiness of, the perpetrator and victim, and a social desirability scale. The researchers varied the gender and ethnicity of the perpetrator and the victim in the IPV scenarios as follows: white husband/white wife; white husband/Black wife, Black husband/white wife; Black husband/Black wife. The results indicated that, as predicted by the DAT, similarity in ethnicity between the participant and the victim influenced sympathy ratings for the victim, such that, compared to their ratings of the European-American wife, African-American participants sympathized with the African-American wife and rated this scenario as more severe. In sum, these studies illustrate the attributional bias resulting from the identification with a victim or perpetrator of a violent incident, as predicted by the DAT.

Dog Ownership and Personal Similarity

As noted above, the personal similarity variable used in previous DAT studies has largely been based on broad demographic characteristics, such as gender, ethnicity, and age. To date, other than a few studies (e.g., Harrison & Abrishami, 2004; Miller et al., 2011), little research has been conducted to test the DAT with less dominant self-identifying characteristics. Drawing on SIT (Tajfel et al. 1971), we used dog ownership (yes/no) as the basis of the personal similarity variable to examine its impact on participants' ratings of attribution of responsibility of a perpetrator of a fictitious incident of IPV. To justify the use of dog ownership in this study, we draw on existing research on dog ownership and the ways in which this characteristic can create a sense of social identity as a dog owner. Although SIT is not part of the DAT, we argue that dog ownership can lead to a social identity through which people may view themselves as similar (or dissimilar) to others, as members of an ingroup (or outgroup). Based on this reasoning, we believe that identifying as a dog owner may effectively function as a personal similarity variable in a test of the DAT.

Dogs bring many benefits to their owners, including companionship, emotional support, and positive health outcomes. People form strong emotional attachments to their dogs, as strong as their attachments to significant (human) others in their lives, such as their spouse and children. Some dog owners consider their dogs as members of the family (Dotson & Hyatt, 2008). In addition, dog owners may self-identify as "dog people" (Amberson, 2023), a personal and social identity that Dotson and Hyatt (2008) refer to as having a "dog-oriented self-concept." For example, a statement consistent with a dog-oriented self-concept that also reflects the ingroup/outgroup thinking is "I would not be willing to establish a relationship with someone who was not willing to accept my dog" (Dotson & Hyatt, 2008, p. 461).

Following from this, dog ownership creates opportunities for social interactions with strangers who are also dog owners in public spaces like a park or on the street (Robins et al., 1991). As noted by Dotson and Hyatt (2008), "dogs serve to facilitate interaction among the previously

unacquainted and to establish trust among the newly acquainted" (p. 459). In this regard, dog ownership may facilitate contact with other dog owners (i.e., members of the ingroup), serving as a social lubricant. These interactions can create social bonds that are strong and forged in trust, mutual interest, and a shared identity.

The Present Study

The purpose of the study was to determine if a less prominent social identity than race or gender (i.e., dog ownership) could elicit sufficient identification with a perpetrator in participants to affect their attribution of responsibility for an IPV incident.

Hypotheses

1. Perceived similarity to the perpetrator will be correlated with attribution of responsibility, just world belief, and the perceived severity of the incident.
2. Compared to participants who are dissimilar to the perpetrator in age, participants who are similar to the perpetrator will rate the perpetrator as less blameworthy for the incident and as less deserving of punishment for the incident and will rate the incident as less severe.
3. Compared to participants who are dissimilar to the perpetrator in dog ownership, participants who are similar to the perpetrator will rate the perpetrator as less blameworthy for the incident and as less deserving for what they will get for the incident and will rate the incident as less severe.

METHOD

Participants

Participants were 142 undergraduate students enrolled in an introductory psychology course at a large Metropolitan university. The sample was ethnically diverse, with 39.5% Asian, 26.8% White, 16.2% African, and 16.8% other ethnicities, and largely female (80.3% female, 17.6% male, 1.4% non-binary), with an average age of 20.7 years (SD = 5.0, range from 17 - 42). The sample was recruited through Sona, the Department of Psychology undergraduate participation pool and participants earned 0.5 credits toward their final grade for their participation. Ethics approval was received from the home institution prior to collecting the data (REB 2021-474).

Design and Procedure

For this study we used a quasi-experimental design. Participants were randomly assigned to one of four vignette conditions that briefly (in two paragraphs) described an incident of intimate partner violence perpetrated by Sarah, a university student, in which she struck and pushed her common-law partner, Jase, to the ground after an argument. Two of the vignettes described Sarah as 19 years old and two of the vignettes describe her as 24 years old. As well, two of the vignettes described Sarah as passionate about her dogs and two of the vignettes described her as passionate about her books. Therefore, each participant read a vignette that described Sarah as either 19 or 24 years old and as passionate about either dogs or books. Once participants gave

electronic consent, they completed a demographics form, read the vignette, and completed the study measures. Data were gathered through an online survey platform and took approximately 15 minutes to complete.

There were either 35 or 36 participants for each vignette (see Table 1). In terms of the personal similarity manipulation, 50.3% of the participants were similar to Sarah in age (50% with 19-year-old Sarah, i.e., participants were 17 - 21 years of age; and 52% with 24-year-old Sarah, i.e., participants were 22 - 47 years of age). As well, 56.0% were similar to Sarah by dog ownership (56.9% were also a dog owner and 55.4% of participants were also not a dog owner).

Table 1.
Breakdown of Participants' Age Group and Dog Ownership by Condition

	Vignette			
	Sarah 24 years, dog owner	Sarah 24 years, not a dog owner	Sarah 19 years, dog owner	Sarah 19 years, not a dog owner
Participant age group				
17 – 21 years	29	29	28	30
22 – 47 years	6	7	7	5
Total	35	36	35	35
Participant dog ownership				
Not a dog owner	20	21	17	25
Dog owner	15	15	18	10
Total	35	36	35	35

Measures

Demographics Questionnaire
A demographics questionnaire was developed for the study that asked about age, gender identity, ethnicity, and past or current dog ownership. To prime participants about their dog ownership (where applicable) in order to increase the level of personal involvement with the vignette (where Sarah was a dog owner; Burger, 1981), we included three additional questions, asking: 1) what is the name of their dog; 2) for how long have they owned their dog; and 3) how old were they when they first got a dog.

Attribution of Responsibility

Attribution of responsibility was assessed with an 11-item measure adapted from the Attribution for Violent Behavior scale (Rhatigan et al., 2011). Participants responded on a 6-point scale, where 1 = Disagree Strongly and 6 = Agree Strongly. Sample items included: "Sarah is responsible for the violent act(s) portrayed above," and "Sarah's behaviour was purposeful and

deliberate." Items were summed so that higher scores represented greater attribution of responsibility. The scale had good internal reliability with a reported Cronbach's alpha of .81 for the present study.

Severity Rating

The severity of the incident was assessed with a 3-item measure developed for the present study. Items were rated on a 6-point scale, where 1 = Disagree Strongly and 6 = Agree Strongly. Sample items included, "Sarah's initial reaction to Jase was severe," and "Overall, the conflict that happened between Jase and Sarah was severe." The scale was scored so that higher scores represented greater severity. The scale had adequate internal reliability, with a Cronbach's alpha of .74 for the present study.

Just World Beliefs

Belief in a just world was measured with the 7-item Global Belief in A Just World Scale (GBJWS; Lipkus, 1991). Items were rated on a 6-point scale from 1 = Disagree Strongly to 6 = Agree Strongly. Sample items included "I feel that people get what they deserve" and "I feel that rewards and punishments are fairly given." The scale is reported to have good internal reliability, with a Cronbach's alpha of .85 for the present study.

Similarity Ratings

Participants' perceived similarity to the perpetrator (Sarah) and the victim (Jase) were assessed with two 2-item measures adapted from the questionnaire developed by Grubb and Harrower (2009). Each item on the two scales was rated on a 5-point scale from 1 = Not at all to 5 = A Great Deal. The items were "How similar do you feel to Sarah/Jase in the scenario?" and "How much could you seen yourself being in the same scenario as Sarah/Jase in this scenario?" The scales had good internal reliability for the present study, with Cronbach's alphas of .76 and .72 for the similarity ratings for Sarah and for Jase, respectively.

RESULTS

Three data points on the dependent variables were missing and were imputed using mean scores. First, correlations were preformed to test Hypothesis 1. Results indicated that, consistent with expectation, Similarity ratings for Sarah were negatively correlated with Attribution ratings and Severity ratings (see Table 2). The Similarity ratings for Jase were not correlated with either of these measures. Second, to test Hypotheses 2 and 3, separate 2 X 2 ANOVAs were conducted for each of the three dependent variables (Attribution, Severity, and Just World Beliefs) and for 1) participants' age group (17 - 21 years or 22 - 47 years) X Sarah's age (19 or 24 years) and 2) participants' dog ownership (yes or no) X Sarah's dog ownership (yes or no). Significant interaction effects between participants' age group and Sarah's age and participants' dog ownership and Sarah's dog ownership would provide support for the study hypotheses. Given the variability in the correlations among the dependent variables, which ranged from .01 to .62, we did not use a MANOVAs approach for these analyses. Results indicated that none of the interactions was statistically significant. A significant main effect was observed for Sarah's dog

ownership on the GBJWS ($F = 4.06$, $df = 1, 140$, $p = .046$, partial $\eta^2 = .029$). Participants rated Sarah as more deserving of punishment when she was a dog owner ($M = 21.05$, SE = .74) than when she was not a dog owner ($M = 18.90$, SE = .77).

Table 2.

Correlation Matrix

Variable	Attribution	Severity	Just World Beliefs	Similarity – S	Similarity - J
Attribution	1.0				
Severity	.62**	1.0			
Just World Beliefs	.10	-.01	1.0		
Similarity - Sarah	-.42**	-.32**	.034	1.0	
Similarity - Jase	.01	-.08	-.03	.31**	
Mean (SD)	44.84 (7.8)	12.9 (1.9)	20.1 (6.2)	3.3 (1.5)	4.2 (1.7)
No. of items (α)	11 (.81)	3 (.74)	7 (.85)	2 (.76)	2 (.72)
N	142	142	142	142	142

Note: **p < .001.

DISCUSSION

This study extended the DAT literature by considering the effect of a non-dominant social identity for the personal similarity/dissimilarity variable that has not previously been examined in the literature, that of dog ownership. Based on SIT and the ingroup/outgroup effect as a putative mechanism underlying the DAT, we expected that dog owners would attribute less blame to the perpetrator of a violent incident if the perpetrator also was a dog owner than if the perpetrator was not a dog owner. Likewise, we expected that non-dog owners would attribute less blame to the perpetrator of a violent incident if the perpetrator was not a dog owner than if the perpetrator was a dog owner. We also examined age as a similarity/dissimilarity variable, as this characteristic has been examined previously in the DAT literature (e.g., Shaver, 1970).

Consistent with Hypothesis 1, we found statistically significant bivariate relations between participants' similarity ratings with Sarah (the perpetrator of the incident) and measures of attribution of responsibility and severity of the incident; participants who felt more similar to Sarah attributed less blame to her for the assault and rated the event as less severe. These results accord with Grubb and Harrower (2009) and Bell et al. (1994) and provide support for the DAT. While these previous studies found that identification with a female victim was associated with less blame, our study provided evidence that the relationship also holds true when the female in the scenario is the perpetrator. These findings may have implications in criminal cases when female jurors may be required to make legal decisions in cases of a female defendant charged with a violent crime. However, our findings were correlational in nature and do not shed light on either the causal nature of the relation or the basis for the similarity ratings.

Our findings failed to support either Hypothesis 2 or Hypothesis 3. Perceived similarity based on either dog ownership or age did not influence participants' evaluation of either the blameworthiness of the perpetrator or the severity of the scenario. The lack of an age effect was

surprising given that the effect has been observed in previous studies (Shaver, 1970). The lack of an interaction effect for the dog ownership manipulation may have been due to the strength of the manipulation. Although we aimed to prime participants about their dog ownership by asking them several questions about their pets, the variable may not have been sufficiently involving to create a clear identification with the perpetrator.

Finally, the main effect for Sarah as a dog owner on the measure of just world beliefs suggests that participants judged her more harshly when she owned a dog than when she did not own a dog. Although speculative, it may be that people hold dog owners to a higher level of responsibility. Therefore, an act of irresponsibility by a person who is a dog owner is judged more harshly than a person who does not own a dog and is seen as more deserving of punishment. Moreover, although Sarah is not reported to have abused her dogs in the vignettes, there is a high degree of the overlap between animal abuse and households with intimate partner violence (Cleary et al., 2021). Participants might have implicitly drawn this connection in judging Sarah.

Limitations and Future Research

Four limitations of the study are noted. First, our sample size may have been underpowered to detect interaction effects. Second, the sample included a relatively large number of female participants within a narrow range of ages. As a result, the age manipulation of the perpetrator, of either 19 or 24 years, may not have been sufficiently large to differentiate the age groupings of the sample (of either 17 - 21 years or 22 - 47 years) in terms of identification with the perpetrator based on age. Future research could use a community population to obtain a larger and more representative sample and to capture a wider age range that is not clustered around the lower end of an undergraduate sample. At the same time, despite the limitations of a student sample (van der Breggen & Grubb, 2014), undergraduate students represent an important population for research on interpersonal violence given the prevalence of IPV involving young people. Third, our finding in support of Hypothesis 1 was correlational in nature. To address this issue, future research could examine the temporal relation between the similarity rating and the attribution of blame (e.g., see Amacker & Litteleon, 2013) and the ways in which identification with the perpetrator is constructed. Fourth, although offering expediency in data collection, some of the scales of our constructs were brief, comprising 2 or 3 items. This factor presents a limitation to their psychometric properties. We suggest using measures with more items that can more precisely assess observers' perceptions of the actors involved in the violent incidents. Future research could also explore gender effects by expanding the vignettes to include scenarios that involve male as well as female perpetrators and female as well as male victims. Lastly, as suggested by van der Breggen and Grubb (2014) the use of mock trials in place of vignettes offers a viable alternative methodology that has more ecological validity.

Conclusions

In conclusion, the above limitations notwithstanding, the present study contributes to the defensive attribution literature in several important ways. First, the study examines the DAT using a female perpetrator against a male victim. Second, the study uses a personal similarity variable that is less dominant than the demographic characteristics often used in the previous

literature. Although the hypotheses were partially supported, we suggest several ways in which future research may extend our findings to better understand the influence of perceived personal similarity on observers' evaluation of the blameworthiness of the actors and the severity of the assault incident.

REFERENCES

Amacker, A. M. & Littleton, H. L. (2013). Perceptions of similarity and responsibility attributions to an acquaintance sexual assault victim. *Violence Against Women*, *19*, 1384, 1407. https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801213514860

Amberson, J. (2023). On being a dog-person: Meaning-making & dog-walking identities. *Irish Journal of Sociology*, *3*, 161-180. https://doi.org/10.1177/07916035221118247

Bell, S. T., Kuriloff, P. J., & Lotter, I. (1994). Understanding attributions of blame in stranger and date rape situationss: An examination of gender, race, identification, and student's social perceptions of rape victims. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, *24*, 1719-1734. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1559-1816.1994.tb01571.x

Burger, J. M. (1981). Motivational biases in the attribution of responsibility for an accident: A meta-analysis of the defensive-attribution hypothesis. *Psychological Bulletin*, *90*(3), 496–512. https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.90.3.496

Cleary, M., Thapa, D. K., West, S., Westman, M., & Kornhaber, R. (2021). Animal abuse in the context of adult intimate partner violence: A systematic review. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, *61*, 101676. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2021.101676

Dotson, M. J. & Hyatt, E. M. (2008). Understanding dog-human companionship. *Journal of Business Research*, *61*, 457-466. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jbusres.2007.07.019

Grubb, A. R., & Harrower, J. (2009). Understanding attribution of blame in cases of rape: An analysis of participant gender, type of rape and perceived similarity to the victim. *Journal of Sexual Aggression*, *15*(1), 63–81. https://doi.org/10.1080/13552600802641649

Harrison, L. A. & Abrishami, G. (2004). Dating violence attributions: Do they differ for ingroup and outgroup members who have a history of dating violence? *Sex Roles*, *51*, 543-550. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-004-5464-6

Hunter J. A. & Stringer, M. (1991). Intergroup violence and intergroup attributions. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, *30*, 261-266. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2044-8309.1991.tb00943.x

Lerner, M. (1980). *The belief in a just world: A fundamental delusion*. Plenum.

Lipkus, I. (1991). The construction and preliminary validation of a global belief in a just world scale and the exploratory analysis of the multidimensional belief in a just world

scale. *Personality and Individual Differences*, *12*, 1171-1178 https://doi.org/10.1016/01918869(91)90081-L

Locke, L. M., & Richman, C. L. (1999). Attitudes toward domestic violence: Race and gender issues. *Sex Roles*, *40*(3/4), 227–247. https://doi.org/10.1023/a:1018898921560

Miller, A. K., Amacker, A. M., & King, A. R. (2011). Sexual victimization history and perceived similarity to a sexual assault victim: A path model of perceiver variables predicting victim culpability attributions. *Sex Roles*, *64*, 372-381. DOI 10.1007/s11199-010-9910-3

Pinciotti, C. M. & Orcutt, H. K. (2020). It won't happen to me: An examination of the effectiveness of defensive attribution in rape victim blaming. *Violence Against Women*, *26*, 1059-1079. https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801219853

Rhatigan, D. L., Stewart, C., & Moore, T. M. (2011). Effects of gender and confrontation on attributions of female-perpetrated intimate partner violence. *Sex Roles*, *64*(11-12), 875–887. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-011-9951-2

Robins, D. M., Sanders, C. R., & Cahill, S. E. (1991). Dogs and their people; Pet-facilitated interactions in a public space. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, *20*, 3-25. https://doi.org/10.1177/089124191020001001

Shaver, K. G. (1970). Defensive attribution: Effects of severity and relevance on the responsibility assigned for an accident. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *14*(2), 101–113. https://doi.org/10.1037/h0028777

Tajfel, H., Flament, C., Billig, M. G., & Bundy, R. F. (1971). Social categorization: An intergroup phenomenon. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *1*, 149-177. https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2420010202

Van der Breggen, M. & Grubb, A. (2014). A review of the literature relating to rape victim blaming: An analysis of the impact of observer and victim characteristics on attribution of blame in rape cases. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, *19*, 523-531. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2014.07.008

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHIES

David M. Day is a Professor in the Department of Psychology at the Toronto Metropolitan University in Toronto, Canada. His research interests are developmental criminology, criminal trajectories, and antisocial behavior in children and youth. Email is: dday@torontomu.ca.

Omega Luxor received her Bachelor of Arts in Psychology from the Toronto Metropolitan University. She is currently the Lab Manager in the Department of Psychology at York University. Her research interests include social psychology, clinical psychopathology, and gender studies. Email is: omega.luxor@torontomu.ca.

Aaron Palachi is a graduate student in clinical psychology at the Toronto Metropolitan University. His research interests include criminal recidivism and mental health, trauma, intimate partner violence, and queer populations. Email is: aaronm.palachi@torontomu.ca.