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1 Interparental violence: professionals' perspectives in the child protection system 2 **Abstract** 3 4 Study purpose: Based on the cognitive-contextual model developed by Grych and Fincham (1990), this study explored the role of the Exposure to Interparental Violence (EIV) 5 on adolescents' coping and functioning from the perspectives of Portuguese professionals in 6 7 the Child Protection System (CPS). Participants: Nineteen professionals from three Child 8 Protection Agencies participated in this study (100% females). The target subjects of 9 professionals perspectives were adolescents aged between 10 and 16 years old (M = 13.58; 10 SD = 1.98) who have a CPS record managed by these professionals. Data was collected through a semi-structured interview guide based on the theoretical model and analysed with a 11 thematic analysis strategy. Results: Findings revealed 7 main themes, of which two emerged 12 exclusively from the data (i.e., Risk Factors for interparental conflict, Impact of the conflict 13 in individual and family functioning) and the remaining five were anchored in the cognitive-14 contextual theoretical framework (i.e., Interparental conflict; Distal and proximal context; 15 Primary and secondary processing; Affect; Coping behaviour and consequences). 16 17 Conclusions: This research enabled a description of the underlying aspects of the 18 multidimensionality of EIV, and the results will be discussed considering its implications for the evaluation and intervention in this context. 19 20 **Keywords:** exposure to interparental violence; cognitive-contextual framework; child 21 protection system; thematic analysis 22 23 24 25

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Domestic family violence (DFV) – i.e., violence that occurs within the family context – may involve different forms, such as intimate partner violence (IPV). IPV refers to any physical, psychological or sexual harm committed by a current or a former partner or spouse (McTavish et al., 2016). Furthermore, IPV could be related with gender-based violence, when it is directed towards an individual based on his/her gender (Collins, 2014). When children and youth are, directly or indirectly, exposed to IPV between their caregivers, we are talking about Exposure to Interparental Violence (EIV) (Holden, 2003; Holt et al., 2008; Izaguirre & Calvete, 2015; Peisch et al., 2016). Focusing on IPV may lead to a less structured prevention of EIV, despite its high social and economic impact (Carlson et al., 2019). Therefore, this study is focused merely on EIV, and not on a broader perspective of family violence (DFV), nor on interpersonal violence within intimate relationships (IPV or GBV). We are looking at the young people's cognitive appraisals about EIV and its impact on their functioning, as perceived by professionals in the Child Protection System (CPS). This study is theoretically guided by the cognitive-contextual perspective (Fosco et al, 2007; Grych & Fincham, 1990) through the lens of CPS professionals, given that they are responsible for a careful evaluation about risk and protective factors and subsequent intervention to protect these children's and adolescents' rights. EIV is described as an emotional maltreatment subtype because it can threaten children's emotional security, which is vital to a healthy development (Davies & Cummings, 1994). EIV is also classified as an interpersonal trauma (Dugal et al., 2016), given its multiple effects on the child and family functioning (Armour & Sleath, 2014; Carlson et al., 2019; Harold & Sellers, 2018; Kiesel et al., 2016; McTavish et al., 2016; Sturge-Apple et al., 2012) over time (Vu et al., 2016; Sani & Caprichoso, 2013). This traumatic dimension stems from the child's dependence on the perpetrators of violence as well as from the fact that this violence occurs in a proximal context of development (i.e., family), which should be a secure

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and protective environment (Dugal et al., 2016; Telman et al., 2015). Despite that, evidence also indicates that there are also child victims who exhibit adaptative or resilient developmental outcomes (Davies et al., 2020; Carlson et al., 2019; Grych et al., 2015; Lee et al., 2015).

Cognitive-contextual theory: the framework for the current study

The cognitive-contextual framework (Fosco et al, 2007; Grych & Fincham, 1990) is one of the main process-oriented conceptual models aimed at understanding the effects of EIV on children (DeBoard-Lucas et al., 2010, 2011; Eldik et al., 2020; Fosco & Feinberg, 2015; Grych et al., 2000). Anchored in social-cognitive theories of interparental relations, this framework focuses on describing how children's cognitive appraisals about interparental conflict may contribute to their subsequent adjustment (Fosco & Feinberg, 2015). This emphasis on cognitive dimensions situates children as active agents trying to draw interpersonal meaning from how interparental conflict is managed (Cummings & Davies, 2010). Notwithstanding this particular focus, the cognitive-contextual framework also describes other relevant components, including the properties and context of interparental conflict that shape children's cognitive processing of that experience, the corresponding coping behaviour, and the emotions that are triggered by, and that further influence, those cognitive and behavioural processes (Fosco et al., 2007; Grych & Fincham, 1990). As such, exploring these processes from the CPS professionals' perspective is critical, given that, in addition to other aspects, their evaluation and decision-making should also be anchored on the active voice of children together with their contextual variables.

Regarding the properties of interparental conflict, the model emphasizes that every interparental relationship has some level of conflict (Lee et al., 2015) that varies in frequency, intensity, content and resolution (Grych & Fincham, 1990). Intense and frequent conflict, which involves physical aggression is associated with higher levels of psychological

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problems (Eldik et al., 2020; Holt et al., 2008; Peisch, 2016; Soares & Sani, 2015). In addition, conflict whose content is related to the child is more relevant for the child's self (Grych et al., 2000) and poor interparental conflict resolution strategies (e.g., disengaged and hostile interparental conflict; Bonache et al., 2016; Eldik et al., 2020) are associated with greater distress (Davies & Cummings, 1994; Soares & Sani, 2015). Grych and Fincham (1990) highlighted both the distal and proximal contexts that affect the child's information processing. The distal context involves stable and slow changing characteristics, namely, a) children's past experience with the conflict (i.e., children who are repeatedly exposed to interparental conflict express more negative outcomes at a mental health or behavioural dysregulation level; Coe et al., 2016; Davies et al., 2020; Jouriles & McDonald, 2015; probably due to the cumulative effect of the experience; Telman et al., 2015), b) the emotional climate (e.g., warmth and supportive family environment as a protective factor with particularly relevance in a responsive parental figure; DeBoard-Lucas et al., 2010; Holt et al., 2008; Howell, 2011) c) the child's temperament (e.g., children more reactive to stress might exhibit more sensibility and more intensive affective reactions towards conflict which produces a more intensive behavioural response; Davies et al., 2020; Harold & Sellers, 2018; Sturge-Apple et al., 2012). Although the child's gender (d) also constitutes a characteristic of the distal context, the existing evidence does not provide a conclusive pattern of the differences amid female and male adolescents. However, literature suggests that, while both boys and girls experience identical levels of distress (Harold & Sellers, 2018), they might cope with EIV in distinct ways (Eldik et al., 2020). The proximal context refers to the variables of the immediate context, perceived by the child, and which might influence the cognitive processing of the event – children's mood and expectations regarding the course of conflict. Thus, negative affect towards interparental conflict (felt at

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the time of conflict or as a result of expectations towards it) might exacerbate children's distress, while positive affect might reduce it (Carlson et al., 2019; Grych & Fincham, 1990).

Regarding children's processing of interparental conflict, the child's cognitive appraisal of conflict involves two sequential steps: primary and secondary processing. During primary processing, the child perceives the event and extracts information about its negativity, potential threat (e.g., towards the victim-caregiver; DeBoard-Lucas & Grych, 2011) and self-relevance (Grych & Fincham, 1990). Secondary processing, in turn, refers to children's causal attributions (e.g., internal or external locus of control), responsibility (i.e., attributions related to the responsibility and guilt of the agent (e.g., imputation to the aggressor; DeBoard-Lucas & Grych, 2011) and expectations about the efficacy of their coping response (Grych & Fincham, 1990). Then, these expectations may influence the child's emotional and behavioural response. Threat perception is particular associated with adolescents' self-efficacy, given that high levels of threat perception might undermine their perception of self-efficacy towards coping with interparental conflict (Fosco & Feinberg, 2015). On the other hand, higher expectations about the efficacy of the coping response are associated with a greater involvement in interventional coping behaviours, while lower expectations are associated with frustration and less interventive coping behaviours (Grych & Fincham, 1990). Secondary processing both influences and is influenced by children's experienced affect. The emotional responses towards violence are complex and diversified (DeBoard-Lucas & Grych, 2011; Georgsson et al., 2011) - distress and anger are the most frequent (Grych & Fincham, 1990). In face of long-term EIV, sadness might emerge due to the child's resignation (DeBoard-Lucas & Grych, 2011). Finally, this framework posits that EIV triggers both problem-focused (i.e., strategies that aim to alter the stressor – e.g., direct intervention in the conflict) and emotion-focused (i.e., strategies that aim to modulate the emotion without changing the situation – e.g., avoidance) coping in children, through their

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cognitive appraisals and emotional responses towards that experience (DeBoard-Lucas & Grvch, 2011; Soares & Sani, 2015). Both coping strategies aim to reduce the emotional triggering generated by the event (Grych & Fincham, 1990) and therefore may be conceptualized as an attempt to preserve and reassure the child's emotional security (Davies & Cummings, 1994; Eldik, 2020; Tu et al., 2016). Intervention and withdrawal are the primary responses of children to interparental conflict (DeBoard-Lucas & Grych, 2011), but children might adopt more intervening strategies when interparental violence escalates (Grych et al., 2000) and when its content is related to the child (Soares & Sani, 2015). The impact of interparental conflict varies according to the child's age (Holt et al., 2008). Cognitive development implies that, as they get older, children become increasingly able to solve problems and resort to more sophisticated coping strategies, such as cognitive reframing strategies (e.g., focus on the positive aspects of the event or retrospective control) (Grych & Fincham, 1990) and support seeking. Moreover, adolescents might provide emotional or instrumental support to the victim-caregiver (Holt et al., 2008; Tailor et al., 2015), which may also include parentification (Nuttall & Valentino, 2017), or adopt more intervening coping strategies (Goldblatt, 2003; Holt et al., 2008) which might further expose them to conflict (Tu et al., 2016). In the context of child protection services, professionals' appropriate consideration of the child's perspective regarding the impact that EIV has on him/her, as well as their awareness of these child-level processes, are paramount to an adequate evaluation of the child's risk and/or danger situation and to an optimal decision-making process regarding the intervention strategies to be implemented in order to effectively protect the child (Gregory et al., 2020; MacDonald, 2017; Pranzo, 2013). Professionals in the CPS are responsible for making crucial decisions that have a substantial impact on children and their families

(Benbenishty et al., 2015). The success of these decisions depends, among other factors, on

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the ability of professionals working in the CPS to accurately assess the child's situation (Calheiros et al., 2019). Bearing in mind the relevance of how children and adolescents process and cope with their experiences with EIV for their adjustment outcomes (Eldik et al., 2020), understanding professionals' perspectives about these processes is important to derive useful inputs for improving professionals training in adequately considering and incorporating children's views in assessment and decision-making processes in cases with EIV.

Research problems and objectives

Despite the relevance of the body of research previously described for understanding the role of interparental violence on children's behaviours, a set of research problems could be identified. First, the overrepresentation of female caregivers as informants (Holt et al., 2008; Izaguirre & Calvete, 2015; Sani & Caprichoso, 2013) is associated with methodological weaknesses, namely, the overvaluation or undervaluation of EIV (Georgsson et al., 2011; Holt et al., 2008; Izaguirre & Calvete, 2015). Furthermore, the perspective of the victim-caregiver is influenced by their own experience, which is also a parallel experience of victimization that might modulate attention, cognitive processing and the subsequent recalling of the events (Grych et al., 2000). In addition, studies that concomitantly resort to other key informants are scarce, particularly informants from extra familiar contexts (e.g., professionals) (Holden, 2003), with the exception of teachers (mostly in the 80's and 90's) (Grych & Fincham, 1990). Therefore, considering the vital role of professionals in the CPS, particularly on the evaluation and intervention to protect referred children at risk (Holt et al., 2008), research in this field should include them in the foremost agenda. Second, the overrepresentation of samples of victims from shelters (Holt et al., 2008) is an additional research problem given that this is a specific context with greater severity of victimization experiences. Therefore, less restrictive contexts (Holt et al., 2008; Izaguirre & Calvete, 2015) Professionals' perspectives on interparental violence

should also be considered in this line of research, namely by including young people at risk and referred to the CPS.

In an attempt to address these gaps in the literature, this study aims to: a) understand the role of EIV on the coping behaviours of adolescents with a CPS referral and b) explore the cognitive-contextual processes of EIV from the perspective of the professionals working in the CPS. We will focus on adolescents, as the "target child" for professionals' perspectives, since they are more able to provide meaningful information during the evaluation processes, being more likely to reflect upon the meaning and the explanatory factors for the occurrence of interparental violence, and to understand the negative consequences of theses interactions (Eldik et al., 2020; Holt et al., 2008; Howell, 2011). As such, the current study, developed in the Portuguese CPS context, may significantly contribute to the understanding of EIV processes from the professionals' perspective. Its results may thus inform the international literature in this field, as well as the professionals' practices in national and international CPS.

189 Method

Participants

Participants were nineteen professionals (100% females), aged between 25 and 64 years old (M = 44.79; SD = 12.06), who worked in three Child Protection Agencies and whose time in function varied from 6 months to 10 years (M = 3.29; SD = 2.54). The target subjects were adolescents aged between 10 and 16 years old (M = 13.58; SD = 1.98), who had a CPS case file managed by these professionals (52.63% male; N = 10). The CPS case files analysed in this study were open, on average, for 9 months (M = 9.11; SD = 5.36) and 68.42% (N = 13) of them were at the intervention stage.

Instruments

Socio-demographic questionnaire

The socio-demographic questionnaire was used to collect information regarding refers to professionals' characteristics (e.g., age and academic degree), data describing the target adolescents (e.g., age and gender) and information about their Child Protection Case (i.e., referral motive, follow-up time and intervention).

Semi-structured interview

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The semi-structured interview script was based on the cognitive-contextual model (Grych & Fincham, 1990) and on this field's literature (e.g., Deboard-Lucas & Grych, 2011). The script consists of three thematic blocks that aim to evaluate the multiple constructs of the cognitive-contextual theory: 1) the multidimensional description of interparental violence (e.g., resolution [i.e., "Typically how do they cease the conflict?"]); 2) its contextual factors, including the distal context (e.g., emotional climate [e.g., "In general how would you describe the environment in this family?") and the proximal context (e.g., expectations of the course of conflict [i.e., "I would like you to think of the episode that you told me about and try to considers the moments before the conflict occurred. In that moment before the conflict what do you think the adolescent thought it would happen?"]); and 3) information about professionals' perceptions regarding the target adolescents' processing of their EIV experiences in the in the cognitive (e.g., attribution of responsibility and guilt [i.e., "Do you think that he/she attributed responsibility of what happened to someone?"]), affective (i.e., "What do you think he/she felt while they were arguing?") and behavioural [e.g., coping behaviours in the course of conflict [i.e., "What did he/she did while the couple as arguing?"]) domains.

The script also included questions that were not theoretical integrated in the cognitive-contextual model, but that aimed to obtain information about the impact of interparental conflict (e.g., Impact of the EIV in the adolescents functioning [e.g., "Do you think that this EIV had an impact on the adolescent?"]) and information about the experience of other forms

of maltreatment (e.g., Co-occurrence of other forms of abuse [e.g., "Did it ever happen another situation independently of the conflict between the parents when one of the caregivers might have hurt the adolescent (psychically of psychological"]).

Procedures of data collection

This study is part of a broader research project which uses a mixed methods approach (i.e., qualitative and quantitative) of data collection with multiple informants (i.e., caregivers, adolescents and professionals of the CPS). In this manuscript, merely qualitative data collected from professionals will be described. This project was approved by the Ethics Committee of ISCTE-IUL (Ref. 20/2019). After this approval, formal requests for the data collection in the Child Protection Agencies were made. Child Protection Agencies were selected based on a convenience criterion, and professionals were invited to participate if their cases fulfilled the inclusion criteria.

Inclusion criteria were defined as: a) professionals should select one adolescent (10 to 19 years old), according to the WHO's definition of adolescence (WHO, 2019) who was referred to the CPS agency due to exposure to interparental violence; b) the evaluation phase should be concluded, with substantiated evidence of interparental violence. If the professionals had more than one case that fulfilled the criteria, they should chose only one to focus on during the interview, to avoid biased information stemming from focusing on different processes. Participants were informed about the research objectives and the inherent ethical and deontological aspects, specifically, the voluntary nature of their participation, the confidentiality and anonymity of the data, and the possibility of withdrawing. Then, participants' consent was requested, including for audio recording the interviews. After obtaining the informed consent, the interview was conducted in the same sequence for all the participants. All interviews were conducted the Child Protection Agencies facilities only with the presence of the researcher and the participant. Duration of these interviews ranged

between 27 and 104 minutes. Following the data collection, participants were debriefed about the research.

Procedures of data analysis

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The interviews were transcribed *verbatim* and analysed with Nvivo12 Software through a thematic analysis strategy, which allowed the identification, analysis and description of patterns of data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). In this study, a deductive-inductive analysis was adopted, that is, the data was analysed according to the cognitive-contextual theory (Grych & Fincham, 1990) but also considering the emergent themes from the data.

The analysis was performed according to the steps proposed by Braun and Clarke (2006), thus beginning with the familiarization with the data (1) through the transcription of the verbal information followed by its exploration. At this stage, the objective was to generate initial codes (2) and identify relevant patterns in the data. After the codification of the information excerpts in categories, a search for themes was performed – a wider sphere that allowed the organization of the codes previously identified (i.e., emergent categories from the data and those anchored in the cognitive-contextual framework theoretical ground) (3). At this stage, a thematic map was created, allowing the understanding of the relation between codes and themes. Afterwards, themes were reviewed (4) in order to ascertain if the codifications and their respective information excerpts presented internal coherence and external heterogeneity. At last, the themes and categories in the conceptual map were named and defined (5). The information units that were considered particularly illustrative of the theme were selected. Each unit was labelled with the sociodemographic information that described the target adolescent (gender and age). Description of the results includes the number of participants who reported the sub-theme (N) and the number of units of analysis included in each sub-theme (n). Furthermore, the distribution of themes by young people's gender will be presented, by specifying the gender for which the subtheme was more

reported. For parsimony reasons, only the most frequent and salient gender differences will be considered in the discussion section. Trustworthiness was guaranteed by strictly following the procedures defined by Braun and Clarke (2006), by providing meaningful examples of participants' descriptions, and by a systematic discussion of the themes among the researchers (cf. other authors; Ogden & Roy-Stanley, 2020; Tuominen et al., 2020).

280 Results

Results revealed 7 main themes, of which two emerged exclusively from the data (i.e., Risk Factors for the Interparental Conflict, Impact of the Conflict in Individual and family Functioning) and the remaining five are anchored in the cognitive-contextual theoretical framework (i.e., Interparental Conflict; Distal and Proximal Context; Primary and Secondary Processing; Affect; Coping Behaviour and consequences).

Risk factors for the interparental conflict

This theme refers to factors that might increase the risk of interparental violence, and includes two sub-themes: *Problematic consumption of alcohol* (*N*=11; *N*_{female}=6; *n*=20), and *Socioeconomic problems and family social isolation* (*N*=11; *N*_{female}=6; *n*=19). *Problematic consumption of alcohol* refers to additive behaviours by one of the caregivers which precipitates the emergence of interparental conflict ("And when the man began to not feel good he started to have some consumptions and when that happened he would totally lose control."; P9, F, 15Y). The latter theme - *Socioeconomic problems and family social isolation* - includes economic struggles or social integration difficulties and/or the restriction of contact of the household with social and community network, including extended family (e.g., "They never allowed this girl to coexist with her aunt. Therefore, the aunt never realized what happened inside the house, because she wasn't with her ever since she was little"; P3, F, 16Y).

Interparental Conflict

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The theme Interparental Conflict involved two contents – Conflict focused on the relationships (N=14; N_{male} =8; n=54) and Conflict focused on the family management (N=8; N_{female} =6; n=18). Specifically, Conflict focused on the relationships aggregates partners' infidelity and control behaviours (e.g., "Therefore I think that the discussions are all about possession and control."; P14, M, 11Y) and parental behaviours (e.g., "(...) Regarding the children, I can say that any decision that the mother made, the father did not agree with because she thought it was abusive (...). So, they didn't make any joint decisions regarding their children." (P5, M, 15Y). The subtheme Conflict focused on the family management refers to financial management and housework aspects (e.g., "They mostly argue about economic issues, money management (...)" (P7, F, 16Y). Furthermore, different patterns of aggressive and coercive behaviour exemplify interparental conflict - Physical and Psychological Violence (N = 11; $N_{female} = 6$; n = 43), Psychological Violence (N=7; N_{male} =4; n=21) and Psychological and Sexual Violence (N=2; $N_{male}=2$; n=7). Most participants described interparental conflict as involving *Psychological* and Physical Violence, namely, injury behaviours, threats and aggressive behaviours (e.g., "Twist her fingers, squeezes her neck (...) And then there are conversations like "I won't leave the house, I'll only leave for the cemetery or for prison". Then he makes death threats to the mother like "you are going to leave this place, but it is to go to the cemetery."; P1, F, 11Y). Psychological Violence includes injury behaviours and threats to the victim's integrity and/or controlling behaviours ("There are many episodes of verbal violence, many injuries, recordings of conversations, threats, it is more ... it is a case of verbal violence, even."; P12, F, 13Y). As for Psychological and sexual violence, it includes not only injury and threats but also forcing unwanted sexual behaviours/sexual coercion (e.g., "The mother told me that when (...) when he is fixed on her, when the target is her, he won't let go. Intimately. It is suffering... even more so."; P13, M, 15Y). Interparental conflict may be *High Frequency*

(N=15; $N_{female}=8$; n=18) when it tends to occur daily or weekly ("The environment was tense because the arguments were daily."; P5, M, 15Y) or Low/Unknown Frequency (N=4; $N_{male}=3$; n=6) when it occurs monthly or when the participants cannot specify its frequency ("Maybe it was monthly arguments if so much."; P8, M, 10Y).

Finally, the cessation of the interparental conflict includes three subthemes - Resolution based on external intervention (N=11; N_{female}=7; n=13), Withdrawal of an element (N=8; N_{female}=4; n=15), Victim's Resignation (N=4; N_{male}=3; n=7). The first sub-theme involves the end of the conflict through the intervention of elements external to the couple (i.e., police or children) ("I think they can't stop by themselves. They end up stopping because the children eventually interfere."; P7, F, 16Y). Withdrawal of an element refers to conflict that ceases because one element of the couple leaves the physical context where the conflict occurs ("What they say is that there are insults. There are insults and what the father says is that he leaves the house and goes to the cafe"; P7, F, 16Y). Finally, the Victim's Resignation sub-theme identifies the conflict that ends due to the resignation and learned despair of the victim ("After so many years of living like this, I think that this woman is not very involved in the provocation when there was an argument. She tried to stop [the argument], to appease, to not provoke."; P14, M, 11Y).

Distal and Proximal Context

This theme accounts for the contextual elements of interparental conflict such as the relatively stable or slowly changing factors that can influence the young person's response to the conflict – Distal Context – and the cognitions and emotions experienced by young people immediately before the processing of the conflict episode – Proximal Context (Grych & Fincham, 1990). Distal factors are reflected in

the sub-themes - Past Experience with Conflict, Quiet Temperament, Anxious/Impulsive 350 Temperament, Supportive Family Climate and Hostility and Affective Distance - while 351 proximal factors are expressed in the sub-themes - Disturbed Affective State, Emotional 352 Stability, Expectations of the Conflict's Endurance and Expectations of the Conflict's End. 353 Past Experience with Conflict (N=19; N_{male}=10; n=36) involves the existence of 354 previous contact with EIV before the referral to CPS ("I think he watches this type of 355 arguments and violence ever since he was little."; P6, M, 12Y). Sub-themes related to young 356 people's temperament are: Quiet Temperament (N=12; N_{female}=6; n=25), which includes a 357 358 behavioural tendency/disposition for greater emotional stability ("I think... the feeling I have is that she is a very calm and peaceful young woman, who even takes on a lot of 359 responsibilities and somehow corresponds (...)"(P17, F, 12Y) and Anxious/Impulsive 360 Temperament (N=7; $N_{male}=4$; n=15), which involves a pattern of irritable and impulsive 361 behaviour ("For example, the mother told him to bend the clothes that were spread on the 362 floor of the room and he said 'I won't do it, you do it' and the mother insisted and he said 363 'you are a bitch', precisely."; P5, M, 15Y). 364 This theme also includes dimensions related to the climate and family relationships: 365 Supportive Family Climate (N=18; N_{female}=9; n=123) and Hostility and Affective Distance 366 $(N=16; N_{female}=8; n=61)$. Supportive Family Climate refers to family environments that 367 enhance closeness relationships in one or more family subsystems ("I think the P17 is 368 fascinated by her older sister who is already in her early twenties (...) this sister was able to 369 have a different path in life and is currently at the Military Academy, so she has a very 370 interesting path and I think P17 sees in this sister a figure she admires a lot. Therefore, the 371 relationship is very positive."; P17, F, 12Y). In contrast, *Hostility and affective distance* 372 family climate involves environments perceived by professionals as enhancing the conflict in 373 one or more family subsystems and/or the absence of a close relationship (positive or 374

negative) with both caregivers ("She feels out of place, feels bad in the family where she was born." (P3, F, 16Y). The affective state of young people prior to exposure to the conflict involves two dimensions: *Emotional Stability* (*N*=4; *N_{female}=3; n=8*), which refers to a previous experience of positive affection, serenity and stability ("I know that many times what P1 tells is that they are calm at home, quiet playing in the bedroom or playing games or being with their mother or watching television, they are calm"; P1, F, 11Y), and *Disturbed Affective State* (*N*=4; *N_{female}=2; n=5*), characterized by a markedly negative, tense and disturbed affective state ("P18 also lived in this tension of not knowing what would happen every day... What will be the argument about today? Will he argue? Won't he argue? What will he start to imply?"; P18, M, 16Y).

Adolescents' assessment of the situational clues of the conflict episode, along with their past experience with the conflict (Grych & Fincham, 1990) allows them to develop *Expectations of the Conflict's Endurance* (*N*=7; *N*_{female}=5; *n*=12), considering that interparental conflict can continue and/or worsen ("I think so. Even from the interview that I made, she says that she already knows by the way the father enters the house and the way he closes the door, she can already tell if he is upset or not and by then she already identifies."; P1, F, 11Y). In contrast, the sub-theme *Expectations of the Conflict's End* (*N*=4; *N*_{female}=2; *n*=19) also emerged ("I think he didn't. Maybe he thought that it was more like a discussion like the others or similar to the others that have been happening. I think no one was waiting, not even P18, or anyone at home was waiting for their father to initiate physical aggression."; P18, M, 16Y).

Primary and Secondary Processing

This theme includes the following sub-themes: *Desensitization*, *Threat Perception*, the attribution of responsibility for the interparental conflict -

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Responsibility of the Aggressor, Responsibility of the Aggressor and the Victim, Responsibility of the Victim- and the expectations of self-efficacy - High expectations of self-efficacy and Low expectations of self-efficacy. Threat Perception (N=7; N_{female} =4; n=16) involves the victim's perceived danger to his/her caregiver and to himself/herself ("(...) P1 was seeing the mother already drowned, in the expression she used, drowning without being able to breathe [the aggressor had his arm around the victim's neck]. And she really thought that the father could kill her mother."; P1, F, 11Y). Desensitization (N=7; $N_{male}=4$; n=18) refers to a reduction of the tendency to respond to stimuli that became familiar (Gleitman et al., 2011), in this case the conflict between caregivers ("I think she was thinking about like "again, this is happening again." I think that sometimes it ends up to desensitizing to these situations, right? (...). Therefore, I think it ends up integrating her routine and this is normal, isn't it?"; P12, F, 13Y). The Responsibility of the Aggressor (N=8; $N_{female}=5$; n=22) refers to adolescents' imputation of responsibility for the conflict occurrence only to the aggressor ("She sees (...) the father here as the aggressor that triggers all of these situations."; P1, F, 11Y). However, there are also sub-themes describing the Responsibility of the aggressor and the victim both $(N=7; N_{female}=4; n=22)$, involving the youth's perception that the perpetrator and victim are co-responsible ("But he thinks that both are a little guilty because the mother ends up not taking a position because she is weak and the father because he is a person who easily loses control when consuming."; P9; F; 15Y), and the Victim's Responsibility only $(N=2; N_{male}=2;$ n=2) ("He attributes it to the mother. Initially, as I told you, he made an alliance with the mother because he thought it was wrong for the father to have found someone else. At this moment, he is completely manipulated by the father and blames his mother for everything that happens."; P5, M, 15Y).

Finally, youth's beliefs regarding their own ability to cope with the conflict are organized into two sub-themes: $High\ Expectations\ of\ Self-Efficacy$ of the coping response $(N=4;\ N_{male}=3;\ n=7)$ ("And that is why I think that she is able to manage it, because otherwise how would a twelve-year-old girl think that she (...) would stop [the violent episode], right?"; P17, F, 12Y) and $Low\ Expectations\ of\ Self-Efficacy$ of the coping response $(N=4;\ N_{female}=3;\ n=5)$ ("I think this is really it: "I can't deal with this situation. I can't. I can't see my parents like that. My parents like that. I feel sad for seeing them like this. I can't, I'm tired, I'm really tired and I can't handle this. (...)"; P12, F, 13Y).

Affect

This theme refers to the emotional experience resulting from exposure to the conflict, with four sub-themes identified, three of which reflect universally recognized emotions: Fear (N=10; $N_{female}=7$; n=24) ("I think she was very afraid. She was really afraid and afraid that he would do something more serious, that they might have an accident (...)"; P15, F, 15Y), Sadness (N=5; $N_{female}=3$; n=7) ("I think above all it is "I am very sad with what I am seeing."; P12, F, 13Y), and Anger (N=5; $N_{female}=4$; n=11) ("In relation to conflicts, in general, she feels a great anger at the father and it is basically, it is a great anger at the father to have ... the father to do this to her mother."; P13, M, 15Y). Affective Dullness, as an emotional experience of detachment from the self in face of conflict, was identified in a smaller number of targeted young people (N=3; $N_{male}=2$; n=7) ("I would think that what would be normative would be that she was sad, and maybe, even with some fear (...) I think that would be what would make some sense here. Although I feel that she is, once again, resigned (...)"; P17, F, 12Y).

Coping behaviour and consequences

Three sub-themes of coping behaviours were identified: Avoidant coping (N=15; N_{female} =8; n=47), Seeking Support (N=11; N_{female} =8; n=20) and Intervention coping (N=6; N_{female} =3; n=22). Avoidant coping includes strategies aimed at distancing the self (i.e., physical or emotional) from the context of interparental conflict ("And she often says that she left home to avoid listening to them"; P3, F, 16Y). Seeking support aims to obtain formal or informal support ("She resorts to a neighbour a lot, who is also a close aunt, who she says is like her second mother (...) And then she resorts to this aunt a lot and it is with this aunt that she talks about this situation, it ends up being with whom she vents and talks about this situation."; P1, F, 11Y). Finally, strategies involving Intervention coping refer to direct interference of the adolescent's behaviour in interparental conflict ("When situations of domestic violence occur, she tries to (...) separate the situation"; P1, F, 11Y).

The perceived effect of the coping strategy adopted by the adolescent to cope with the conflict included two sub-themes. *Conflict Maintenance as a consequence* (*N*=5; *N*_{female}=4; *n*=6), includes the perception that coping behaviour did not alter the course of the conflict ("I don't think so. I don't think the father... I think the father cannot understand the severity of these conflicts (...) and I also think that hearing someone telling him something was not going to have any impact."; P1, F, 11Y), and, in contrast, the *End of Conflict as a consequence* (*N*=3; *N*_{male}=3; *n*=6), involves the perception that the coping strategy allowed the conflict to cease ("And he thought his mother could die there [because the father was] hitting her head. So, he started screaming and asking him to stop and he stood in front of his mother and that's when he stopped. He [the father] slapped him, the kid fell, his glasses fell and then he [the father] left."; P13, M, 15Y).

Impact of the conflict in individual and family functioning

EIV was perceived by the CPS professionals as having effects in multiple areas of young people's psychosocial functioning - *Psychopathology, Academic Difficulties, Social*

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Integration Problems and Resilient Trajectories as well as impact on the quality of parent-child relationships and, specifically, involving the Absence of Secure/
Protective Care Relationships and Parentification processes.

The *Psychopathology* sub-theme was the most frequently identified effect in this sample (N=11; $N_{female}=9$; n=55) and involves anxious and depressive symptoms and/or the display of aggressive and oppositional behaviours by young people ("There was already an episode in which she faced her father and the police was called but it is at a verbal level...calls names, slams the door (...) "; P12, F, 13Y). Academic Difficulties (N=10; $N_{male}=6$; n=19) refers to the negative impact of the conflict on adolescents' school and academic adjustment ("She was a good student, she was a girl who had goals and still has, very clear, to continue studying and with all this family situation, she started to have worse grades, not being able to concentrate." (P7, F, 16Y). Social Integration Problems (N=7; N_{female}=4; n=15) involves the absence of significant social relationships resulting from social avoidance and social exclusion processes of these young people ("He doesn't have friends, he doesn't like the teachers, he doesn't like the assistants, he doesn't like the school. He doesn't like anyone."; P2, M, 11Y). In addition to these sub-themes, which reflect the presence of difficulties in psychological and social functioning, a sub-theme centred on the possibility of Resilient Trajectories (N=8; N_{male} =5; n=26) was also identified, involving a positive adaptation of young people, despite the adversity experienced ("Regardless of everything that has been going on (...) On a social and school level, she doesn't give any indication that anything could happen at home (...). She has very good grades, she's a very sociable girl, she has lots of extracurricular activities (...)"; P12, F, 13Y). Likewise, the subtheme Absence of Secure / Protective Care Relationships (N=13; N_{female}=7; n=35) refers to caregivers' difficulties in establishing

rules and the inability to establish positive and adequate relationships ("I think this mother has a lot of difficulties to internalize her daughter's well-being at the expense of her own needs or what is convenient for her."; P17, F, 12Y). Finally, *Parentification* (N=10; $N_{female}=6$; n=24) involves a role reversal that enables the child or adolescent to assume a caregiving function in one or more subsystems within the family (Nuttall & Valentino, 2017) ("She really does not want to be separated from her mother because she knows that she's the one that has to take care of her"; P7, F, 16Y).

506 Discussion

The present study aimed to understand the role of EIV on coping behaviours of adolescents referred in the CPS and to explore the cognitive-contextual processes in EIV from the professionals' perspective. Our results suggest that EIV and the cognitive-contextual variables might impact the quality of the parent-child relationship as well as young people's individual functioning.

According to these professionals, socioeconomic factors as well as individual and family dimensions (problematic alcohol consumption and family social isolation) were particularly relevant risk factors for the occurrence of interparental violence. We know that the literature suggests that the interaction between different risk factors may be associated with interparental violence (Holt et al., 2008). However, results of this study also suggest the professionals' view was mostly centred on classic risk factors, such as alcohol consumption (McTavish et al., 2016) or socioeconomic factors (Ponnet et al., 2016), and less on dynamic factors related with parents' development history or community factors.

Our findings reveal several patterns of aggressive and coercive behaviours (e.g., psychological, sexual or physical violence), the most recurrent being centred on the coexistence of physical and psychological violence, which is consistent with previous evidence (Armour & Sleath, 2014). Interparental conflict based on a pattern of physical

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violence is conceptualized as potentially more disturbing for young people (Eldik et al., 2020; Holt et al., 2008), generating more negative affect and more severe symptoms (Davies & Cummings, 1994; Soares & Sani, 2015) compared to less intense types of violence, such as verbal violence (Howell, 2011; Peisch et al, 2016). The most reported pattern of interparental conflict resolution was resolution based on external intervention (e.g., by the police or by children). This finding may suggest structural difficulties of these families regarding conflict resolution, thus reflecting the inability to prevent the intensification of the conflict/violence, or, on the other hand, that professionals' perspective is mostly focused on the families' difficulties and less on their internal strengths.

Regarding the distal context, in the present study, all targeted youths had experienced long-term EIV, which points to the chronicity of this type of violence (Telman et al., 2015). Chronic EIV is critical for young people, since it may enhance a primacy for more negative and intense emotional responses in subsequent conflicts (Davies & Cummings, 1994; Grych & Fincham, 1990), as well as greater behavioural dysregulation and negative mental health outcomes (Davies et al., 2020; Holden, 2003; Lee et al., 2015). Repetitive and longer exposure to traumatic events is associated with worse developmental outcomes (Carlson et al., 2019). Furthermore, temperament can be an important variable in the analysis of the emotional and behavioural response of young people to environmental events (Sturge-Apple et al., 2012), since it can exacerbate or lessen the negativity of the EIV experience in the developmental trajectories of adolescents (Davies & Cummings, 1994; Grych & Fincham, 1990). In the current study, most young people were perceived as having a calm temperament. Thus, in face of the dynamics of interparental violence and high stress, young people with less reactivity to the environment (i.e., quiet temperament) have a greater chance for better psychological adjustment, compared to young people with a more reactive temperament (Carlson et al., 2019; Sturge-Apple et al., 2012). Anxious temperament

constitutes a greater propensity for a behavioural pattern marked by irritability and impulsivity. Therefore, in face of stress-inducing environmental events (i.e., interparental violence) these young people may be more likely to be emotionally reactive (Davies et al., 2020; Grych & Fincham, 1990; Sturge-Apple et al., 2012). Finally, our results suggest different configurations of family emotional climate with supportive family climates being the most frequent. Living in a positive family environment is conceptualized as a protective factor (Grych & Fincham, 1990; Howell, 2011), particularly in the relationship with siblings or parental figures. In the context of interparental conflict, positive fraternal relationships can play a compensatory effect by being a source of support and promote a sense of security (Cameranesi & Piotrowski, 2018). Likewise, the existence of a responsive and sensitive parental figure (Howell, 2011) has been recognized as a protective factor to mitigate a traumatic experience (Holt et al., 2008). Supportive parenting enhances the validation of the child's emotional experience and decreases self-blame processes (DeBoard-Lucas et al., 2010).

Concerning the primary and secondary processing, participants identified the perception of threat in face of conflict, mostly focused on fear for the victim's safety (Georgsson et al., 2011; Holden, 2003) and, with less emphasis, on fear for the self. The perception of threat can model the behavioural response (DeBoard-Lucas & Grych, 2011). This becomes potentially dangerous given that the reduced salience of threat to the self (and increase perceived threat to the caregiver) can enhance the involvement in the conflict and, therefore, increase the risk for the child (Tu et al., 2016). Participants also identified young people who deal with the threat of EIV as a desensitization experience. That result is incongruent with the sensibilization hypotheses to EIV identified in literature, which implies that repetitive EIV gradually intensifies children's reactivity and enhances psychological problems (Davies et al., 2020; Jouriles & McDonald, 2015). This emotional numbing might

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serve an adaptive function towards disruptive environments, but, over time, it can increase maladaptive developmental outcomes (Mrug et al., 2016). Secondary processing was described by these professionals as involving mostly the responsibility of the aggressor which is consistent with the literature (DeBoard-Lucas & Grych, 2011). Nevertheless, the identification of responsibility of both the aggressor and the victim was also considerable in the present study. As suggested by Holt et al. (2008), young people who blame the aggressor for the conflict can also attribute responsibility to the victim for maintaining the conflictual relationship. These young people can experience ambivalent feelings when empathizing with the victim's experience and, at the same time, resenting their options (Goldblatt, 2003).

According to the professionals in this study, EIV elicited an emotional experience marked by negative affect (Georgsson et al., 2011) and particularly by fear, sadness and anger (Eldik et al., 2020). The emotional response resulting from EIV is complex and therefore can be characterized by the simultaneous experience of these different emotions (DeBoard-Lucas & Grych, 2011). The experience of fear is focused mainly on the safety of the victim-caregiver and sadness as a consequence of youth's resignation to a long-term experience with violence (Deboard-Lucas & Grych, 2011). The chronicity of this type of interpersonal trauma (Dugal et al., 2016), as opposed to single traumatic events, makes it harder to evaluate peritraumatic responses (Telman et al., 2015). Lancaster and Larsen (2016) showed that victims of interpersonal trauma (e.g., child abuse) are more likely to report peritraumatic responses (e.g., fear, helplessness; sadness), comparing to other types of trauma (e.g., natural disasters). This might be due to the individuals' negative appraisals about themselves and the others, elicited by interpersonal traumatic events (Gorman et al., 2016). In this study, the peritraumatic response of fear was more reported by our participants regarding the female adolescents. Several explanations could be proposed for this finding. First, biological differences have been reported in the literature about the experience of fear

(Eldik's et al., 2020), but also different socialization processes may explain greater predisposition for females to address and share emotional experiences (Bailen et al., 2019; Chaplin, 2015). Second, this result might also reveal our participants' bias focused on gender emotional experiences. Given that peritraumatic responses related to EIV are relevant precursors of later psychopathology (Vance et al., 2018), further evidence is needed about these responses, considering potential gender differences as well.

The most frequent coping behaviour identified by our participants were Avoidance and Support seeking. Young people's avoidant behaviours, one of the most common strategies in EIV (DeBoard-Lucas & Grych, 2011; Izaguirre & Calvete, 2015), in the present study, included behaviours of withdrawal from the context of conflict, the use of social (e.g., spending time with peers) and playful (i.e., playing PlayStation) activities as forms of distraction (Georgsson et al., 2011), and of avoiding interaction with the parent-aggressor. Support seeking coping behaviour was also identified, which may be viewed as a buffer of the effects of distress caused by EIV (Harold & Sellers, 2018; Holt et al., 2008; Sani & Caprichoso, 2013). This coping behaviour was also more reported by professionals in cases of female adolescents, which might be explained through societal gender roles. Not only greater disposition to address and share emotional experiences seems to be more socially fostered in females, but it is also expected that girls may be more other-oriented (Bailen et al., 2019; Chaplin, 2015; Eldik et al., 2020).

Similar to previous research, a set of negative effects of EIV was identified (e.g., Izaguirre & Calvete, 2015; Jouriles & McDonald, 2015; Peisch et al., 2016), namely psychopathology (e.g., Davies et al., 2020; Georgsson et al., 2011), which might be due to youth's emotional security being undermined by long-term exposure to conflict (i.e., persistent concerns, adolescents' perceived threat and low self-efficacy expectations; Fosco & Feinberg, 2015). Concurrently, difficulties in social integration (e.g., Carlson et al., 2019;

Eldik et al., 2020) and academic functioning (e.g., Howell et al., 2016; Kiesel et al., 2016) were also identified. Relationship difficulties with peers resulting from EIV are conceptually described as associated with reproducing relational models experienced in the family context (Eldik et al., 2020; Holt et al., 2008) and maladaptive beliefs about violence (Howell et al., 2016). Young people with long-term EIV may have learned that violence is an adequate and acceptable way of resolving interpersonal conflicts (Armour & Sleath, 2014; Carlson et al., 2019), which may be associated with externalizing problems, such as breakouts, alcohol consumption (Goldblatt, 2003) or antisocial behaviours (Howell et al., 2016).

However, it is important to note that there are young people who adapt positively to EIV and that trajectories of resilience might emerge (Carlson et al., 2019; Grych et al., 2015; Izaguirre & Calvete, 2015; Soares & Sani, 2015). Professionals conceptualized resilience as the maintenance of young people's adaptation in one or more development areas. For example, there were young people who had difficulties in academic or social skills but were still perceived as resilient. These results suggest the existence of multiple profiles of adolescents (Davies et al., 2020; Lee et al., 2015), which can be explained by the presence of protective factors, such as the development of a secure bonding relationship with a non-violent caregiver (Holt et al., 2008; Howell, 2011). In this sense, in future research, it is essential to further explore the protective factors leading to resilient trajectories in children and adolescent facing EIV. In addition, Vu et al. (2016) suggest that resilience needs to be explored through a developmental perspective because sleeper effects may occur (i.e., an increase of internalizing problems seems to emerge after years of EIV).

Furthermore, we found that professionals identified the absence of safety/protective relations and parentification processes. Parent-child relationships, following interparental violence, were characterized by the informants as marked by parental difficulty in establishing rules and by a greater focus on conflict dynamics and, consequently, in a lesser

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focus on young people's needs. These results highlighted that these parents may not be emotionally available and responsive (Carlson et al., 2019; Holt et al., 2008; Sani & Caprichoso, 2013; Soares & Sani, 2015). Difficulties in parental involvement and responsiveness could threaten emotional security perceptions and the capacity for emotional regulation (Davies & Cummings, 1994), thereby undermining adolescents' healthy development (Holt et al., 2008; Sani & Caprichoso, 2013). Moreover, parentification was also identified by these professionals, particularly in relation to the victim-caregiver and siblings relationships (Tailor et al., 2015), which is described as a critical event for adolescents' development, namely their self construction (Howell et al., 2016). All these findings may be framed on the Family Systems Theory (FST; Minuchin, 1974), according to which a family is a system composed of several interdependent subsystems (i.e., conjugal, parental and fraternal), meaning that the different subsystems might influence each other. As such, the quality of parenting seems to be negatively influenced by conjugal violence (Eldik et al., 2020; Peisch et al., 2016; Stroud et al., 2015; Zemp et al., 2018), given that there are dysfunctional limits between the conjugal and the parental subsystem (Nuttall & Valentino, 2017). In sum, this study highlights the complex and multifaceted effects of interparental violence on the individual functioning of young people and on their own relationship with their parents.

Implications, limitations and future directions

The present study emphasises the variability involved in interparental violence (e.g., psychological and physical violence; psychological violence; psychological and sexual violence), along with the diversity of consequences for adolescents and families. Despite the relevance of our results, there is a set of limitations that must be recognized. First, conclusions must be carefully interpreted, considering the sample size and gender of professionals (all female). Even so, our sample is not very different from the composition of

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the three CPS agencies that participated in our study. During the data collection period, 42 professionals were working in these CPS agencies and merely three of them were male. For that reason, merely women have participated because, during the data collection, those male professionals did not have cases fulfilling the inclusion criteria. Second, the data analysed was collected using only the perspective of professionals in the CPS, which were allowed to select their own case for discussion, from a qualitative perspective and a cross-sectional approach. Indeed, asking 'pragmatic experts' (i.e., the professionals working in the CPS) about their interpretation and understanding of a 'showcase' example may suggest the assumption that families' experiences are truly, or at least sufficiently, captured by the CPS case workers. However, even considering this perspective as valuable and with important implications for practice, future research must include multi-informant data (Howell, 2011), for the same case, as well as longitudinal evidence (Vu et al., 2016) to address these weaknesses and potential biases (Sturge-Apple et al., 2012). Third, the interview script was built mostly based on the theory; however, future research could also include less structured and more open scripts to capture additional dimensions that allow an in-depth understanding of these processes. Finally, some interviews lasted approximately 30 minutes, which may be due to personal characteristics of these professionals (e.g., less disposition for narrative elaboration) and/or to the process's evaluation (e.g., less information available).

Notwithstanding these recognized limitations, the present study contributes significantly to the literature by providing the professionals' perspectives about the cognitive-contextual processes of EIV and their impact on referred adolescents. These perspectives are useful and relevant to elucidate specific needs for assessment and intervention in the CPS. First, our findings suggest that proximal context information was less frequently described by these professionals. Proximal processes are an intrinsic and transitory experience in face of the episode and, probably, little explored by young people during the risk assessment

processes in the CPS. Therefore, the careful evaluation of these processes by professionals in the CPS, hearing the voice of these adolescents, is relevant to better understand how EIV may or may not impact their coping behaviour and mental health.

The complexity of this maltreatment typology can potentially explain the difficulties regarding its identification and evaluation, that are mentioned in the literature (McTavish et al., 2016). EIV is conceptualized as a disturbance in the normative functioning of the marital subsystem that impacts not only youth's psychosocial functioning but also the other family subsystems and, ultimately, the family as a whole (Eldik et al., 2020; Stroud et al., 2015; Sturge-Apple et al., 2012; Zemp et al., 2018). Therefore, evaluation and intervention should primarily address the child's needs, but also those of the family, considering each family's unique risk and protective factors (Holt el al., 2008). Systemic and ecological interventions are desirable since they focus on different family subsystems, namely, the parent-child relationship (DeBoard-Lucas et al., 2010; Eldik et al., 2020) and parenting skills (Carlson et al., 2019; Telman et al., 2015; Zemp et al., 2018). Results of this study also highlight the possibility of resilient trajectories in the context of EIV. As discussed before, resilience was described by the professionals as a multidimensional construct, illustrated by several resilience profiles. Therefore, evaluation processes should also consider this diversity of youths' functioning profiles (Izaguire & Calvete, 2015; Kiesel et al., 2016).

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