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FINAL REPORT

Contract No. 90CA1200/01

THE LONG TERM IMPACT OF CHILD MALTREATMENT

(Abused, Neglected and Sexually Abused)

ON THE VICTIMS AS DETERMINED BY

CONTACT WITH THE UTAH JUVENILE COURT AND

THE UTAH DEPARTMENT OF ADULT CORRECTIONS

By

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ERRATA

The following typographical errors are noted.

1. Page 37, line 8. The word "None" should read "Three."
2. Page 37, line 10. The word "only" should read "major."
3. Page 61, line 9. "The number of cases" should be deleted
4. Page 65, line 30. The period (.) after the word "abuse" should be deleted.
5. Page 69, line 10. The word "correlations" should be deleted.
6. Page 78, line 4. The hyphen (-) in the word "required" should be deleted.

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on the Victims****As Determined by Further Contact with
The Utah Juvenile Court and the Department of Adult Corrections****by****Donald F. Kline****Developmental Center for Handicapped Persons****Utah State University, Logan**

Despite an increased research emphasis, little is known about the relationships that may exist between child maltreatment (abuse, neglect and sexual abuse) and specific types of juvenile and adult criminal behavior. It was the purpose of this study to examine the extent to which delinquency and adult criminal behavior were present in a population of maltreated children. A number of variables were investigated: (1) the environment from which abused, neglected, and sexually abused children originate; (2) the extent to which this population was found in special school placements; (3) the frequency of juvenile court contact; (4) the relationship between the type of child maltreatment and the type of juvenile offense committed; (5) the extent to which maltreated delinquents are subsequently found under the supervision of adult corrections; and (6) the relationships that exist between adult (male) sexual offenders and sexual abuse experienced in childhood.

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The subjects consisted of all abused, neglected and sexually abused children who had been referred to the Utah Juvenile Court (a statewide juvenile court system) from 1950 through the first eleven months of 1986.

The results of this study showed no statistically significant relationship between the type of maltreatment and type of juvenile offense, i.e., abuse, neglect and sexual abuse and crimes against persons, property or self. However, a statistically significant relationship was found between nonviolent maltreatment (neglect) and nonviolent crimes.

In a sub-sample of adult sex offenders, it was found that 91% (58 of 64) male inmates at the Utah State Prison were sexually abused during childhood.

It was also found that 32% (94 of 293) of the maltreated delinquent subjects with four or more felonies as juveniles were or had been under the supervision of the Department of Adult Corrections compared to 6% of the general adult population who were expected to be supervised by a correctional agency--a rate of adult supervision five times higher than the expected norm.

Perhaps the most significant finding of this study was found in the fact that the vast majority of maltreated delinquents originate from a common environment. Less than 15% of the maltreated delinquents were living with their natural or legal parents at the time of first court contact; nearly 40% were found in special school programs; and, 76% came from families where annual income was less than \$10,000.

PROBLEM

Introduction

A multitude of studies report on the relationships that seem to exist between child maltreatment and juvenile delinquency. A recent review of the empirical studies in this area was done by Garbarino and Plantz (cited in Gray, 1986). In their review done for a conference of leading child abuse experts called together by the Office of Juvenile Justice, the National Committee for the Prevention of Child Abuse, and the Johnson Foundation, they examined what is known about the relationship between child abuse and juvenile delinquency. In their review, Garbarino and Plantz looked at the empirical studies that used "abuse," "abuse and neglect," or "harsh" or "severe punishment" to help establish the links between child abuse and juvenile delinquency. These authors state, "Child maltreatment and juvenile delinquency are two of the most compelling and perplexing social problems facing the United States in the 1980's" (p.5).

Using Manis's (1974) criteria for the classification of "serious" social problems Garbarino and Plantz note:

Both (child abuse and juvenile delinquency) meet the criteria proposed by Manis (1974) for classification of "serious" problems: they are prevalent (involving millions of people); they are severe (being implicated in many thousands of deaths as well as widespread emotional anguish) and they are primary (being intertwined with a host of other problems such as poverty, alienation, stress and economic dysfunction). The evident seriousness of the problem justifies the current high level of public and professional concern (p.5).

The present study responds, to the extent data were available, to several of the recommendations made by Gray (1986) reporting on the conference noted above. The conference report titled, "Child Abuse and Neglect: Prelude to Delinquency?" called for: (1) further research

considering the linkage between identified delinquents and a prior history of abuse and neglect; (2) comparing the percentages of delinquents who have been abused and neglected as children with delinquent adolescents in the general population; and, (3) focusing more on linking specific types of offenses (e.g., sex offenders, prostitutes, violent offenders, chronic offenders) with specific types of abuse and neglect background (e.g., sexual abuse, physical abuse, chronic abuse).

The present study also examines the long term effects of child maltreatment--especially, the long term effects of sexual abuse upon male victims as these long term effects are reflected in later criminal behaviors involving sex offenses.

This report presents the basic findings of the study. Because of the large number of variables in this study, the range of possible analyses is great. This report does not attempt to prove that child maltreatment causes delinquency or subsequent adult criminal behaviors, or that all abused or neglected children will become delinquent or adult criminals. There are far too many rival hypotheses that could be advanced to explain the relationships between maltreatment and delinquency and/or adult criminal activities. The study does show, however, that maltreated children have a far greater likelihood of becoming delinquent and that chronic delinquency is strongly linked to subsequent adult criminal behavior.

Statement of the Problem

Society spends vast amounts of money each year in an attempt to rehabilitate juvenile delinquents and adult criminals. Yet, relatively few funds are expended in our attempt to prevent child maltreatment which is known to be related to both delinquency and later criminal behavior.

It may seem logical to assume, based on the extant literature, that the type of abuse, neglect or sexual abuse of children is related to the type of crime committed later in life. An analysis of the literature, however, revealed that not much is known about the problem beyond the overall relationship that clearly exists between child maltreatment and further contact with the juvenile justice or adult criminal system. There are several factors which account for the present state of knowledge:

1. Most studies of the relationship between child maltreatment and juvenile delinquency are retrospective in nature. Studies involving self-reports, questionnaires, interviews, or case histories dominate the literature.

2. Only a handful of studies have used official records as the basis for determining the relationships between child maltreatment and juvenile infractions of the law or adult criminal behavior.

3. No clear or agreed upon definitions of abuse, neglect or sexual abuse make it nearly impossible to discover if there is a specific relationship between the type of abuse, neglect or sexual abuse suffered in childhood and delinquency during adolescent years or criminal behavior later in life.

The problem is, then, that there is a lack of research addressed to the relationships that may exist between specific types of abuse and

specific types of delinquency. More specifically, only one study (Alfaro, 1981) attempted to determine if the type of maltreatment was linked to a specific type of delinquency.

PURPOSES AND OBJECTIVES

Purposes

The purposes of this study were to: (1) examine data reflecting the environment from which child maltreatment and juvenile delinquency originate, (2) determine if a relationship existed between specific types of child maltreatment and specific types of juvenile offense, (3) compare the percentage of adjudicated delinquents with an official court record of child maltreatment with the general population of delinquent youth, (4) determine the extent to which maltreated delinquent subjects in the target population might eventually come under the jurisdiction of the Department of Adult Corrections, and (4) examine the relationships that may exist between the type of adult crime committed and the type of maltreatment suffered as a child or adolescent.

In brief, this study was designed to determine the long term impact of maltreatment (abuse, neglect and sexual abuse) on the victims--as reflected in contact with the juvenile justice and the adult criminal systems.

Objectives

The objectives of this study were:

1. To determine if there was a relationship between "abuse" and crimes against people (e.g., assault, rape, robbery, forcible sodomy) in a population of maltreated delinquent youth.

2. To determine if there was a relationship between "neglect" and crimes against property (e.g., theft, residential burglary, business burglary, vehicle thefts, forgery) in a population of maltreated youth.

3. To determine if there was a relationship between "sexual abuse" and self-destructive behaviors (e.g., status offenses or public order offenses such as running away from home, alcohol and other drug abuse, escape/fleeing a police officer, etc.) in a population of maltreated delinquent youth.

4. To compare adjudicated delinquents (who have also been adjudicated as abused and neglected as children or adolescents) with children who were adjudicated as maltreated but with no further contact with the court.

5. To compare a population of maltreated delinquents with delinquency in the general population of youth.

6. To determine the extent to which adjudicated delinquents, also adjudicated as abused or neglected as children or adolescents, are found in the official records of the adult criminal system.

7. To examine the relationships that may exist between the type of adult crime committed and the type of maltreatment suffered in childhood or adolescence.

Hypotheses

Specific Type of Maltreatment and Specific Type of Offense

1. Children or adolescents who were adjudicated as "abused" will show no statistically significant correlation between "abuse" and "crimes against people."

2. Children or adolescents who were adjudicated as "neglected" will show no statistically significant correlation between "neglect" and "crimes against property."

3. Children or adolescents who were adjudicated as "sexually abused" will show no statistically significant correlation between "sexual abuse" and "self-destructive behaviors."

Proportion of Maltreated Children with Delinquency Records vs.
Delinquents in the General Population of Youth

4. The frequency of children or adolescents who were adjudicated as "maltreated" (abused, neglected and/or sexually abused) and who also have contact with the court as delinquents will be no greater than that expected in the general population of youth.

5. The frequency of delinquents with adjudicated abuse, neglect, and sexual abuse records will not differ significantly from the frequency that would be expected in the general population of adults found in the adult criminal system.

6. The type of adult crime committed will not be significantly related to the type of maltreatment suffered during childhood or adolescence.

Definition of Terms

A persistent problem with many studies showing a link between child maltreatment and juvenile delinquency is a lack of an agreed upon definition or failure of the researcher to adequately define the population under consideration. The variations in the definition of "abuse," "neglect," "sexual abuse," and the lumping of all three terms into what has become known as child "maltreatment" or "mistreatment" make it

nearly impossible to draw firm conclusions about the association between juvenile delinquency and "child maltreatment."

As used in this study, "abuse" means an act of commission on the part of the parent or other caretaker resulting in the non-accidental injury of a child (Kline and Hopper, 1975).

"Neglect" means an act of omission on the part of the parent or other caretaker resulting in the non-accidental injury of a child or failure to care for essential developmental needs of a child (Kline and Hopper, 1975).

"Sexual abuse" means ". . . under circumstances not amounting to rape or sodomy, or attempted rape or sodomy, he touches the anus or any part of the genitals of another, or otherwise takes indecent liberties with another, or causes another, with intent to cause substantial emotional or bodily pain to any person or with the intent to arouse or gratify the sexual desire of any person, without the consent of the other" (U.C.A. 1953, as amended, 76-5-404).

Because this study used a population of adjudicated juvenile delinquents who also had official records of child abuse, neglect or sexual abuse, definitions provided by the Utah Code Annotated, 1953, as amended and the juvenile court handbook are also noted. These definitions are used by the juvenile court in making a determination that a particular child was or was not abused or threatened with abuse, neglected, or sexually abused.

Under Utah law a "juvenile" is a person of minority status or a "child." By definition a "child" means, "a person less than eighteen years

of age. Also a person over 18 but under 21 years of age over whom the Court has retained jurisdiction" (Utah Juvenile Court Handbook, p. 237).

"Juvenile delinquency" is defined as "antisocial or criminal behavior by children or adolescents" (American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language, p.712).

As defined in the Utah Code "child abuse" means "causing harm or threatened harm to a child's health or welfare" (U.C.A. 1953, as amended, 78-3b-(1)).

"Neglected child" means:

(a) A child whose parents, guardian, or custodian has abandoned him or has subjected him to mistreatment or abuse; (b) A child who lacks proper parental care by reason of the fault or habit of the parents, guardian, or custodian; (c) A child whose parents, guardian, or custodian fail or refuse to provide proper or necessary subsistence, education, or services when required, or any other care necessary for the health, morals, or his well being (U.C.A. 1953, as amended, 78-3a-2(17)).

"Sexual abuse" as defined in the Utah Code Annotated, 1953 as amended, is noted above.

A "dependent child" includes a child who is homeless or without proper care through no fault of his parents, guardian, or custodian (U.C.A. 1953, as amended, Sec. 78-3a-2(20), emphasis added).

Delimitations

The subjects included in this study: (1) consist of children who have been abused, neglected and/or sexually abused severely enough to necessitate court intervention and, (2) have also committed offenses severe enough to require intervention by the Utah Juvenile Court. The study population is, therefore, not representative of all abused, neglected

or sexually maltreated children. All subjects in the test population were required to meet both criteria noted above.

A further limitation resulted from the fact that records of the Utah Juvenile Court prior to 1973 were not computerized. Some early cases were lost due to data entry errors when hand processed records were computerized. In addition, some cases did not contain sufficient documentation to insure accuracy and were lost to the study.

In the follow-up of cases found in the adult criminal system it was assumed that some subjects had died, some had been adopted producing a change in name, some had moved from the State prior to reaching adulthood or prior to penetration of the juvenile justice system. Further, females in the population had frequently married causing a change in name and were impossible to track. The extent to which the attrition rate impacts the results of this study is unknown, but it is safe to assume that the results obtained are conservative at best.

Social descriptors for the target population were not collected on every youth. They were not collected for youth referred only for traffic matters or minor delinquency where direct contact was not made by the court's probation staff. Since socioeconomic data were not uniformly collected, care must be taken when interpreting the data. One can assume, however, that the more contact the youth had with the court, the more likely s/he would have socioeconomic and other descriptors recorded. Therefore, these data probably reflect the more delinquent element of the target population.

Utah's population is relatively homogeneous in terms of ethnicity and dominant religious beliefs. Limited numbers of Blacks, Hispanics, and

other ethnic minorities reside in Utah. The majority of the state's citizens are members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (Mormon). Generalizations of the findings need to be considered in light of the homogeneity of the population.

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Two relatively recent legal actions (The Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act of 1973 and The Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Act of 1974) have stimulated a number of studies (see Garbarino & Plantz cited in Gray, 1986), that establish a general relationship between child abuse/neglect and later antisocial behavior leading to contact with the juvenile court. However, the existence of important relationships between different types of child abuse and specific types of juvenile criminal offenses have not been established by researchers. The Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act of 1973 has led to recent increases in reporting child abuse, particularly sexual abuse. The Juvenile Court jurisdiction covers criminal law violations by juveniles or against juveniles. Most studies have focused on the incidence (occurrences over a unit of time) and have not considered the prevalence (distribution of such victimization within the general population) of the various types of abuse (Kercher & McShane, 1984). Purposes of our research included: (1) determine the proportion of abused/neglected children who come into contact with the juvenile justice system, and (2) determine if specific types of child maltreatment (e.g., physical abuse, sexual abuse, and neglect) are related to specific types of juvenile offenses (e.g., offenses against other persons, against self, or against property, respectively).

The National Incidence Study of Child Abuse and Neglect (National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect (NCCAN), 1982) estimates a prevalence rate of 3.4 children per thousand who are known to suffer demonstrable physical harm at the hands of parents or other in-home caretakers annually (pp. 1,4). The number of children who suffer physical, sexual or

emotional abuse was estimated by the NCCAN study to be 5.3 children per thousand (p. 4). Among low-income groups, the rate of maltreatment (abuse, neglect and sexual abuse combined) was estimated at 27 children per thousand (p. 10). In light of the increasing number of reports between the 1982 NCCAN report, known to be conservative, and the present, it is believed by experts and the general public alike that children are abused/neglected to a far greater extent than is known.

As recently as May 26, 1985, a New York grand jury was impaneled after a scandal involving the rape of dozens of children at a Bronx (NY) day-care center which issued a 90-page report saying, "Tragically, we now recognize that the number of abused and neglected children in this country is more accurately estimated in the millions" (p. 5, emphasis added).

Cupoli (1984) testified before the House Select Committee on Children Youth and Families as follows:

...we think about as many children who are physically abused are sexually abused.... Knowledge concerning sexual abuse in the 1980s is where our knowledge about child (physical) abuse was in the 1950s. We are scared to admit to the fact that it (sexual abuse) is probably at the same level. (p. 102)

The relative importance and strength of connections between physical abuse, neglect, sexual abuse and subsequent types of antisocial, violent, or self-destructive behaviors committed by the victims continue to evade researchers.

The following literature review includes studies that describe both clinical evidence and empirical data related to the goals of the present study. Studies are presented in the following order: 1) physical abuse

only; 2) physical abuse and neglect; 3) sexual abuse; and, 4) combined abuse. The reasons for categories 2 and 4 are to include, but qualify, research which combined two or more categories, such that general effects could be seen, but not necessarily attributed to one specific type of abuse.

PHYSICAL ABUSE

Family Violence

In an attempt to examine violence in the American family, Gelles and Straus (1979) conducted a national survey of 2,143 American couples, of whom 1,146 had one or more children (aged 3-17) living at home at the time of the parental interview. Only one parent per couple was surveyed concerning their interactions with only one child (randomly selected by researchers). The authors defined violence as: "An act carried out with the intention or perceived intention of physically hurting another person" (p. 20). According to the results, 58% of the parents used some form of violence toward their child in the past year, 71% reported having done so at sometime. Approximately three out of every 100 children were kicked, bitten, or punched by their parents in one year. Many more children (8/100) had violence happen more than once in their lives. In the previous year, one out of every 1,000 children had a parent threaten to use a gun or knife on them and the same figure held for children who actually had a parent use a gun or knife against them. Additionally, three out of every 100 children had been threatened with a gun or knife at least one time in their life; this figure held for actual use of a gun or knife. These figures are alarming considering they involved self-report of rather socially undesirable behaviors from the parents.

Modeling of Abuse

Gelles and Straus (1979) hypothesized that the high frequency of violence in American families is produced by the high level of conflict in families combined with the following two factors: 1) an implicit cultural norm which gives family members the "right" to hit if someone is "doing wrong" and "won't listen to reason"; and 2) training or modeling of violence, which appears to contribute to later violent behavior.

Korbin (1986) reports that a history of childhood abuse was an important factor in the behavior of nine women imprisoned for child maltreatment that resulted in the death of the children.

In studying spouse abuse, Post, Willett, Franks, House, and Back (1983) found that the degree and variety of violence a person experienced as a child had a significant effect on the role that person played in adulthood: perpetrator, victim, or reciprocally violent. At statistically significant levels, these researchers found that victims and reciprocally violent spouses had been physically injured by their parents more frequently than did perpetrators or control subjects. Batterers (perpetrators) and reciprocally violent spouses both had histories of childhood aggression that were more extensive than controls or victims. Batterers and reciprocally violent spouses reported a significantly higher frequency of violent crimes committed by their relatives (usually siblings) than did the other two groups. Eighty-six percent of batterers had physically harmed another person outside the family, while victims were the least likely to have done so. Also, batterers reported involvement in violent crimes more frequently than the other three groups. These crimes included assault, sexual assault, and attempted murder. These results

strongly suggest that children learn behavioral solutions for "solving" problems and/or frustrations from their primary care-givers and siblings.

In an attempt to provide evidence that child-rearing differences affect adult behavior, McCord (1979) obtained records of 201 adult males who, as children, had participated in a program to prevent delinquency. Case records from 1939-1945 had been coded on seven variables as follows: mother's affection, supervision, parental conflict, parental aggression, mother's self-confidence, father's deviance, and paternal absence. Criminal court records were also examined by McCord for each subject 34-40 years after the intervention. The author found that subjects who had lacked supervision, whose mothers lacked self-confidence, and who had been exposed to parental conflict and to aggression were more frequently convicted for crimes against persons than those who had not experienced these variables.

Besides learning violent roles from their parents (which may not officially be detected until adulthood), there are significant effects shown by children who are abused early in childhood. In addition to the relationship between maltreatment and the child's later adult behavior, it appears that maltreatment affects the abused child's interactions with others as s/he matures. Helfer and Kempe (1976) note that the most consistent finding in physically abused young children (infancy to early school age) are delays in development with an absence of sufficient neurological explanation for the delays. They also note that abused children show a lack of interest and/or inability to play, to use toys, and to organize their behavior into purposeful, planned activities. Serious language delays in abused young children were also found by Allen and

Wasserman (1985). George and Main (1979) compared the social interactions of ten physically abused toddlers, ages one to three years, with ten matched controls in a day care setting. At statistically significant levels, the abused children more frequently assaulted their peers, avoided other children, and avoided caregivers. The strongest group differences occurred in behavior with the caregiver: the abused children were the only subjects in the sample to assault or threaten to assault their caregivers.

Given the reciprocal nature of most social interactions, it seems reasonable to assume that children who exhibit deviant social behaviors will be responded to differently by their peers and extra-familial care-givers, which may in turn shape their social or anti-social behavior towards others.

In adolescence, the effects of physical abuse may manifest itself in different forms. One of these is running away from an abusive home situation. Farber, Kinast, McCoard, and Falkner (1984) surveyed 199 adolescents who ran away from home to youth shelters. Seventy-eight percent reported significant physical violence directed towards themselves by a parent in the year prior to their departure. Sexual abuse or neglect variables were not examined.

Farber and Joseph (1985) used a structured clinical interview to assess 77 adolescents who had been physically abused. The subjects ranged in age from 12 - 18 years (mean=14.8), and had been abused an average of five years. Sixty-five percent were females, 35% were male. The author's main findings were as follows:

1. 80% had a long history of family violence

2. 70% had academic performance problems
3. 52% had sleep difficulties
4. 41% had homicidal ideations
5. 38% had suicidal ideations
6. 35% had aggressive behavior
7. 31% had drug and alcohol use
8. 23% had self-destructive or reckless behavior (excluding suicide attempts), and
9. 13% had suicidal actions

Farber and Joseph also found that 68% of the identified abusers had been abused as children.

Abuse and Crime

According to Gelles and Straus (1979), violence regularly occurs in American families. However, it is difficult to ascertain the frequency with which physically abused children commit violent acts and then are labeled as juvenile delinquents. Gove and Crutchfield (1982) investigated this question in a study of 620 families randomly selected from Chicago. The authors examined only milder forms of juvenile delinquency in the study and did not delineate the different types of delinquency. From parental self-report regarding juvenile boys, these authors found physical punishment to be significantly correlated with misbehavior; its effect was slightly more than half of the effect associated with either race, marital status, or the parent-child relationship. Physical punishment for girls was at least as strongly related to delinquency as it was for boys. Gove and Crutchfield concluded that the strongest predictor of juvenile delinquency was parental feeling toward the child.

Loeber, Weissman, and Reid (1983) postulated that adolescents who commit crimes against persons have previously been in many fights with siblings and peers. Three groups (n=11 per group) consisted of boys arrested for assaultive offenses, boys arrested for theft, and boys without a delinquent record. The assaultive boys were found to be significantly more aggressive in their homes than the other two groups of boys. In fact, the assaultive boys outranked both their parents and their siblings in total aversive behavior (determined through home observations). The authors note that police contact reports (which were used in their study) tend to underestimate actual rates of violence. These authors hypothesize that a better indicator would be a self-report completed by the subjects.

Incarcerated Juvenile Delinquents

Studies report that juvenile delinquents incarcerated for serious offenses consistently show prior physical abuse as a significant variable (e.g., Kratcoski & Kratcoski, 1982; Lewis, Shanok, & Balla, 1979; Lewis, Shanok, & Pincus, 1982; Lewis, Shanok, Pincus, & Glaser, 1979; and Shanok & Lewis, 1981). A difficulty with most studies is that the researchers frequently determine the history of physical abuse post-hoc because reported abuse had not always resulted in prosecution of the perpetrator(s).

Kratcoski and Kratcoski (1982), for example, examined case files of 863 delinquent male youths incarcerated as serious offenders. Since parents had seldom been charged with child abuse, the authors made the determination from case file reports and counted only clear cut indications of physical maltreatment. This may have resulted in detecting histories of more serious physical abuse. These authors determined that 26% of

their sample had been physically abused, and that in 85% of these cases, the abuse had occurred on more than one occasion. Kratcoski and Kratcoski also indicated that although abused delinquents did not manifest more violent behavior to non-family members than the delinquents who were not abused, violence directed toward family members occurred with 45% of the abused youths as opposed to 18% of the non-abused population.

Lewis, Shanok, Pincus, and Glaser (1979) studied 97 boys incarcerated at a correctional school in Connecticut. The 97 boys were dichotomized as "more violent" or "less violent." Only 9 were placed in the latter category. The "more violent" group was significantly more likely to have experienced physical abuse which was described by the authors as extraordinarily severe. Additionally, 78.6% of the "more violent" children had witnessed extreme violence directed at others, mostly in their homes. The degree of violent behavior exhibited by the children was highly correlated at statistically significant levels with prior physical abuse.

In a study of seriously delinquent incarcerated boys and girls (N=27 and N=11, respectively), Lewis, Shanok, and Pincus (1982) found that 56.7% of the boys and 81.3% of the girls had a history of physical abuse, the majority of whom had been severely abused. Additionally, 100% of the girls and 68.8% of the boys had reported witnessing violence. These children exhibited aggressive behaviors and/or management problems. Girls reportedly beat up children and physically assaulted family members. None of the girls attempted murder or used a lethal weapon, and rarely caused permanent injury to victims. Boys, however, were likely to do permanent physical damage and make use of a lethal weapon.

The studies cited above indicate that of juvenile delinquents incarcerated for serious and/or violent offenses, a vast proportion had been the victims of physical abuse. That violence breeds violence (Silver, Dublin, & Lourie, 1969) appears to be a truism for incarcerated violent juvenile delinquents, male or female. This is also indicated by a wide range of research indicating the association between the physical aggression of parents and violent behavior of their children (cf. Becker, 1964; Jenkins, 1968; Martin, 1975; Reidy, 1977; and Bently, 1981). However, only the more violent adolescents may be adjudicated by the court system as juvenile delinquents.

Violent Children in Psychiatric Institutions

Studies of psychiatric populations of violent children do not consistently find concurrent physical abuse, but do suggest other correlates to violent behavior. Pfeffer, Solomon, Plutchik, Mizruchi, and Weiner (1985) found that separation from parents at some time in the child's life was significantly correlated with the assaultive behavior of the children (whether this separation was due to abuse or neglect is unknown). Another statistically significant variable positively associated with the child's assaultive behavior was a history of loss of consciousness (again, whether this was due to abuse is unknown). In the psychiatric populations studied which do find physical abuse correlated with violent behavior, head and face injuries concomitant with central nervous system damage or suspected damage is also reported (Lewis & Shanok, 1979; and Monane, Leichter, & Lewis, 1984).

Lewis, Shanok, Grant, and Ritvo (1984) were interested in

determining common characteristics of homicidal children. They studied the records of 51 children (39 boys and 12 girls) ages 3 - 12 years who had committed at least one homicidally aggressive behavior and were subsequently admitted to a child psychiatric inpatient service. Both groups had been physically abused (homicidal = 55% and non-homicidal = 45%); however, the homicidal group had a significantly higher number of violent fathers. The authors determined this factor to be most important regarding the children's homicidal behavior. Although all the children had been admitted due to homicidal acts, it is unclear why the authors rated only 21 of the 61 children as homicidally aggressive. Additionally, Lewis et al. (1984) found the homicidal children made more suicide attempts (57%) than the non-homicidal group (23%).

Sendi and Blomgren (1975) compared three groups of adolescent males who had been admitted to a child psychiatric hospital. Ten had committed murder, ten had attempted murder, and ten comprised a randomly selected control group. A statistically significant percentage of the murderers and attempted murderers came from an extremely unfavorable home environment in comparison with the control group. Four factors that distinguished the murderers from the attempted murderers and control groups were unfavorable home environment, parental brutality, exposure to violence or murder, and seduction by parent or perversion in parent. A weakness in this study is that the authors did not specify which factors overlapped for the three groups of subjects.

At first glance a factor which appears to distinguish incarcerated violent youths from psychiatric inpatient violent youths is that the psychiatric population has a history of perinatal accidents, head injuries

and central nervous system damage. However, both groups have a significant proportion of the samples with a history of abuse. This factor may be a result of the data collection procedures used as determined by the emphasis of the receiving facility and the different services emphasized or readily available at the types of facilities where the youths are detained. For example, a hospital would be more thorough in a medical/neurological history, whereas a juvenile detection center would not be as concerned with a complete medical/neurological history. Until researchers can examine the history of perinatal accidents, head injuries and central nervous system damage for youths incarcerated in correctional schools, these factors should not be considered as characteristic of the psychiatric population only.

Summary of Physical Abuse

Violence appears to be a usual occurrence in American families (Gelles & Straus 1979; and Gove & Crutchfield 1982). Therefore, the finding that juvenile delinquents incarcerated for serious offenses (including homicidal acts) have been physically abused is not surprising (Becker, 1964; Jenkins, 1968; Kratcoski & Kratcoski, 1982; Lewis, Shanok, & Balla, 1979; Lewis, Shanok, Pincus, & Glaser, 1979; Lewis, Shanok, & Pincus, 1982; Martin, 1975; Reidy, 1977; Shanok & Lewis, 1981; Silver, Dublin, & Lourie, 1969; and Sorrells, 1980). However, the frequency and intensity of the abuse in possible combination with other factors may predispose these youth to a more violent behavior pattern such that they become more readily identified and labeled by authorities. Table 1, Appendix A shows how researchers in this area made their determination of a history of physical abuse for their subjects. Only two studies

(Reidy, 1977; Shanok and Lewis, 1981) used agency records as the basis of the studies.

Throughout the studies cited, victims of abuse have been shown to demonstrate high levels of aggression as compared to non-abused children. Although current findings indicate aggression for abused males in particular, Galambos and Dixon (1984) suggest that with changing sex roles for females, we may see an increase in aggression for abused females rather than the findings of self-destructive behavior reported by Garbarino and Gilliam (1960).

Physical Abuse and Neglect

This section includes research that investigated the effects of physical abuse versus neglect, and research that grouped physical abuse and neglect together, without differentiating the effects of each. Thus, in most cases, research cited here was not covered in detail in the physical abuse only section.

Lamphear (1985) and Reidy (1977) both note that a child's long-term adjustment is adversely affected by having been a victim of physical abuse or neglect. Physical abuse is defined differently by various researchers, as is neglect, adding to the difficulty of comparing the various studies. In general, physical abuse results in damage to the child's body due to direct action by the care-giver, whereas neglect results in physical or emotional damage or endangerment of the child due to the inaction of the care-giver (lack of adequate parental supervision or care).

Physical Abuse Versus Neglect

Retrospective studies indicate an association between juvenile delinquency and adult criminality and childhood maltreatment (Silver,

Dublin & Lorry, 1969; and Steele & Pollack, 1975). However, most recent findings indicate that the effects of physical abuse or neglect are apparent even at an early age. For example, Timberlake (1981) studied 56 physically abused and 56 neglected 6- and 7-year-old children (all children were in foster-home placements) to determine if the type of abuse they had suffered affected their behavior in specific ways. She found that the physically abused children demonstrated significantly more aggressive behaviors than did the neglected children. These findings are comparable with Hoffman-Plotkin and Twentyman's (1984) study of 42 children aged 3-6 years. The children in this study were divided into three groups (n=14 per group) based on confirmed reports of physical abuse, neglect, or a history of no maltreatment. Behavioral observation revealed that the physically abused children were significantly more aggressive than the other two groups. The neglected children were found to have fewer social interactions than the other two groups.

Reidy's (1977) results are similar to Timberlake (1981) and Hoffman-Plotkin and Twentyman's (1984). Reidy investigated the aggressive characteristics of young children who were: abused (n=20), non-abused-neglected (n=16), and normal children (n=22) aged 6-7 years. Aggressiveness was rated on the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) stories, in a free-play environment, and through teacher ratings. Abused children were significantly more aggressive than non-abused-neglected and normal children. The difference with Reidy's findings is that neglected children were rated as similar to abused children in aggression at school, but not in free-play or on the TAT.

The studies cited with young children show that physical abuse is related to aggressive behaviors even at an early age. With the exception of the teacher reports in Reidy's (1977) study, neglected children do not appear to demonstrate the physical aggression found with physically abused children. Rogeness, Suchakorn, Amrung, Macedo, Harris, and Fisher (1986) reported similar findings in a psychiatric population. They found physically abused boys to be more likely to show serious aggressive behavior. Neglected boys demonstrated impaired relationship capacity. The girls that were abused or neglected did not demonstrate either of these problems to a significant degree.

Abuse and Neglect

Fire-setting, a destructive act committed by some juvenile delinquents, was examined by Gruber, Heck, and Mintzer (1981). They used the records of 544 children placed in residential treatment centers for emotional disturbance. Ninety children (80 boys, 10 girls) aged 8-21 years, were identified as fire-setters. Of these, 54% had histories indicative of parental neglect and 35% had records of parental physical abuse, but the degree to which these two categories overlap is not clear.

The New York State Assembly Select Committee on Child Abuse conducted research regarding the long-term effects of child maltreatment on the subsequent behavior of adolescents and adults (Alfaro, 1981). The study was based on official county and state records of child protective agencies and courts in the 1950s and 1970s. (An important factor to consider in this research is that child abuse and neglect reporting laws, and court jurisdictions to handle these cases were significantly revised in 1969.) Two different samples were

used. The first sample included 5,136 children from 1,423 families reported for suspected child abuse or neglect in 1952 or 1953 which were traced for later court referrals for juvenile delinquency or ungovernability. At least 42% of these families had one or more children later taken to court as delinquent or ungovernable. In the county with the most complete record-keeping, this figure was as high as 65%. The second sample assessed whether youth reported as delinquent or ungovernable in the early 1970s had been previously reported as abused or neglected. The sample of delinquent or ungovernable children consisted of 1,963 children from 1,851 families. For all of New York state, 21% of the boys and 29% of the girls were found to have earlier records of reports of abuse or neglect. Some counties showed these figures to be as high as 36% for boys, and 53% for girls. The delinquent youth who had been abused or neglected were over-represented among the juveniles who had committed, or were charged with committing violent acts. The violent categories show a pattern of relatively high relationships (over 20%). The majority of nonviolent acts against property have a relationship of 16% or less.

Alfaro (1981) notes that results from his study need to be replicated with a larger sample to see if these relationships remain high. This research also found that almost any type of child maltreatment can lead to any type of future juvenile delinquency, with no clear pattern of predictability. Child abuse or neglect does predispose a child towards later delinquency or ungovernability, however, other factors undoubtedly shape the form that delinquency takes. Not all children who are maltreated become delinquents, nor have all delinquents been maltreated. Additionally, not all maltreated children are officially identified as such,

nor are all juveniles who commit delinquent acts apprehended. McCord (1983) conducted a study similar to Alfaro's (1981) but with a smaller sample size. Case records (from 1939-1945) for 232 males were used. The subjects were assigned to four categories, as follows: neglected, abused, rejected, or loved during childhood. The groups were similar on factors of socioeconomic status and being from broken homes. McCord found a preponderance of aggressive parents in the abused and neglected groups. Parents were rated as aggressive if, during periodic visits by a social worker, they yelled, threw things, or attempted to injure someone in response to frustration or annoyance. During 1975-1979, 98% of the subjects were traced for juvenile delinquent and criminal records. Juvenile delinquency was highest among the abused, neglected, and rejected groups. Records indicated that 45% of the abused or neglected groups had been convicted for serious crimes, had become alcoholics or mentally ill, or had died at an unusually young age. These findings provide support for the hypothesis that physical abuse or neglect in childhood affects later behavior. However, due to the manner in which the research data is presented, determination of what type of offense is related to what type of abuse or neglect cannot be made.

In an attempt to reduce methodological problems with data from social service agencies or court records (which Brown, 1984, contends are likely to display class bias) Brown used a self-report format with 110 ninth grade high school students. The age of 14 was selected because maltreatment should have already occurred (if it was going to) and, if the abuse had ceased, should still be recent enough to be recalled by the students. The surveys included information regarding physical abuse,

neglect and emotional abuse, and delinquency. Brown did not find physical abuse to be correlated with any form of delinquency. Neglect and emotional abuse were positively correlated with all forms of self-reported delinquency. The difference between these findings and previous research may be due to the fact that the domains of behavior tapped by the scale used by Brown are not necessarily the same as reflected in official measures of delinquency. The scale largely reflects behavior that is considered less problematic by official social control agencies, but represents significant behavioral problems among youth.

Summary of Physical Abuse and Neglect

Results of studies with young children who were either abused and/or neglected suggest that aggressive behaviors are associated with the two kinds of abuse, dependent upon at what age and by what method the abused child's behavior is assessed. Young abused children overall appear to be more aggressive than neglected or non-abused children. Additionally, neglected children do not appear to interact with other people to the same degree as do abused or non-abused children. However, older abused and neglected children in a study with a large sample size (Alfaro, 1981) could not be differentiated by the type of delinquent behavior they exhibited with regard to the kind of abuse experienced. All in all, findings to date are inconclusive on whether the type of abuse, i.e., physical abuse or neglect, has a bearing on the type of delinquent acts committed. Table 2 shows how the authors cited in this section made their determination of a history of physical abuse and/or neglect for their subjects. Again, only seven studies (Reidy, 1977; Hoffman, Plotkin and Twentyman, 1984; Alfaro, 1981; Gruber, Heck and Mitzer, 1981) used official records as the basis

for determining a history of physical abuse and/or neglect. (See Table 2, Appendix B.)

Sexual Abuse

Prevalence rates of childhood sexual abuse can vary widely depending on characteristics of the sample population and the researcher's definition (e.g., long-term incest versus a one-time sexual assault by an outsider). Wyatt and Peters (1986) reviewed various studies each of which used different criteria for sexual abuse. These studies show a range of 15% to 62% of childhood sexual abuse among women. These studies were based on self-report of the women and, unfortunately, the authors did not include the ages of the respondents. From a total random sample of 930 adult women in San Francisco, Russell (1984) found that 17% who had been raised with a stepfather reported having been sexually abused, and more seriously so (e.g., with vaginal intercourse, over a long period of time) whereas of those raised with biological fathers, 2% of the 930 had been sexually abused. Sedney and Brooks (1984) sampled 301 college women and found that 16% reported a history of some type of abusive childhood sexual experience. According to literature reviewed by Finkelhor (1981), reported sexual abuse of boys (as opposed to girls) has increased from 10% in 1969 to approximately 25% to 30% of all child victims of sex crimes in the late 1970s. This "increase" may be due to the changes in reporting laws, and possibly less public stigma and fear of consequent homosexuality attached to reporting and seeking help for male victims. He cites a prevalence rate for childhood sexual abuse of 9% for his sample (sample size unspecified) of boys. In Great Britain, a nationally representative survey of 2,019 men and women revealed that 12% of the females and 8%

of the males had been sexually abused before the age of 16 (Baker & Duncan, 1985).

Kercher and McShane (1984) mailed surveys to a representative sample of adults in Texas. From a 53% return rate, 7.4% of the respondents reported childhood sexual victimization, with females comprising 82% of this group. Despite the wide variety of prevalence rates, professionals agree that these experiences have detrimental effects on the later development of males and females (Finkelhor & Hotaling, 1984). Evidence in the literature supports this statement and will be reviewed here with regard to behaviors exhibited by sexual abuse victims.

Peters (1976), a psychiatrist in private practice and Director of the Philadelphia Sex Offender and Rape Victim Center, reports that if sexual abuse incidents are not dealt with the sexually abused child is liable to sustain "...deep and long-lasting psychological scars" (p. 412). Additional support for Peters argument is provided by Sedney and Brooks (1984) who found that 16% of women who reported sexual abuse were significantly more likely to report depression and suicidal tendencies and to have seen a doctor or have been hospitalized for treatment of the symptoms than were women who had not reported being sexually abused. Gelinas (1983), in a review of the literature, describes symptoms commonly seen in adult females who were childhood incest victims. The symptoms include promiscuity, prostitution, depression, intense guilt, markedly poor self-esteem, self destructive drug and/or alcohol abuse, and anxiety. Gelinas also notes an increased risk of physical and emotional abuse by incest victims towards their children.

One of the commonly reported results of childhood sexual abuse is drug/alcohol abuse. In a preliminary study, Benward and Densen-Gerber (1975) found a reported history of childhood incest in 44% of 118 adult female drug abusers. Cohen and Densen-Gerber (1982) noted that since 1973, patients' charts at Odyssey House (a residential therapeutic drug treatment program with four locations in the United States) showed a high incidence of a history of child sex abuse, violence, and neglect. They hypothesized that these early experiences were common in patients who habitually used drugs to minimize dysphoria, create euphoria, or help them through the day. In a more formal questionnaire given to 178 adult Odyssey House patients, 84% reported a history of child abuse and neglect. Reports of female sexual abuse were significant (33%). Reports of female incest averaged 28%, with a high of 50% in Utah.

Besides the deleterious effects that childhood sexual abuse has on the victim's later life (Gelinas, 1983; James & Meyerding, 1977; Peters, 1976; and Sedney & Brooks, 1984), sexual abuse appears to be associated with serious problems early in the victim's life, also. Adams-Tucker (1984) reported the clinical findings of 28 children ages 2.5 to 15.5 years who had recently been sexually abused. There were 22 girls and 6 boys. Those who had been molested by their fathers were more seriously emotionally and behaviorally disturbed than those who had been molested by a non-family member; those that had been molested by two or more family members were the most seriously disturbed. The 17 children with longer histories of abuse, and who were not supported by the adults on whom they depended, had the most maladaptive behaviors of the group and included problems such as withdrawal, suicide attempts, running away,

fire-setting, vomiting, biting oneself, and sexual acting out. Mannarino and Cohen (1986) found that of 45 children ages 3-16 years (mean age=5 years, 3 months) who had been sexually abused, 69% displayed symptoms such as nightmares, bedwetting, inappropriate sexual behavior, anxiety and sadness. The major drawback of this study was the lack of a systematic control group.

Gelinas (1983) suggests that childhood sexual abuse causes many emotional problems that become the focus of intervention, especially if the abuse is undisclosed. Husain and Chapel (1983) studied sexual abuse in adolescent females admitted to a psychiatric hospital for emotional problems. Of the 437 girls, 61 (13.9%) were determined to have suffered incest. The mean age at the time of the first incestuous experience was 11.03 years. These researchers used a rather stringent criteria of "overt sexual intercourse" with occurrence verified by prior agency records. Possibly even more children suffer severe emotional disturbances due to undetected incestuous experiences.

Lindbert and Distad (1985) found that symptoms exhibited in a clinical population of 17 females (ages 12 to 18), who had experienced childhood or adolescent incest appeared to possess the features of a chronic and/or delayed post-traumatic stress disorder. Both the type and onset of symptoms closely fit the diagnostic criteria for a severe stress reaction, according to the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders III (DSM-III). These symptoms include long-term self-destructive behavioral patterns such as substance abuse, suicide or suicide attempts, self-mutilation, running away, seductiveness and/or promiscuity, isolation and/or emotional numbing.

Studies on adolescent prostitution suggest that a significant proportion of juvenile prostitutes have previously been victims of sexual abuse. For example, in a study of 20 juvenile prostitutes (James and Meyerding, 1978) 65% were reported to have been sexually abused, according to subject self-report. Silbert (1981) noted that 61% of her sample of over 200 juvenile prostitutes reported they had been sexually molested. The over representation of sexually abused adolescents in this population of juveniles committing crimes is an indication of one possible effect of sexual abuse in childhood.

In contrast to Sedney and Brooks' (1984) figure of 16% of a sample of college women with childhood sexual abuse experiences, James and Meyerding (1977) surveyed 136 prostitutes and found that 46% had been sexually molested by a person at least 10 years older than the victim. In 25.5% of the cases, the perpetrators were fathers or father-figures. With percentages from "other relatives" added, the total of these prostitutes (who had been sexually molested) was 36.6%. More than half of the 136 subjects (57.4%) reported they had been raped at least once in their lives, and 36.2% had been raped more than once. Of the 136, 68 (50%) were also classified as drug addicts.

Research carried out by the Delancey Street Foundation in San Francisco by Silbert and Pines (1981) revealed that of 200 prostitutes (age unspecified), some 60% reported they were sexually abused as juveniles (average at first abuse was ten years). Seventy percent attributed sexual abuse as the cause of their entry into prostitution. Additionally, 96% reported having run away from home as a result of being abused.

In one of the few studies relating male prostitution with prior sexual abuse, Paperny and Deisher (1983) interviewed 21 adolescent male prostitutes. A history of sexual abuse was self-reported for 43%, with 19% reporting intra-familial incestuous experiences.

Bach and Anderson (1980) report that significant subsequent behavioral problems in victims of childhood sexual abuse of both sexes include: acting out, running away, delinquency, and prostitution. These findings are supported by other researchers (cf. Benward & Denson-Gerber, 1975; Herman, 1981; James & Meyerding, 1977; and Silbert, 1981). Gutierres and Reich (1981) studied 5,392 children referred for child abuse. Of these, 74% had been involved in juvenile delinquent acts. From those that had committed juvenile delinquent acts, sexually abused juveniles were identified and found to be predominantly females. Gutierres and Reich determined that when sexual abuse occurred in pre-adolescence, victims were less likely to engage in aggressive crimes but were more likely to be arrested for escape acts, e.g., truancy and running away. In fact, 55% of the arrests of sexually abused juveniles in their study were for runaway acts. Others have reported similar findings following sexual abuse (cf. Adams-Tucker, 1982; Edelback, 1980; McCormack, Janus, & Burgess, 1986; and Summit, 1983). Gutierres and Reich concluded that sexually abused females may be prone to avoidance responses (e.g., running away), whereas males may be more likely to react aggressively.

Official reports of later juvenile delinquent acts related to earlier sexual abuse may not be accurate. Bracey (1983) notes that police and others may attempt to avoid stigmatization of an adolescent as a prostitute, and refer her instead to the juvenile authorities as a runaway.

However, the common factors seen in studies of sexually abused children involve running away, prostitution, and other self-destructive behaviors (e.g., suicide/attempts, and drug abuse).

Finkelhor (1981) surveyed 266 college males in the New England area. He found that boys, like girls, tended to be victimized by older men (84%). The effects Finkelhor reported were that childhood sexual victimization, especially among boys, was a strong determinant of low scores on a Sexual Self-Esteem Measure (created by Finkelhor). These results indicate some important long-term life difficulties, according to Finkelhor. Also, those boys who had been sexually victimized prior to age 13 by a person 10 or more years older were four times more likely to be currently homosexually active than those without a childhood homosexual experience. Controlling for all available background factors, (e.g., social class, family relationships, ethnicity, and others), a regression analysis showed that childhood sexual victimization by a much older person was the strongest predictor of adult homosexual activity. Finkelhor hypothesized that the victimization itself created the later interest in homosexual activity.

Simari and Baskin (1982) surveyed 29 female and 54 male adult homosexuals. The male homosexual group reported the highest incest incidence rates of childhood sexual abuse (46%). For the males, all incest cases were homosexual in nature. Seventy-seven percent reported the incest to be a positive experience; in these instances the partners were near the same age. Thirty-eight percent of the female sample had experienced incest. Thirty-six percent of the incest was homosexual and

64% was heterosexual. All heterosexual incest victims reported the experience as negative.

Rape is considered an aggressive act which is committed more frequently by males than females. Groth and Birnbaum (1979) reported that at least 33% of repetitive sex aggressors (all male) interviewed were themselves childhood sexual abuse victims. In an ongoing study of convicted male sexual offenders in three states (Freeman-Longo, 1986), 80% of subjects said they had been sexually abused. Petrovich and Templer (1984) studied 83 men incarcerated for rape and found that 59% (49) reported having been heterosexually molested. Twenty-four percent of the 83 men reported the molestation occurred before the age of 12. It should be noted that the 24% figure is much higher for the convicted rapists in this study than the 2.9% heterosexual molestation rate before puberty reported for college students by Fritz, Stoll, and Wagner (1981). Although these results are from only one study with a relatively small sample size, the findings give limited support to Gutierres and Reich (1981) and Freeman-Longo's (1986) hypothesis that males may be more likely to react aggressively to sexual abuse experienced in childhood than do females, especially if coupled with parental models of violence (Burt, 1983). However, data based on self-report has inherent weaknesses. Subjects may not accurately remember historical events from childhood, with the result that some figures may be over- or under inflated. Also, self-report data may be inaccurate if the subject believes they will be treated in a certain way (e.g., more leniently) if they report a certain type of childhood history.

Summary of Sexual Abuse

A major difficulty with research in this area is the methods used to collect data. Wyatt and Peters (1986a) note that higher prevalence rates are found when information is collected in a face-to-face interview than when self-report questionnaires are used. Additionally, the definition of sexual abuse is not uniform which causes inconsistencies in prevalence reporting (Wyatt & Peters, 1986b). Table 3, Appendix C shows how authors cited in this section made their determination of a history of childhood sexual abuse for their subjects. None of the researchers used official records as the basis for determining a history of child sexual abuse. Self-reports (interviews and/or questionnaires) provided the only means of determining sexual abuse.

Despite the variations in data collection, and differing criteria in determination of childhood sexual abuse, the conclusion that prior sexual abuse is related in some way to later problematic behaviors appears sound. Of course, there are many other variables (e.g., socioeconomic status, ethnicity, parental models of violence, models of addictive behaviors, etc.) that may shape the types of problematic behaviors exhibited, and/or whether the abuse is ever reported. Additionally, any deleterious or positive effects of these other variables may preclude the delineation of strong correlations. Despite these cautions, general trends can be seen. As an adolescent, sexually abused females appear to be at risk for self destructive behavior, e.g., runaway behavior, prostitution, acting out, drug abuse, and delinquency. Later in life these female victims are at a higher risk for depression and suicide. More research is needed on sexually abused males. Highly specialized research populations (e.g., prison samples and college samples) may represent two extreme ends of a spectrum, with

many other factors differing between the two groups such that it is difficult and inappropriate to generalize to less restricted populations. However, studies of juvenile and adult sex offenders suggest a cyclical pattern in sexual abuse, as is true with physical abuse, that is, those that have been abused later abuse others (Ryan, 1986). Ryan also notes that sexual victimization may produce either learned helplessness or repeated aggression.

Combined Abuse Categories

This section reviews studies that did not differentiate between the types of abuse suffered by the children, or subsequent behaviors correlated with specific types of abuse.

Howell (1976 cited in Kline, 1977), reported that when both abuse and neglect have occurred, these variables are associated with delinquency. She found that approximately 50% of the abused and neglected children who came to the attention of juvenile authorities in Los Angeles had subsequent criminal records as adults.

Mouazkitas (1981) examined the relation between parental abuse and the delinquent behaviors of 60 girls (all of whom were under the age of 18) confined at a Girls Training School. Through questionnaires, the author determined that only a fraction of the girls had not been abused. The majority of the physically abused girls had also been sexually abused (48). Additionally, 48 of the 60 girls studied had committed delinquent acts in the year prior to their commitment.

Wick (1981) examined parental causes of juvenile delinquency. Data was collected from 50 case records (which were randomly selected) of youths classified under the heading "troubled child syndrome." Of these 50

cases, 60% were attributed to lack of values, attitude, and discipline on the parents' part; and 29% were due primarily to abuse or neglect (the author did not differentiate between the two categories). Wick concluded that the primary cause of juvenile delinquency in his study was parental in 45 out of the 50 cases. As discussed previously, specific factors present or absent in order to infer causation of juvenile delinquency, in which case Wick's conclusions may appear too dogmatic.

Table 4, Appendix D shows how the authors made their determination of the presence of the types of abuse. Studies that did not differentiate between types of abuse suffered by children used official records as a method of determining whether abuse or neglect had, in fact, taken place.

Summary

Delinquency rates of abused/neglected children have been examined in only a few follow-up studies, as reviewed here. Delinquency rates in the general population compared to delinquency rates in an abused or neglected population are needed as comparisons. Research in this area has suffered from a lack of methodological consistency, i.e., samples have not been obtained in which all relevant variables are controlled, and many studies have relatively small samples. Most studies have looked into the history of delinquent youth to determine if they have been previously abused, neglected or sexually maltreated. These retrospective studies often fail, however, to examine what proportion of abused/neglected children and youth become delinquent. Studies to date have failed to determine if severity or chronicity of abuse, or age of the victim at onset of abuse are more powerful predictors than the type of abuse and neglect experienced, as suggested by Silver, Dublin, and Lourie (1969). Additional research

which addresses these variables is needed for clarification of which variables affect later delinquency or criminality.

In spite of many methodological issues (in the use of official versus self-reports, lack of or different definitions of abuse and neglect used by various researchers, social biases in police and court systems, incomplete official records, etc.), the body of available evidence clearly indicates that there is an important overall relationship between abuse/neglect and delinquent behavior. However, more specificity would assist in identifying which combination of factors lead to which types of problem behaviors. Also important for intervention, is the ability to specify which factors tend to reduce or prevent the occurrences of problem behaviors despite the presence of negative factors. Both Clark (1976) and Fisher (1984) have suggested that research should focus more on specifying types of offenders (e.g., sex offenders, prostitutes, violent offenders, chronic offenders) with types of abuse/neglect backgrounds (e.g., sexual abuse, physical abuse, chronic abuse).

That these variables need to be examined for the state of Utah is evidenced by the Utah Juvenile Court's 1984 Annual Report which says:

According to arrest reports published in "Crime in Utah 1983", juveniles in Utah account for 27% of all arrests for serious offenses against persons.

In 1983, 519 serious felony offenses were reported to Utah's Juvenile Court. The top four offenses in this category represented 88% of all life endangering felonies as follows: 191 Aggravated Assaults, 128 Forcible Sexual Abuse, 92 Robbery, 46 Forcible Sodomy. (p. 4)

In reporting recidivism rates, the Utah Juvenile Court's Annual Report (1984) noted that 74% of the 430 youth charged with serious offenses against persons in 1983 had at least one prior offense reported to the

court. In 12% of these cases, the first official reasons for referral to the court was dependency, neglect or abuse.

Utah Juvenile Court data (1984) also shows that approximately 60% of the arrests for property felonies in Utah are committed by juveniles. Recidivism rates in this group involve 2,145 of 4,056 reported offenders. In this group, 9% were first reported to the court for dependence, neglect, or abuse as compared to 12% of those who had committed serious crimes against persons. The Utah Juvenile Court data fail, however, to differentiate between and among dependence, neglect, abuse, sexual abuse, and specific type of offense. These data represent Utah's first attempt at investigating the relationship between abuse, neglect and dependency with the type of crime that prompted the juvenile's referral to the court (Clark, 1976; and Fisher, 1983).

In our view, it is essential that these types of investigations continue in order to determine the proportion of the maltreated population that subsequently has contact with the juvenile justice or adult criminal system. Further, it is important to determine if there are specific relationships between such factors as age of the victim at onset of abuse, severity and chronicity of abuse, and subsequent types of behaviors.

PROCEDURES

This study is based on information gathered by the Utah Juvenile Court System, the Division of Family Services and the Utah Division of Adult Corrections. Data bases for the Juvenile Court and Adult Corrections span nearly 36 years (1950 through December, 1986) and contain records of children, adolescents and adults who were found by the court to: (1) have been abused, neglected or sexually abused, (2) have committed at least one offense serious enough to warrant court intervention. The juvenile court's basic referral information was obtained from police reports, other State agencies (e.g., the Utah Division of Family Services) and from results of intake or probation officer's interviews with the child and his or her family.

During the juvenile court's intake process, the necessary data regarding the offense type and the demographic characteristics of the child and his or her family are verified and entered in the Court's computer system. An important part of the Court's computerized record keeping system is the ability to summarize the demographic characteristics of the child (and his or her family) who had been abused or neglected and/or had penetrated the juvenile justice system for infractions of the law. Some abused or neglected as well as some delinquent children are not referred simply because the matter is not reported or the juvenile offender is not apprehended.

Some of these children and adolescents do not require referral to the juvenile judicial system because they can and are diverted to sufficient services provided by other public or private agencies.

Law enforcement practices, local laws and ordinances, community attitudes, and other factors also influence whether or not a child or adolescent is referred to the juvenile court. Children and adolescents who have been abused or neglected but have not penetrated the juvenile justice system as delinquents or children who are adjudicated delinquent but have no record of abuse or neglect were not included in the basic test population. Only those children who met both criteria are included. Maltreated-non-delinquent children (also available from the court's data file) were used for some comparison purposes.

A second source of data came from the Utah Division of Adult Corrections. Adolescent subjects in the population under consideration were matched with computerized records maintained by the Division of Adult Corrections. This source made it possible to determine the extent to which subjects in the test population might also be found in the adult criminal system.

Finally, a supplemental study was carried out to examine the relationships that might exist between child maltreatment and type of crime committed as an adult. Particular attention was paid to inmates at the Utah State Prison who had been convicted as sex offenders.

A study based on official records--the only concrete data available--presents some unique problems but also has some definite advantages. One of the advantages is found in the descriptive data available in the court's records for the test population. Another is the knowledge that two factors are always present--a known history of abuse or neglect and a known history of at least one juvenile offense. The verifiable concreteness of the data provide a firm basis for testing the

hypotheses established at the outset of the study. None of the subjective problems associated with interviews after the fact or the objectivity or reliability of observers is present in this study.

One of the disadvantages of using official records is the fact that both abused and neglected as well as some delinquent children frequently go undetected. Of those who are, the majority are diverted to services provided by other agencies. In Utah, for example, approximately 70% of the confirmed cases of abuse and neglect recorded in the State's Central Registry during the years 1982 through 1986 were handled by voluntary home supervision, consent for adoption, voluntary foster placement, or were judged by child protective service workers to require no further intervention by the state. During these years the Utah Juvenile Court became involved in an average of 29.8% of the cases involving abuse and neglect (Utah Central Registry for Child Abuse and Neglect, 1982 - 1986).

The children or adolescents in the test population represent less than one-third of the known cases of abuse and neglect during recent years when public awareness (and reporting) of abuse and neglect was higher than was true of the earlier years. The number of abuse and neglect cases handled by the courts in the 1950's was, obviously, less than at the present time.

Only those children born before 1969 (i.e., became 18 years of age at the time of this study) could be traced to the adult criminal system. The data regarding the extent to which maltreated-delinquents become adult criminals is, at best, conservative.

If, as many experts estimate, only one case in ten is ever reported, the children or adolescents involved in this study are not representative of all abused, neglected, or sexually mal treated children. Nonetheless, the population under consideration in this study is sufficient to answer the questions initially proposed.

This was an empirical study based on official records. The records provide a firm basis for: (1) a fairly complete picture of the environment from which the child or adolescent with an official history of abuse or neglect and a history of juvenile delinquency originate; (2) a time frame sufficiently long enough to obtain a large number of cases for analysis; and (3) the ability to follow-up the test population to determine the extent to which subjects are ultimately found in the adult criminal system.

Data from the State's mainframe computer were downloaded to run on a personal computer (PC). All statistical procedures were accomplished on a personal computer using software developed by SPSS Inc., known as SPSS/PC. Frequencies were tabulated for a number of variables as shown in the Results and Discussion Section.

Pearson product-moment correlations were calculated between each of three maltreatment factors (abuse, neglect and sexual abuse) and each of three classes of offenses (against persons, against property, and reflecting self-destructive behaviors). The raw data from which these correlations were calculated are in the form of number of court contacts on record.

The same coefficients were calculated for males only and again for females only. This was done in order to test the theory that girls may tend to internalize their emotions to a greater extent than boys. As a

result, girls may engage in self-destructive behaviors (alcohol abuse, running away from home, etc.) while boys may engage in more aggressive behaviors (committing offenses against persons or property).

Subjects in the target population, obtained from the Utah Juvenile Court Administrator's Office, were matched with records in the Department of Adult Corrections for analysis.

Finally, in cooperation with a research analyst in the Department of Adult Corrections and the Department of Psychology at the Utah State Prison both questionnaires and interviews (matched against official records) were conducted with 200 inmates at the time of intake. When collaborative evidence was found in the data collected from the questionnaires and/or interviews in the official record of the inmate it was included for analysis. This triangulation technique assured, to the extent possible, the accuracy of the information.

The data were analyzed at several levels. The basic demographic data regarding the subjects in the target population are presented in the Results and Discussion Section.

Subjects

The court's data base included 10,331 cases of children who had a juvenile court record of abuse, neglect or dependency and delinquency. Of the original 10,331 cases in the court's data base, 3,813 (36.9%) were omitted from the analysis due to faulty or missing data or the Court had arrived at a finding of "dependency." By definition, dependency includes a child who "is home less or without proper care through no fault of his parents, guardian, or custodian" (U.C.A. 1953, as amended, 78-3a-2(20), emphasis added). It seems obvious, and therefore was assumed, that a

child who is homeless or lacking in care through no fault of the parents or other caretaker is not the same as one who was neglected "by reason of the fault or habit of the parent, guardian or custodian" (U.C.A. 1953, as amended, 78-3a-2-(17)).

The subjects included in the target population of this study ranged in age from 0 (assumed to be abused or neglected children when less than one year old) to 18 years (the age at which children are no longer under the jurisdiction of the juvenile court unless the court retains jurisdiction while restitution for a crime is pending).

Of the 10,331 maltreated-delinquents in the original data 6,815 were available for analysis. There were 3,653 males (56%) and 2,869 females (44%).

A second group of subjects used for some comparisons with the target population, were subjects who had been adjudicated as abused, neglected, or sexually abused but had no contact with the court as delinquents. Only those subjects for whom demographic data related to family income, school placement, where the child was living at the time of court contact, race and religious preference were included for these comparisons.

A third group of subjects was drawn from the Utah Division of Adult Corrections. These subjects were adjudicated by the Utah Juvenile Court as maltreated-delinquents who are, or had been, under the supervision of the Department of Adult Corrections for felony offenses.

Design

The basic design utilized for this study has been labeled as causal-comparative (Borg and Gall, 1971). The method consists of

comparing subjects who display a particular trait with those in whom the trait is not present. In this study maltreated-delinquent children were compared with children who were maltreated but had no further contact with the juvenile court. In addition, it was possible to make limited comparisons of maltreated delinquent children with the general population of youth.

There are several limitations associated with the causal-comparative research design. It is not possible to determine if a cause-effect relationship exists between the variables selected. Many rival hypotheses may be advanced to account for the observed relationships between maltreatment and delinquency.

Research designs which are typically used to discover causes require that two or more groups be compared before and after a particular variable has been introduced. In the case of child maltreatment it would not be ethical or feasible to introduce maltreatment. However, a significant association between maltreatment and juvenile infractions of the law or adult criminal behavior may provide a direction to other studies which may be designed to provide more specific answers to the question of cause and effect.

A major purpose of the present study was to provide a better understanding of the relative characteristics of the population of the maltreated subjects. To that end demographic data about the subjects and his or her family were analyzed. The design of the research, therefore, contained two methodologies-- causal comparative and descriptive. The descriptive component was limited to describing the socioeconomic, educational, and other data reflecting the living environment from which the maltreated- population originated.

Analysis

The available data for the study were in two forms: (1) incidence data which were used to assess the relationship between a specific type of maltreatment and a specific type of infraction of the law and (2) descriptive data. A chi-square analysis was utilized to provide a measure of the statistical significance of the comparative data. The descriptive data are presented in the form of tables and were compared in terms of norms found in existing literature.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Descriptive Data of Subjects

To describe basic demographics of the subjects in the population, frequency counts were used to determine: (1) the level of income of the parents, (2) the parents' marital status, (3) the living environment of the child at the time of court contact, (4) the child's school placement at the time of contact, (5) the racial origin of the population, (6) the religious affiliation, (7) the year in which maltreatment or delinquency was first adjudicated, (8) the number of abuse encounters, (9) the number of neglect encounters, (10) the number of sexual abuse episodes, (11) the age of the child at the time of his/her first court contact and (12) the reason for the first court contact.

Table 1 displays the economic status of the parents of maltreated delinquent children in the test population. As can be seen from Table 1, 14.2% were on public assistance. Sixty percent (60.93%) of the children had parents with incomes of less than \$15,000. Family size in the test population is unknown. However, Utah leads the nation with an average family size of 3.66 members and one in five Utah families have five or more members. It seems safe to assume, therefore, that the majority of the children and adolescents in the test population came from low income families--over one-third (36.0%) below the current poverty line. The data also show that nearly three percent (2.6%) come from families with incomes that exceed \$50,000.

Table 1
Parents' Income
(Maltreated-Delinquent Population)

Range	Male	Female	Total	Percent
Public Asst.	546	377	923	14.15
\$3,000-4,999	327	186	513	7.87
5,000-7,999	381	263	644	9.89
8,000-9,999	165	102	267	4.09
10,000-14,999	289	1336	1625	24.93
15,000-19,999	141	76	217	3.33
20,000-29,999	101	1	102	1.56
30,000-39,999	45	23	68	1.04
40,000-49,999	178	180	538	8.25
50,000 & above	70	103	174	2.65
Missing data	1492	36	1528	23.45
Total	3653	2868	6518	100.00

Table 1a tells a somewhat different story. Over twenty-five percent (26.7%) of the maltreated nondelinquent children lived in families receiving public assistance. Collectively, over three-fourths (76.2%) of them came from families where annual income was less than \$10,000.

Table 1a
Parent's Income
(Abused/Neglected but No Record of Delinquency)

Range	Male	Female	Total	%
Public Asst.	421	125	546	26.7
3,000-4,999	127	407	534	26.1
5,000-7,999	91	101	192	9.4
8,000-9,999	76	74	150	7.3
10,000-14,999	78	123	201	9.8
15,000-19,999	71	156	227	11.1
20,000-29,999	30	55	85	4.2
30,000-39,999	5	3	8	.4
40,000-49,999	3	78	81	4.0
50,000 & Above	18	14	32	1.6
Total	920	1136	2046	100.0

Table 2 displays the marital status of the parents of children or adolescents in the maltreated delinquent population.

Table 2
Parents' Marital Status
 (Maltreated-delinquent Population--Unknown Data Eliminated)

Marital Status	Male	Female	Total	Percent
Both Deceased	33	824	857	19.6
Divorced	1635	615	2250	51.6
Father Deceased	187	17	204	4.7
Mother Deceased	81	34	115	2.6
Married but Separated	33	22	55	1.3
Married & Living Together	765	117	882	20.2
Total	2734	1629	4363	100.0

There can be little doubt that family disruption is linked with abused and neglected children who penetrate the juvenile justice system as delinquents. Eliminating the cases for which data are missing ($n = 2155$), leaving 4,363 cases where the marital status of the parents is known, we find nearly eighty percent (79.8%) of the subjects in the target population come from disrupted families. Of the known cases almost fifty-two percent (51.6%) come from families suffering divorce. The balance comes from families where one or both parents have died or where the parents, while married, are separated. One-fifth (20.2%) come from families where the parents are living together.

Knowing the level of income and the marital status of the parents provides one view of the characteristics of the group. Another view is seen in the living environment of the child at the time the data were collected by the Court's intake officers. Table 3 displays this environment.

Table 3

Living Environment of Youth at Time of Court Contact
(Maltreated-Delinquent Population)

Youth Living With	Male	Female	Total	Percent
Mother & Stepfather	386	1402	1788	27.42
Father & Stepmother	125	114	239	3.66
Father Only	173	80	253	3.88
Mother Only	889	17	906	13.89
Group Home	3	2	5	.00
Foster Home	183	475	658	10.09
Independent	1	2	3	.08
Natural or Legal Parents	628	130	758	11.62
Relative	183	101	284	4.44
Institution	45	255	300	4.40
Spouse	1	2	3	.08
Other/Missing Data	1033	288	1321	20.30
Total	3650	2868	6518	100.00

Eliminating those cases for which data are missing ($n = 1321$ or 20.26%), the children or adolescents in the test population display a somewhat different distribution. Table 3a displays the distribution when the unknown living environment of the youth is eliminated.

It is interesting to note that nearly one-fourth (23.9%) of this population were in foster homes, institutions, living with a relative, living independently or with a spouse at the time they penetrated the juvenile justice system.

Table 3a

Living Environment of Maltreated-Delinquent Youth
(Unknown Living Condition Eliminated)

Youth Living With	Total N	Percent
Mother & Stepfather	1788	34.40
Father & Stepmother	239	4.59
Father Only	253	4.86
Mother Only	889	17.43
Foster Home	658	12.66
Independent	3	.05
Relative	183	5.46
Institution	300	5.77
Spouse		.05
Natural or Legal Parents	758	14.59
Total	5197	100.00

Maltreated children who had no further contact with the court differ in notable ways from those adjudicated as delinquents. Table 4 displays the environment in which the child was living at the time of maltreatment, providing a somewhat different distribution for the maltreated but non-delinquent child.

Table 4

Living Environment of Maltreated Youth Without
Delinquency Record at Time of Court Contact
(Unknown Living Condition Eliminated)

Youth Living With	Total N	Percent
Mother & Stepfather	328	8.2
Father & Stepmother	74	1.8
Father Only	222	5.5
Group Home	3	.1
Foster Home	167	4.2
Mother Only	1510	37.5
Natural or Legal Parents	670	16.7
Relative	1048	26.1
Total	4022	100.0

Under Utah law it is a rebuttable presumption that the person(s) responsible for the health and welfare of the child is responsible for the maltreatment. These data suggest that further research is needed. Was the child living with a relative as a result of abuse/neglect in the environment prior to extended family intervention? Was the maltreatment inflicted upon the child after extended family intervention?

Table 5 displays the distribution of the population in terms of their school placement. Information became available at the time of intake or at some time during the youth's probation.

As can be seen from Table 5, 21.79% of the test population

Table 5
School Placement
(Maltreated-Delinquent Population)

Placement	Male	Female	Total	Percent
Advanced	12	17	29	.44
Dropout	343	127	470	7.21
Held Back	47	28	75	1.15
Alternative Program	15	25	40	.61
Normal	1,289	238	1,527	23.43
Pre-school	79	1,282	1,361	20.88
Other	62	9	71	1.08
Special Program	310	1,102	1,412	21.79
Missing Data	1,492	36	1,528	23.45
Total	3,651	2,867	6,518	100.00%

required special school programs. In Utah about 12% of the school population are in special education and related programs for the handicapped. Kline and Christiansen (1975) found that abused children are

three times more likely to require special education programs than children who have not been identified as abused. Almost one-fourth (23.5%) were in normal or regular school programs. Twenty-one percent (20.88%) were less than school age and assumed to have come to the attention of the court as a result of abuse or neglect. Data were missing for nearly one-fourth (23.45%) of the subjects. About one percent (1.15%) had repeated a grade. Less than one-half of one percent (.44%) were in advanced school placement. The balance (.61%) were in alternative or other school programs.

An "alternative school program" is a generic term used in Utah to designate educational programs for students who are having difficulty in the "mainstream" or regular school programs. These programs include those for young unwed mothers, pregnant teenagers, students who are experiencing academic difficulties, children who are socially maladjusted, etc.

Table 5a displays the distribution of the maltreated- delinquent population after unknown placements and pre- school children have been eliminated. Of this group 39.8% of the maltreated abused/neglected subjects were found in special programs, 13.2% had dropped out of school and less than one-half (43.0%) were in the normal or regular school program.

By contrast the maltreated but nondelinquent subjects in the population show somewhat different school placement. Table 5b shows that only 6.3% of the maltreated nondelinquent subjects were in special programs compared to 43% of the maltreated- delinquent group. Nearly

26% more of the nondelinquent group were held back and nearly sixteen percent (16.2%) more were in regular school programs.

Table 5a

School Placement after Unknown,
Pre-School and Other School Placement
Eliminated from Consideration
(Maltreated-Delinquent Population)

Placement	Male	Female	Total	Percent
Advanced	12	17	29	.8
Drop Out	343	127	470	13.2
Held Back	47	28	75	2.1
Alternative				
Program	15	25	40	1.1
Normal	1289	238	1527	43.0
Special				
Program	310	1102	1412	39.8
Total	2016	1537	3553	100.0

Table 5b

School Placement of Maltreated Non-Delinquents
(Unknown Placements Eliminated from Consideration)

Placement	Male	Female	Total	Percent
Advanced	6	9	15	1.0
Drop Out	42	46	88	5.7
Held Back	5	420	425	27.7
Alternative				
Program	2	0	2	.1
Normal	683	224	907	59.2
Special				
Program	47	49	96	6.3
Total	785	748	1533	100.0

These differences strongly suggest that further research is required to discover the reasons these variations exist between and among the two groups.

As noted earlier, Utah has a relatively homogeneous population. That is, predominantly White and predominantly members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (Mormon).

Table 6 shows the racial origin of the test population after eliminating the cases where racial origin was unknown or classified as "other" (n = 3618).

Table 6

Racial Origin of the Maltreated-Delinquent Youth
(Unknown Origin Eliminated)

Race	Male	Female	Total	Percent
Black	112	53	165	4.56
Chicano/Spanish	99	23	122	3.36
Native Am.	91	650	741	20.48
Oriental	2	2	4	.11
White	2407	179	2586	71.48
Total	2711	907	3618	100.00

Religious affiliation as displayed in Table 7 provides one additional view of the test population. Of the 6518 cases under consideration 27.8% (n = 1811) were classified as "other" or the data were missing. Table 7 displays the religious affiliation of the known cases (n = 4707).

The homogeneity of Utah's population is reflected in the distribution of subjects claiming a religious affiliation with a particular denomination and who are white. Forty-seven percent of the subjects were identified as

members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (Mormon). Seventy-two percent were White.

When comparing maltreated delinquent with maltreated non-delinquent children two major differences stand out. They are: (1) the living environment of the child at the time of court.

Table 7

Religious Affiliation

Religion	Male	Female	Total	Percent
Catholic	427	625	1052	22.35
Jewish	454	292	746	15.85
Mormon	924	1265	2189	46.51
Protestant	303	99	402	8.54
None	135	183	318	6.76
Total	2243	2464	4707	100.01

contact, and (2) school placement. One possible explanation is seen in the strong belief in both the nuclear family and the extended family in the dominant Utah culture. Great emphasis is placed on family values in Utah. Hence, the extended family may play a far greater role in child rearing than may be found in other parts of the country. As shown in Table 4, 26% of the maltreated nondelinquent population were living with a relative compared to 5.5% of the maltreated delinquent group. Putting this another way, 1,048 children of 4,022 who were maltreated but nondelinquent were living with a relative at the time of court contact while only 183 of 5,197 of the maltreated- delinquent children were living with a relative at the time of court contact.

Can the differences in school placement be accounted for by reason of the natural tendency of people, in this case teachers, to avoid difficult

problems. Children who are disruptive in class may be allowed to progress in school simply because it is easier to avoid dealing with the child for another school year-- especially when training is lacking in how to deal with the socially maladjusted or behavior disordered child.

Has the maltreated delinquent child been perceived by teachers, and society in general, as the perpetrator of anti- social acts without regard for the fact that s/he is also abused, neglected or sexually abused and, therefore, placed in special school programs? Has the nondelinquent child been perceived as the victim of maltreatment or social circumstance and, therefore, held back to receive special assistance in the regular classroom? Is the maltreated delinquent without an advocate (parent, relative, or adult friend) while the maltreated nondelinquent has an advocate?

These and other questions require additional research if we are to discover why these differences exist.

Data Related to Maltreatment

This section presents data related to: (1) the frequency of abuse, neglect and sexual abuse (as recorded in the court's data base), (2) the year the maltreatment or juvenile offense became known to the Court, (3) the number of abuse, neglect or sexual abuse encounters (as reflected in Court's records), (4) the age of the subjects at the time of first court contact, (5) the reason for the first court contact, (6) the correlations found between type of maltreatment and type of crime, and (7) the proportion of subjects known to have been maltreated and delinquent compared to maltreated children who had no further contact with the court.

Two variables were created and used throughout the analyses of the data. These variables were: (a) all cases of abuse which included "physical abuse," "abuse," and "threatened abuse" (sexual abuse was treated separately); and, (b) all cases of neglect which included "abandonment," "failure to care" and "lacks care." These basic categories were used by the Court in making a determination that a child had been neglected. The variables when summarized and described provide a detailed description of the sample.

Table 8

Year Maltreatment and Delinquency
Recorded in Court Records

Year	No.	%	Year	No.	%
1950	0	.0	1968	234	3.6
1951	2	.0	1969	299	4.6
1952	2	.0	1970	224	3.4
1953	18	.3	1971	226	3.5
1954	10	.2	1972	248	3.8
1955	31	.5	1973	304	4.7
1956	33	.5	1974	338	5.2
1957	28	.4	1975	245	3.8
1958	51	.8	1976	307	4.7
1959	65	1.0	1977	334	5.1
1960	61	.9	1978	283	4.3
1961	98	1.5	1979	270	4.1
1962	101	1.1	1980	262	4.0
1963	141	2.2	1981	259	4.0
1964	211	3.2	1982	241	3.7
1965	199	3.1	1983	274	4.2
1966	156	2.4	1984	246	3.8
1967	253	3.9	1985	259	4.0
			1986	203	3.1
Total			6518		100.0

As can be seen in Table 8, the number of cases in the sample increased steadily between 1960 and 1970. The number of cases

Some people may be surprised at the number of cases included in the sample between 1950 and 1960 ($n = 3,010$ as shown in Table 8). It should be remembered that both child maltreatment and juvenile delinquency have been common throughout the history of mankind. Child protective service personnel and the courts in the United States have been involved in abuse and neglect cases since the now famous Mary Ellen case in New York City in 1847.

Table 9 shows the number of episodes of abuse suffered by the children in the test population as recorded in the Utah Juvenile Court data base. Collectively, 1,739 children were found by the Court to have suffered physical abuse or threatened abuse from one to four times. This number excludes the cases where sexual abuse was involved ($n = 165$). Of the 1,739 abused children in the population, 87.7% suffered at least one known episode; 10.6% suffered at least two known episodes; 1.5% suffered at least three episodes; and .23% were known to the Court to have suffered at least four episodes of abuse. The sample population cannot be considered representative of all maltreated children in the years under consideration since every case must have met the criteria established at the outset of the study, i.e., maltreatment and delinquency.

Table 9
Number of Abuse Encounters

No. of Abuse Encounters	No. of Cases	Percent
1	1525	23.4
2	184	2.8
3	26	.4
4	4	.1
Non-abused	4779	73.3
Total	6518	100.0

involving both adjudicated child maltreatment and juvenile offenses reached a high point in 1974 ($n = 338$) and has remained relatively constant between 1974 and 1986*.

Children who were sexually abused as well as delinquent treated separately in this study, and the number of sexual abuse encounters known to the Court are shown in Table 10.

Table 10

Number of Sexual Abuse Encounters

No. of Encounters	No. of Cases	Percent
1	158	2.4
2	7	.1
Physical Abuse or Neglect	6353	97.5
Total	6518	100.0

Table 11 displays the number of neglected children in the target population and the number of encounters experienced. These subjects were known to the Court to have been "abandoned," "lacking care" or where "the fault or habit of the parent or other caretaker failed to provide" for the health and welfare of the child. Children who were adjudicated as "dependent," as noted earlier, are not included in this sample of neglected children.

* Data for 1986 covers the first 11 months only. Complete data for December, 1986 were not available when the data base was generated.

Table 11
Number of Neglect Encounters

No. of Encounters	No. of Cases	Percent
1.	3746	57.5
2	953	14.6
3	261	4.0
4	121	1.9
5	41	.6
6	17	.3
7	8	.1
8	2	.0
9	0	.0
10	2	.0
Abused	1367	21.0
Total	6518	100.0

In reading Table 11, it should be remembered that abuse, neglect and sexual abuse is frequently an on-going phenomenon. It is difficult, therefore, to quantify the true extent to which neglect (and other forms of maltreatment) is a part of a child's life.

Table 12, provides another view of the sample population. As noted earlier, the Juvenile Court retains jurisdiction in cases where the offender has been ordered to pay a fine or make restitution. In the years under consideration in this study, two cases (adjudicated maltreatment and adjudicated delinquent) fall into this category.

Table 12 also shows that 3,045 (46.9%) of the children in the sample came to the attention of the court prior to reaching the age of 10 years.

Table 12
Age of First Court Contact

Age	No. of Children	Percent
0	113	1.7
1	268	4.1
2	296	4.5
3	308	4.7
4	303	4.6
5	279	4.3
6	324	5.0
7	329	5.0
8	388	6.0
9	446	6.8
10	427	6.6
11	472	7.2
12	465	7.1
13	579	8.9
14	595	9.1
15	486	7.5
16	286	4.4
17	134	2.1
18	18	.3
Over 18	2	.0
Total	6518	100.0

Examination of Table 13 shows that 71% of the sample population first came to the attention of the Court for physical abuse.

Table 13
Reason for First Contact with the Court

Reason for First Court Contact	Number	Percent
Physical Abuse	939	14.1
Neglect	3614	55.4
Sexual Abuse	70	1.1
Criminal Offense	1211	18.5
Status Offense	594	9.1
Traffic Violation	90	1.4
Total	6518	100.0

neglect or sexual abuse compared to 29% who were first adjudicated as delinquents and were later known to the court as victims of maltreatment.

Table 13 clearly illustrates the difficulty in trying to establish that child maltreatment "causes" delinquency. The unanswered question is: Did the behavior of the child prompt the maltreatment or was the maltreatment present prior to the delinquent act but undiscovered or unreported?

Findings Related to Specific Type of Maltreatment and Specific Type of Crime

A major purpose of this study was to determine if a relationship existed between specific types of child maltreatment and specific types of juvenile offense.

Another major purpose of this study was to compare the proportion of adjudicated delinquents with a court record of maltreatment with children who were maltreated but with no further contact with the court. Further, it was possible to estimate the number of children who were maltreated and delinquent with the general population of youth.

It was also possible to do a follow-up of the target population to determine the extent to which subjects were found in the official records of the adult criminal system.

It must be emphasized that the findings of this study are conservative and underestimate the extent to which child maltreatment is linked to juvenile delinquency. One significant factor is the nature of the population under consideration. Each subject in the sample population was required to meet two criteria. Each subject must have been (a) adjudicated by the court as abused, neglected or sexually abused and (b) adjudicated by the court as having committed an offense serious enough to justify court intervention. Because each subject had to meet these criteria it becomes obvious that there is a perfect correlation ($r = 1.0$) between maltreatment and delinquency in the target population. However, most maltreated children who come to the attention of child protective services or the police are not referred to the court as noted earlier in this report. Rather, most maltreated children are diverted to services

provided by other agencies. Approximately 70% of the children in Utah who were confirmed by child protective service workers to have been maltreated in recent years (1982-1986) were handled without referral to the Juvenile Court as noted above.

Relying on official records also makes the findings in this study conservative because of the under reporting of child abuse, neglect and sexual abuse. This is especially true of the years prior to the passage of national legislation in 1973 requiring certain professionals and, in many state, "any person" with reason to believe that a child had been abused or neglected to report to the designated state agency. The criteria established for membership in the sample population was done in order to test the hypothesis that the type of abuse or neglect will not be significantly correlated with the type of offense committed.

The findings of this study support some earlier findings regarding the relationship between specific types of child maltreatment and the type of offense for which the child or adolescent was also adjudicated. Alfaro (1981) found, among other things, that, "Child maltreatment cannot be used as an indicator or predictor of a particular type of juvenile misbehavior" (p.197).

The present study supports this conclusion as will be shown in the findings reported in this section. The findings are presented for the hypothesis presented in the Problem statement.

Results: Hypothesis 1, 2 and 3

Hypothesis 1,2 and 3 were stated as follows:

1. Children or adolescents who were adjudicated as "abused" will show

no statistically significant correlation between "abuse" and "crimes against people."

2. Children or adolescents who were adjudicated as "neglected" will show no statistically significant correlation between "neglect" and "crimes against property."

3. Children or adolescents who were adjudicated as "sexually abused" will show no statistically significant correlation between "sexually abuse" and "self-destructive behaviors."

Table 14 shows the correlation coefficients obtained. The correlations

Table 14

Correlations Between Type of Maltreatment
and
Type of Offense

	Person Offense	Property Offense	Offense Against Self
Abuse :	$r = .0056$	.0077	-.0080
:	$p < .000$	.010	.004
:			
Neglect :	$r = .0300$	.0446	.0379
:	$p < .178$	.199	.275
Sex :			
Abuse :	$r = -.0599$	-.0798	-.0951
:	$p < .463$	.034	.008

n = 6518

correlations, using the SPSS/PC programs (a computer software program designed by SPSS Inc. for personal computers) permits several methods for showing the relationships, if any, between two variables. Two variables ("abuse" and "neglect") shown in Table 14 were created. All "abuse" variables include "physical abuse," "threatened abuse" and "abuse."

All "neglect" variables include "failure to care","lacks care" and "abandonment." "Sexual abuse," treated separately, is also shown.

As can be seen all (9) coefficients are near zero. Collectively, these coefficients suggest that, given this sample (children who have juvenile court records for both maltreatment and juvenile offense), there are no important relationships between the number of court contacts regarding specific type of maltreatment and the number of court contacts regarding any of the three classes of offense.

It should be noted that while the p values shown indicate statistical significance, application of the F test shows no true relationship. Given these correlations, Hypotheses 1, 2, and 3 are accepted.

These same coefficients were calculated for males only and again for females only (see Tables 15 and 16). This was done to assess whether or not the sex of the child or adolescent might yield different results.

As can be seen from Tables 15 and 16 there are no important correlations between the type of abuse, neglect or sexual abuse and a specific type of offense committed by the subjects in the test population based on sex.

Again, the p values found in Tables 15 and 16 appear to imply a statistically significant correlation. However, because of the large N sizes application of an F test shows no statistical significance.

Table 15
Correlation Between Type of Maltreatment
and
Type of Offense
 (Male Population Only)

	: Offense of : Persons	Offense of Property	Offense of Self
Abuse	: r = .0588 : p < .000	r = .0384 p = .010	r = .0435 p = .004
Neglect	: r = -.0153 : p < .178	r = .0140 p = .199	r = -.0099 p = .275
Sex Abuse	: r = -.0015 : p < .463	r = -.0140 p = .034	r = -.0396 p = .008
n = 3649			

Table 16
Correlations between Type of Maltreatment
and
Type of Offense
 (Female Population Only)

	Offense of Persons	Offense of Property	Offense of Self
Abuse	: r = .0719 : p < .000	r = .0512 p < .207	r = .0490 p < .004
Neglect	: r = .0087 : p < .321	r = .0745 p < .000	r = .0340 p < .034
Sex Abuse	: r = -.0191 : p < .153	r = -.0312 p < .047	r = .0119 p < .261
n = 2869			

It seems from this sample of 6,518 children and adolescents drawn from the years 1950 through the first eleven months of 1986 involving all children in the State with a court record of maltreatment and delinquency that the experience of being abused, neglected or sexually abused as a

child is more important and consequential than the type of maltreatment experienced.

Another way of viewing the sample population and the relationships that may exist between type of maltreatment and type of offense is seen in Table 17. Table 17 shows the frequencies of the three classes of crimes broken down by the type of maltreatment and the respective proportions each contribute to the type of offense.

Table 17
Percentage of Offense by Type of Maltreatment

	Person Crimes	Property Crimes	Self Crimes	Total
Physical Abuse	: n = 350 : % = 15	n = 1121 % = 48	n = 861 % = 37	n = 2332 n = 100
Neglect	: n = 894 : % = 13	n = 3471 % = 50	n = 2538 % = 37	n = 6903 % = 100
Sexual Abuse	: n = 18 : % = 10	n = 92 % = 51	n = 70 % = 39	n = 180 % = 100
n = 6518				

Table 17 shows that each type of maltreatment category contributes proportionately the same amount to crimes against persons (around 15% of the total), property crimes (around 50% of the total) and crimes against oneself (around 39% of the total). This analysis yields essentially the same information as the near zero correlations noted above but does so from a different porthole and confirms the earlier obtained results.

There are several possible explanations for these outcomes as enumerated below. 1. The near zero correlations found in this sample of

juvenile court records accurately reflect the "true" relationship in the target population (defined as all adjudicated maltreated children who engage in infractions of the law).

2. The data used in this analysis were sufficiently unreliable as to restrict the true nature of the correlations. Support for this hypothesis exists in the fact that 3,813 cases (36.9%) were omitted from the analysis due to faulty or missing data or because the subjects had been adjudicated as "dependent" which, by definition, made him/her ineligible as an abused, neglected or sexually maltreated child.

3. Given the large number of subjects who fall into the neglect category, the data are sufficiently skewed as to obscure the true nature of the relationships that may exist.

4. Juvenile Court records of adjudicated maltreatment and crime may not be valid measures of the variables under investigation. The validity of court records for the measurement of a wide variety of variables, including abuse and delinquency, is an issue sociologists have been grappling with for years. Other measures, perhaps self-reports, and broader techniques, such as triangulation among several measures, need to be considered.

A second purpose of this study was to compare the proportion of adjudicated delinquents with records of maltreatment with official court records of maltreated children without delinquency records. The results of this analysis are discussed below.

**Proportion of Maltreated Children With Delinquency
vs. Maltreated Children Without Delinquency**

The literature reviewed for this study revealed no study that attempted to determine the number of maltreated children who do not come into further contact with the court compared to maltreated delinquent children. Presented below is one estimate of the number of children who are adjudicated as maltreated but not delinquent compared with those who are maltreated and delinquent.

This estimate must be interpreted cautiously, however, since the sample population available is for only recent years (1982- 1986). Some subjects included in the sample could still have contact with the court prior to becoming age ineligible for juvenile court jurisdiction. Hence, the estimate is conservative, at best. Nevertheless, Table 18 shows that 59.1% of the maltreated delinquent children between the ages of 12 through 17 years came before the court for at least one additional infraction of the law while 49.9% of those with maltreatment but no delinquency record had no further contact with the court.

According to the Utah Juvenile Court Administrator's Office, approximately 34% of all juveniles from birth to 18 years of age come to the attention of the court during these years. Court contacts include all types of offenses, i.e., criminal, status, traffic, dependency, neglect and abuse, public order misdemeanors and infractions, property misdemeanors and infractions, misdemeanors against persons, public order felonies, property felonies, and felonies against persons.

As shown in Table 18, the maltreated delinquent population with at

least one offense is slightly higher than those without further contact. It is almost twice as high as the percentage of

Table 18

Proportion of Maltreated Children with
Court Encounter vs. Maltreated Children
with No Further Court Contact
(Age 12 to 18)

Year	Maltreated Without delin- quency record	Maltreated With delin- quency record	Total	%	%
				Without	With
1982	131	241	372	35.2	64.8
1983	176	274	450	39.1	60.9
1984	160	246	406	39.4	60.6
1985	240	259	499	48.1	51.9
Total	707	1020	1727	40.9	59.1

court contacts found in the general population of all children and adolescents from birth through 17 years of age. This is perhaps the strongest indication that child maltreatment is clearly linked to delinquency.

Maltreated Delinquents as Adult Criminals

The list of maltreated delinquents obtained from the Utah Juvenile Court Administrator's Office was reviewed and compared against lists of offenders who were currently or had been under the supervision of the Department of Adult Corrections. Due to procedural problems, most notably the lack of a list containing maiden names or aliases, only the males on the juvenile court's list could be compared.

Of those subjects who were born prior to 1969 (i.e., were 18 years old or older) nearly thirty percent (28.9%) were or had been under the supervision of the Department of Adult Correction.

It is important to note that the population under consideration here is not a stagnant sample. All offenders who might eventually come under the jurisdiction of the Department of Corrections may not have done so at this time. In fact, 1% more of the maltreated delinquent offenders were identified the second time the list was reviewed two months later.

It should also be noted that it was not possible to know which of the maltreated delinquent subjects may have moved out of the state or were adopted, thereby producing a change of name. Moreover, whenever a list of abused children is reviewed it is expected that at least a small percentage have died. The thrust of these caveats is that, in all probability, any estimates of the total number of maltreated-delinquent individuals who eventually come under the supervision of adult corrections is under estimated.

As the subjects on the juvenile court's list were reviewed and compared, it became evident that crimes for which the individual was incarcerated appeared to have been related to the type of maltreatment

suffered as a child. In the Department of Adult Correction's file, 278 subjects could be identified as well as the offense for which they had been incarcerated. When comparing the type of maltreatment suffered as a child and the type of crime committed as an adult a relationship was found. Nonviolent maltreatment (neglect,) is clearly linked to more nonviolent crimes. Table 19 displays the results of the relationship found for these subjects.

Table 19

Type of Adult Crime and Type of Child Maltreatment

Type of Adult Crime	Nonviolent Maltreatment	Violent Maltreatment	Total
Nonviolent Crime	163	64	227
Violent Crime	32	19	51
Total	195	83	278
Chi-Square = 4.6657 df = 1 Sig. = <.025			

This sample is heavily skewed toward nonviolent maltreatment (neglect) and as such, nonviolent crimes. This shades the degree to which this relationship can accurately be measured. If the sample had been more representative of violent maltreatment (abuse) a higher relationship between violent crimes and physical abuse might be found. It should also be noted that to reduce the degrees of freedom to one where a statistical test might be meaningful, the categories had to be collapsed to the categories of both violent and nonviolent crimes and to single categories of violent and nonviolent maltreatment. Given a more representative sample, both from the courts and from the Department of Adult

Corrections (Correction's listings of crimes are frequently archived to save the expense of computer storage and were not available) a more complete and definitive comparison of maltreatment vs. type of crime may be noted. Further research is clearly required.

In addition to the results obtained from this study, the list from the Court Administrator's Office contained 293 juvenile offenders who had four or more felonies who turned 18 in 1985. The Juvenile Court identifies these subjects as "The Graduating Class of 1985." Of the subjects who turned 18 during 1985, the following characteristics are noted: (a) 32% (94 of 293) are currently under the supervision of the Department of Adult Corrections; (b) 11% (32 of 293) were maltreated as children; and (c) 32% (10 of 32) maltreated subjects are currently under the supervision of adult corrections.

In order to determine if the maltreated delinquents found in the adult criminal population exceeded expected frequencies of adults in general, contact was made with the National Bureau of Justice Statistics. National Justice Statistics show that 6% of the total adult population is expected to be supervised by a correctional agency. Yet, this sample showed a rate of supervision five times the expected norm.

It is important to note that not all maltreated children are reported to authorities and of those who are, the majority are not referred to the court. Again, it must be stressed that the data presented here are, at best, conservative.

In order to look more closely at the sexually abused child to determine the long term impact of this type of abuse (as determined by adult criminal behavior) a supplemental study was undertaken. This study,

carried out by the Department of Adult Corrections in cooperation with the project staff was essentially the antithesis of the study reported above. That is, the study examined inmates at the Utah State Prison to determine a history of abuse while the present study looked at the maltreated child to determine the extent to which he became delinquent. The Department of Adult Corrections, in consort with the Department of Psychology at the Prison and personnel involved in this study, interviewed each of 200 inmates on intake to the facility. Of this number 177 useful interviews were obtained.

Interviews were designed to elicit a history of child maltreatment based on self-reports. In addition, each inmate was asked to respond to a questionnaire designed to determine a history of maltreatment. When the inmate's interview or questionnaire was corroborated by his official record the data were included and analyzed.

The purpose of this approach was two-fold: (1) to determine the number of adult offenders who had been maltreated as children, and (2) to determine if a history of maltreatment as provided by the inmate was linked to the type of crime committed.

Table 20 displays a cross tabulation of maltreatment by type of crime committed. This enumeration of crimes by type of maltreatment shows that 58 of 64 inmates or 91% of the sex crimes were committed by inmates who were themselves maltreated. It also shows that 20 of 26 (77%) of the violent crimes were carried out by adults who had one or a combination of maltreatment types in their histories. Fifty-three (53 of 87 or 61%) of the nonviolent crimes (property and/or drug crimes) were committed by inmates with physical abuse, sexual abuse, psychological

Table 20

Inmate Childhood Maltreatment by Type of Crime

Type of Abuse	Violent Crime	Sex Crime	Property Drug Crime	Total by Abuse Type
Physical Abuse	8	6	18	32 or 18%
Sexual Abuse	2	7	2	11 or 6%
Psych. Abuse	0	5	8	13 or 7%
Neglect	2	3	11	16 or 9%
Abuse + Neglect	2	2	5	9 or 5%
Abuse + Psych.	4	7	7	18 or 10%
Abuse + Neglect + Psych. Abuse	1	1	0	2 or 1%
Abuse + Sexual	0	3	2	5 or 3%
Abuse + Sexual + Psych. Abuse	0	7	0	7 or 4%
Abuse + Sexual + Neglect	0	1	0	1 or .6%
Abuse + Sexual + Psych + Neglect	1	6	0	7 or 4%
Sexual + Psych	0	6	0	6 or 3%
Sexual + Neglect	0	1	0	1 or .6%
Psych + Neglect	0	0	0	-0-
Sexual + Psych + Neglect	0	3	0	3 or 2%
No Maltreatment Reported	6	6	34	46 or 26%
Total by Type of Crime	77% 20 of 26	91% 58 of 64	61% 53 of 87	74% 131 of 177

abuse and neglect--or a combination of these abuse types. Property offenders are a difficult population to classify since often both violent and sexual crimes may be plea bargained to a property offense (i.e., rape becomes a burglary since the break in and property loss are more easily proven than is the actual sexual offense). Also, property offenders at the Utah State Prison do not receive psychological testing and therapy to the same degree as violent or sex offenders. Consequently, there is less collateral documentation of abuse, neglect and/or sexual abuse.

Table 20a shows the type of maltreatment suffered by 64 sex offenders based on interviews. Interview data were documented in the offenders official file.

Table 20a

Type and Frequency of Childhood Maltreatment
Suffered by Sex Offenders

Type of Abuse	Frequency*	% of Sex Offenders
(If These Types Found Either Alone Or in Combination)		
Physical Abuse	33	52%
Sexual Abuse	45	70%
Psychological Abuse	35	55%
Neglect	17	27%
* Frequencies will not total 64 (n = 64) since many sex offenders reported several types of maltreatment.		

The link between maltreatment and crimes committed by adult offenders is shown in a further analysis of sex offenders. In the case of this smaller sub-sample (64 sex offenders) the specific details of the crime were asked during interviews as were the details of the abuse committed against the adult offender prior to reaching the age of majority.

Table 20b displays the type of abuse or neglect suffered by 64 inmates convicted of sex crimes and the frequency of response. Forty-five of the 64 sex offenders (70%) reported having been sexually abused as a child; 33 of 64 (52%) reported having been physically abused; 35 of 64 (55%) indicated psychological abuse (usually rejection by one or both parents); and 17 of 64 (27%) reported neglect. Obviously, many of the inmates reported more than one type of maltreatment.

Table 20b

Sex Offender Maltreatment by Type of Abuse

Type of Abuse as Reported & Verified	Frequency	% of Sex Offenders
Physical Abuse	6	9%
Sexual Abuse	7	11%
Psychological Abuse	5	8%
Neglect	3	5%
Physical + Neglect	2	2%
Physical + Psychological	7	11%
Neglect + Physical & Psych.	1	2%
Physical & Sexual	3	5%
Physical + Psych. & Sex	7	11%
Physical + Sexual & Neglect	1	2%
Physical + Sex + Psych + Neg.	6	9%
Sexual & Psychological	6	9%
Sexual & Neglect	1	2%
Sexual + Psych. & Neglect	3	5%
No Abuse Reported	6	9%
Total by Type of Crime	58 of 64	91%

Neglect and the failure to show affection to a child were also shown to be strongly linked to assaults against children. In interviews, these offenders stated that they were not shown any type of affection from adults in their childhood. As a result, they sought affection as adults and could relate better to children than to adults.

Table 21 shows that the more violently the offender was treated as a child the more likely he was to act violently against his victim. The offender who was fondled as a child was more likely to only fondle his victim. If the offender was physically abused or more violently abused in a sexual manner, the more likely he was to violently attack his victim, i.e., rape his victim.

Table 21

Violent Maltreatment and Violent Sex Offense

SUBJECT #	PHYSICAL ABUSE	PSYCHOLOGICAL ABUSE	NEGLECT	INCEST - FATHER	INCEST - MOTHER	INCEST - SIBLING	PEER SEXUAL EXPERIENCE	EARLY HETEROSEXUAL EXPERIENCE	OFFENDER SEXUALLY ABUSED AS A CHILD	TYPE OF SEXUAL ASSAULT DONE TO VICTIM	COMMENTS
1	X						X	X	X	RAPE	
2			X				X	X	X	FONDLING	
3	X				X					FONDLING ORAL	
4	X						X			RAPE	
5						X				RAPE	
6							X	X	X	FONDLING ORAL/ANAL	
7									X	RAPE	
8							X			FONDLING	PHYSICALLY DEFORMED
9							X		X	RAPE	
10									X	SEDUCTION RAPE	
11							X			FONDLING	
12							X			FONDLING	
13	X	X		X					X	RAPE	NO PHYSICAL AFFECTION RE
14		CHILD COMM							X	FONDLING	NO PHYSICAL AFFECTION
15		CHILD COMM					X			FONDLING ORAL	NO PHYSICAL AFFECTION
16	X	X	X						X	RAPE	DRUGS/ALC
17									X	FONDLING	NO PHYSICAL AFFECTION
18			X							FONDLING	NO PHYSICAL AFFECTION
19	X	X	X				X	X	X	ALL FORMS	RAPED BY PEER
20	X	X	X				X	X		ORAL FONDLING	NO PHYSICAL AFFECTION
21	X	X					X	X		ORAL FONDLING	NO PHYSICAL AFFECTION
22		X	X				X	X	X	ANAL RECIPIENT	CRUISING
23	X	X						X	X	RAPE-ADULT	RAPED BY AN ADULT
24		PEER	X						X	ORAL FONDLING	RAPED AS A CHILD
25	X	X					X	X	X	ORAL/ANAL	RAPED AS A CHILD
26							X	X	X	ORAL/ANAL FONDLING	MOLESTED BY FEMALE
27										INCEST	
28	X	X								FONDLING	ABUSED BY BROTHER
29	X	X	X			X	X	X	X	FONDLING	NO PHYSICAL AFFECTION
30	X	X		X					X	ORAL	NO PHYSICAL AFFECTION
31	X	X	X		X			X	X	ORAL FONDLING	
32		X					X			ORAL FONDLING	DRUGS
33	X	X						X		RAPE	INCEST
34		X						X		FONDLING	
35							X	X	X	FONDLING	ADMITTED
36	X	X								RAPE	EXTREME ABUSE
37	X	X	X	X			X	X	X	RAPE	EXTREME ABUSE
38	X	X	X						X	RAPE	RAPED AS CHILD
39	X	X						X		ORAL FONDLING	2 GEN INCEST
40	X						X			ORAL FONDLING	INCEST SUB ABUSE
41		X					X			ORAL FONDLING	NO PHYSICAL AFFECTION
42		X	X			X			X	ABUSED DAUGHTER	MARITAL DIFF
43	X	X						X	X	ORAL	RAPED AS CHILD
44	X	X					X		X	FONDLING	SOOINIZED AS CHILD
45	X	X					X			FONDLING	
46	X	X	X	X	X		X		X	ORAL	INCEST
47	X	X							X	ORAL	INCEST
48	X	X	X	X				X	X	INTERCOURSE	INCEST
49	X	X	X					X			INCEST- BLAMES CHILD

Responding to questions about how the offenders chose their victims, generally they stated that they went to school playgrounds to find children that were ignored by their teachers, other children and were (assumed by the pedophiles) to be neglected by their parents. According to the pedophiles in this sample such children could be victimized with little resistance.

The important factors noted are that the most frequently occurring type of abuses were: (1) sexual abuse, (2) physical and psychological abuse and (3) physical, sexual and psychological abuse.

In brief, 58 of 64 (91%) recalled some type of abuse. Only 6 of the inmates could not recall having been abused. Psychologists at the prison are working with these individuals for diagnosed Multiple Personality Disorders (MPD). It may be that MPD accounts for the individuals inability to recall having been abused in childhood.

Results: Hypotheses 4, 5, and 6

Hypotheses 4, 5, and 6 (see page 6) stated, in essence, that maltreated delinquents would not differ significantly from delinquents found in the general population of youth; that maltreated delinquents found in the adult criminal system would not differ significantly from that expected in the general adult population; and, that the type of adult crime committed would not be significantly related to the type of maltreatment suffered during childhood.

Each of these hypotheses is rejected. Given this sample, nearly twice as many maltreated delinquents are found in the juvenile justice system than are found in the general population of youth. Maltreated delinquents with four or more felonies are found in the adult criminal system at a

rate five times higher than expected norms. Finally, adult male sexual offenders show a high relationship with childhood sexual abuse.

CONCLUSIONS

The findings of this study are conservative and underestimate the relationships or associations between child maltreatment, juvenile delinquency and subsequent adult criminal behavior.

Each subject in this study was adjudicated by the courts to have been abused, neglected or sexually abused as well as delinquent. Subsequently many of these subjects were found in the adult criminal system. The relationships described in this report are all minimal. They are bare, uninflated, "bottom-line" figures. The data reported here are convincing because each case included was established by due process of the law. Two factors were known to be present in each case: (1) the child had suffered abuse, neglect, or sexual abuse, and (2) the child had further contact with the court as a delinquent. In a sub-sample of the population, one additional factor was known. Namely, for those subjects later found in the adult criminal system, it was known that each had committed a felony.

Finding No. 1

As many as 76% of the maltreated children in this sample came from families where annual income was less than \$10,000 (see page 57). Children who were maltreated but had no record of delinquency also came from low income families but differ in some significant ways. Perhaps the most important difference is found in the child's living environment at the time he or she came into contact with the juvenile justice system as noted in Finding No. 2.

Finding No. 2

Less than 15% of the maltreated delinquent children were living with their natural or legal parents at the time they came into conflict with the Court. Of the maltreated but nondelinquent children, 42.8% were living with their natural or legal parent or with a relative (see page 60).

Finding No. 3

Nearly 39.8% of the maltreated delinquent children were found in special school programs while less than 7% of the maltreated nondelinquent children were found in these programs (See page 63).

Finding No. 4

Racial origin appears to be of little significance except for Native American children who represent 20% of the target population. Native American children in the sample appear to be overrepresented (see page 64). Further research is needed to determine why these children constitute such a large percentage of the maltreated delinquent population.

Finding No. 5

Religious affiliation appears to have no important bearing on the number of maltreated delinquent children in the sample population.

Finding No. 6

In 1,739 cases of abuse, the court was aware of 1,525 cases with one episode of abuse; 184 with two episodes; and 30 cases with three or more episodes (see Table 9, page 69). Knowledge of the chronicity of abuse is

exceedingly difficult to acquire since abuse, neglect and sexual abuse are, for the most part, phenomena that take place within the privacy of the family.

Finding No. 7

Sexual abuse, only recently being reported by professionals, children themselves and other family members, became known to the court in 165 cases (see page 66). The long term impact of sexual abuse for males in the population is clearly reflected in Finding Number 15 below.

Finding No. 8

Of the children in this sample, neglect came to the attention of the court from one to ten times (see page 70). As noted earlier, it is difficult to quantify the true extent to which neglect is an on-going part of a child's life. And, as noted in Finding 6 above, maltreatment is usually a family affair.

Finding No. 9

Seventy-two percent (71.6%) of the children in this sample first came to the attention of the court for abuse, neglect or sexual abuse (see page 72). The question of the extent to which delinquency prompts abuse remains unanswered. It is not possible, based on the data in this study, to prove that child maltreatment causes delinquency. There is no question, however, that there is a strong link between these two phenomena.

Finding No. 10

Child abuse, neglect and sexual abuse cannot be used as an indicator or predictor of a particular type of juvenile offense (pages 70-76). Any type of maltreatment--except maltreatment culminating in the death or

other serious developmental disability of the child, (e.g., acute cerebral palsy) can lead to any type of delinquency.

Finding No. 11

Nearly 60% of the maltreated population, in this sample between the ages of 12 and 17 years, came to the attention of the court for at least one additional infraction of the law. This is nearly twice as many as the number of delinquents in Utah's general population of youth (see Table 18, page 78). This is clearly the strongest indication of the relationship between child maltreatment and delinquency.

Finding No. 12

Nearly one-third (28%) of the subjects in the test population born prior to 1969, (i.e., were 18 years old or older), were or had been under the supervision of the Department of Adult Corrections (see page 82).

Finding No. 13

In the Department of Correction's file, 278 of the maltreated delinquent subjects could be identified as well as the offense for which they had been incarcerated. A comparison of the type of maltreatment with the type of adult crime showed that nonviolent maltreatment (neglect) was clearly linked to non-violent crime (see page 80) at a statistically significant level ($p. < .025$). A larger sample with greater numbers of violent maltreatment (abuse) is required to confirm a statistically significant relationship between violent maltreatment and violent crime

although the result found for this sample strongly suggests that this may be the case.

Finding No. 14

Thirty-two percent (32%) of the maltreated-delinquents with four or more felony offenses as juveniles (94 of 293 cases who turned 18 in 1985) were found to be under the supervision of the Department of Adult Corrections. This compares to 6% of the general adult population who are expected to be supervised by a correctional agency--a rate of supervision five times the expected norm.

Finding No. 15

Based on questionnaires and interviews corroborated by official agency records, 91% (58 of 64) male inmates convicted of sex offenses were themselves victims of childhood sexual abuse (see Tables 20, 20a and 20b, pages 83-85). Being a convicted sex offender as an adult is a very convincing and strong indication of the long term effects of sexual abuse of children.

Finding No. 16

Seventy-seven percent (20 of 26) of the inmates who were convicted of violent crimes, were also abused, neglected or sexually abused in childhood.

Finding No. 17

Sixty-one percent (53 of 87) of the adult criminals who were convicted of nonviolent crimes (property or drug crimes) also had histories of child maltreatment.

Finding No. 18

Among sex offenders the more violently the offender was treated as a child the more likely he was to act violently against his victim (see discussion page 86 and Table 21, page 87).

The findings of this study confirm, as have other studies (cf., Alfaro, 1981; McCord, 1979; Lewis, Shanok & Pincus, 1982), an empirical link between child maltreatment and subsequent behaviors leading to delinquency. While the target population of this study was, by definition, subjects who had both maltreatment and delinquency records, protective services from the court were provided for 71% of the children whose first contact with the court was for abuse, neglect or sexual abuse. Sixty-one percent (60.6%) of the children in the test population came to the attention of the court prior to attaining the age of 12 years. Yet, it is not clear whether child maltreatment causes juvenile delinquency because not all maltreated children become delinquents and not all delinquents were abused or neglected when younger.

One important implication of this study is that the link between child maltreatment and later contact with the court is much more complicated than a simple cause-effect relationship. For the most part, maltreated children with delinquency records seem to originate from environments where one or both parents are absent. Another complicating factor is found in the empirical relationship between maltreated children and school achievement. One-fifth of the children were of pre-school age but one wonders what their school achievement will be once enrolled in school.

The majority of the children in the target population, where family income was known, came from families where annual income approached

the poverty level. Yet, not all maltreated delinquent children came from such circumstances. Nearly seventeen percent (16.8%) came from families where annual income ranged from \$15,000 to over \$50,000.

It has also been shown, based on the literature cited in this study, that abuse prompts aggression. However, there are indications that neglect can also lead to serious behavioral consequences and sexual abuse of a child can also lead to crime and delinquency. Children in this study who have been maltreated, whether abused, neglected or sexually abused, contribute proportionately to crimes against persons, property and self.

As some studies have shown (cf., Pfeffer, Solomon, Plutchik, Mizruchi, and Weiner, 1985; Lewis and Shanok, 1979; Monane, Liechter, and Lewis, 1984; Lewis, Shanok, Grant, and Ritvo, 1984; Sandi and Blomgren, 1975), children in psychiatric facilities with abuse histories are also more aggressive than their non-abused peers. It is a fascinating question to consider why maltreated children in psychiatric facilities and maltreated children in the juvenile justice system display similar aggressive characteristics. There is little doubt that maltreatment evokes feelings of hostility in the victim which are manifested in aggressive behaviors toward others or turned against oneself.

It seems obvious that maltreated children in the juvenile justice system need mental health services equally as much as children who have been hospitalized for behavioral problems. Perhaps the difference lies in the fact that a maltreated child from an affluent family is diagnosed as socially deviant, emotionally disturbed or behaviorally disordered and receives services in a psychiatric hospital while a maltreated child from the lower socioeconomic strata of society goes undetected--or at least

untreated--until s/he runs head long into conflict with the juvenile justice system.

This problem is not unlike the distinction made between "seriously emotionally disturbed" and "socially maladjusted" children in qualifying children for services under Public Law 94-142 (Education of Handicapped Children Act) designed to assist States in providing special education and related services. Both categories of children are handicapped to a greater or lesser degree in much the same way abused and/or neglected children suffer similar psychological problems. However, under Rules and Regulations set down by the U.S. Department of Education only those children who are "seriously emotionally disturbed" qualify for education and related services under P.L. 94-142 while the "socially maladjusted" child is left to fend for him or herself in regular school programs, alternative school programs or drops out of school altogether. All too frequently the children who have been categorized as "socially maladjusted" or "socially deviant" are found in school programs operating within a public or private institution designed for chronic offenders or seriously delinquent youth. Psychological and other mental health services provided in institutional environments, except for psychiatric hospitals or similar institutions, are, at best, limited.

The legal distinctions and the categorical labels we place on children are often misleading and hinder treatment. Not only is this true in the child protective services, in education and other social service fields but also in the options available to the court in providing appropriate services to delinquent children and their families.

Public policy regarding these categorical labels and the impact a specific label has on the services that may be provided may not be in the best interest of either the child or society. The ultimate social, economic and human benefits that result from such policies need to be called into question. The costs of juvenile and adult correction programs are staggering. The costs far exceed the cost of preventing child maltreatment from occurring or providing therapy early in the life of the child and his/her family.

In searching for the reasons why there are no practical relationships between the type of child maltreatment and the type of juvenile crime committed, as strongly reflected in the extant literature, we are forced to conclude that this may be the result of an accident of circumstance dependent upon time and place.

Researchers such as Elmer and Gregg (1976); Green, et al. (1974) and Johnson and Mores (1968) have found that both abused and neglected children were significantly impaired in ego competency, self-concept, reality testing, defensive functioning, low impulse control, anxiety and self-destructiveness. Given these characteristics, it seems reasonable to conclude that abused, neglected, and sexually abused children presented with an opportunity to commit unlawful acts yield to the temptation whether it be an unlawful act against a person, property or against oneself.

Perhaps the greatest finding in this study is that the majority of the problems of abused, neglected and sexually abused children who come into conflict with the court and later become adult criminals originate in a common family environment. While little has been said here about the

family-oriented nature of the problem (although clearly shown in the results of the study) it seems obvious that family-oriented solutions are required. Only by recognizing the role played by the family and the problems confronting families in our society can we begin to fashion solutions.

This study raises more questions than it answers. It cannot begin to suggest solutions except in the broadest terms. Certainly, the efforts of groups who work for the prevention of child abuse (the National Committee for the Prevention of Child Abuse and its 50 state affiliates) are on the right track. Perhaps this study will help clarify our thinking.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Researchers' Method of Determining Physical Abuse

Physical Abuse Authors

Self - Report		Case History		Literature Review	
Questionnaire	Interview	Other or not specified	Based on social service agency referral or prosecuted	Determination by researcher criteria	
Gelles & Straus (1979)	Korbin (1986)	Helper & Kempe (1976)	Reidy (1977)	McCord (1979)	Becker (1964)
Farber, Kinast, McCoard, & Falkner (1984)	Post, Willett Franks, House & Back (1983)	Loeber, Weissman & Reid (1983)	Shanok & Lewis (1981)	Allen & Wasserman (1985)	Martin (1975)
	Farber & Joseph (1985)	Galambos & Dixon (1984)		George & Main (1979)	Bentley (1981)
	Govg & Coutchfield (1982)	Garbarino & Gillian (1980)		Kratcoski & Kratcoski (1982)	
	Pfeffir Solomon, Plutchit, Mizruchi, & Winer (1982)			Lewis, Shanok & Balla (1979)	
				Pincus & Glaser (1979)	
				Lewis, Shanok & Pincus (1982)	
					(continued)

Physical Abuse Authors (continued)

Self - Report		Case History		Literature Review
Questionnaire	Interview	Other or not specified	Based on social service agency referral or prosecuted	Determination by researcher criteria
				Silver, Dublin & Louise (1969) Jenkins 1979 Lewis & Shanok (1979) Monane, Leichter & Lewis (1984) Sendi & Blomgren (1975) Sorrells (1986)

APPENDIX B

Researchers' Method of Determining Abuse and Neglect

Physical Abuse and Neglect Authors

Self - Report		Other or not specified	Case History		Literature Review
Questionnaire	Interview		Based on social service records or Prosecution	Determination by researcher	
Brown (1984)	Steel & Pollach (1975)		Reidy (1977) Hoffman, Plotkin & Twentyman (1984) Alfaro (1981) Gruber, Heck & Mintzer (1981)	Silver, Dublin & laurie (1969) Timberlake (1981) Gruber, Heck & Mintzer (1981) Rogeness, Amrung, Macedo, Harris & Fisher (1986) McCord (1983) Adam & Tucker (1984)	Lamphear (1985)

APPENDIX C

Researchers' Method of Determining Sexual Abuse

Sexual Abuse Authors

Self - Report		Case History		Literature Review
Questionnaire	Interview	Other or not specified	Based on social service records or Prosecution	Determination by researcher
Wyatt & Peters (1986b)	Wyatt & Peters (1986b)	Peters (1976)	Finkelhorn & Hotaling (1984)	Paperny & Deisher (1983)
Sedney & Brooks (1984)	Russell (1984)	Gelinas (1983)	Foreman & Longo (1986)	Herman (1981)
Finkelhorn (1981)	Baker (1985)	Silbert (1981)		Ryan (1986)
Kercher & McShane (1984)	Adam & Tucker (1982)	Silbert & Pines (1981)	Petrovich & Templer (1984)	Wyatt & Peters (1986a)
Cohen, Densen & Gerber (1982)	Mannarino & Cohen (1986)	Bach & Anderson (1980)		
James, McCormack, Janus & Burgess (1986)	Husain & Chapel (1983)	Gutierrez & Reich (1981)		
Simari & Baskin (1982)	Cupoli (1984)	Summit (1983)		
Groth (1979)	Meyerding (1977)	Groth (1979)		
	Lindberg & Distad (1985)			
				(continued)

Sexual Abuse Authors (continued)

Self - Report		Case History			Literature Review
Questionnaire	Interview	Other or not specified	Based on social service records or Prosecution	Determination by researcher	
Fritz, Stoll & Wagner (1981)	Edelbrock (1981)				
Burt (1983)	Groth (1979)				
	Benward, Densen & Gerber (1975)				
	Bracey (1983)				

APPENDIX D
Researchers' Method of Determining
Combined Abuse and Neglect

Combined Abuse Authors

Self - Report		Other or not specified	Case History	
Questionnaire	Interview		Based on social service records or Prosecution	Determination by researcher 'criteria'
Movzakis (1981)			Wick (1981)	Kline (1977)

APPENDIX E
Inmate Questionnaire

THE PURPOSE OF THIS QUESTIONNAIRE IS TO DETERMINE THE NUMBER OF INMATES AND PROBATIONERS WHO WERE PHYSICALLY OR SEXUALLY ABUSED, OR WHO WERE NEGLECTED AS CHILDREN. WE REQUEST THAT NO NAMES BE PLACED ON THESE FORMS TO ENSURE YOUR CONFIDENTIALITY. IF YOU FEEL THAT THE ITEMS ON THIS FORM SHOULD BE DISCUSSED WITH YOUR CASE WORKER, PLEASE FEEL FREE TO DO SO. THE RESULTS OF THIS STUDY WILL BE USED TO DETERMINE TREATMENT NEEDS WITHIN THE DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONS AND WILL ALSO BE USED BY SPECIALISTS IN THE COMMUNITY TO EMPHASIZE THE REPORTING AND TREATMENT NEEDS IN THE COMMUNITY.

1. Were you physically abused as a child? (Physical abuse is defined as slapping, beating, spanking [using a weapon other than the human hand or being hit so hard as to leave a mark or bruise] kicking, etc.....)

YES _____
NO _____

1a. What was the nature of the abuse? _____

2. Who was the abuser?

FATHER _____
MOTHER _____
GRANDPARENT _____
TEACHER _____
OTHER (SPECIFY) _____

3. How long did the abuse continue? _____

3a. How old were you at this time? _____

4. Did you tell anyone? YES _____ WHO? _____
NO _____

5. (If YES) Was anything done to stop the abuse? YES _____ NO _____

6. (IF YES) Did the abuse stop? YES _____ NO _____

7. (If you were abused) Did you receive counseling or help in coping with the abuse? YES _____ (Specify help) _____
NO _____

8. (If YES) Do you feel the help you received was beneficial?
YES _____ NO _____

Why or why not? _____

9. Have you, yourself, ever abused a child? YES _____
NO _____

10. (If YES) Was the abuse reported to the authorities? YES _____
NO _____

11. (If YES) Did you receive help to stop the abuse? YES _____
NO _____

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12. (If YES) Was it beneficial?

YES _____
NO _____Why or why not? _____

13. Were you sexually abused as a child?

YES _____ NO _____

14. (If YES) Who sexually abused you?

FATHER _____
MOTHER _____
STEP-PARENT _____
GRANDPARENT _____
OTHER FAMILY MEMBER _____
ACQUAINTANCE _____
STRANGER _____
PEER _____

15. (If you were abused) Was the sexual abuse reported to anyone?

YES _____ WHO? _____
NO _____

16. Who reported the abuse? _____

17. How did that person find out? _____

18. What was the nature of the abuse? _____

19. How did it make you feel? _____

20. How old were you at the time? _____

21. Did you understand what was happening? YES _____ NO _____

22. Were you threatened if you told? YES _____ NO _____

23. Was your sexual development normal (that is, did you reach puberty at about the same time as your peers) YES _____ NO _____

24. At any time during your adolescence, did you engage in sexual activities with your peers of the same sex? YES _____ NO _____25. At any time during your adolescence, did you engage in sexual activities with your peers of the opposite sex? YES _____ NO _____

DID YOU

26. Participate willingly? _____
27. Feel coerced? _____
28. Feel humiliated? _____
29. Feel guilty? _____
30. Set the "rules"? _____
31. Ever get caught? _____

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32. (If you answered YES to questions 24 or 24) How old were you at the time?

33. (If you answered YES to questions 24 or 24) What was the nature of the activity?

34. Have you ever sexually abused a child or had sexual relations with a person younger than yourself? YES _____ NO _____

35. What was the nature of this activity?

36. Was this activity ever discovered by anyone? YES _____ NO _____

37. (If YES) Who? _____

38. How was it discovered? _____

39. Do you think you need help for this problem? YES _____ NO _____

40. Were you given therapy to help with this problem? YES _____ NO _____

42. (If YES) Was the therapy helpful? YES _____ NO _____

43. What was the nature of the therapy ? _____

44. (If you have sexually abused a child) What about that child led you to choose him? _____

45. What would have stopped you from abusing this child? _____

46. Were you psychologically abused as a child? (Psychological abuse is defined as yelling, threatening, belittling, perpetually embarrassing or any other activity which would cause the child to doubt his self worth.)
YES _____ NO _____

47. (If YES) By whom? _____

47A. How old were you at the time? _____

48. (If YES) How do you feel about yourself now? _____

49. Did anyone within your peer group make you feel inadequate or inferior?
YES _____ NO _____

50. (If YES) In what way? _____

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51. (If you feel you were psychologically abused) Did anyone try to help you?
YES _____ NO _____

52. (If YES) Who? _____

53. Did anyone try to help you? YES _____ NO _____

54. (If YES) WHO? _____

55. Were you neglected as a child? (Neglect is defined as failure to provide adequate food, shelter or medical care. It is also neglect to leave a child alone without proper supervision or to fail to provide proper social skills such as obedience to laws, requirement of attending school, etc....)
YES _____ NO _____

56. (If YES) Did anyone report this to the authorities?
YES _____ NO _____

57. (If YES) Who? _____

58. How did this person find out? _____

59. Was anything done to help you? YES _____ NO _____

60. (If YES) What was done? _____

61. (If you have children) Do you feel that you have neglected them (according to the definition above.) YES _____ NO _____

62. Have you ever been reported to the authorities for neglecting a child?
YES _____ NO _____

63. (If YES) Did you receive help for this? YES _____ NO _____

64. (If YES) What was the nature of this help? _____

65. Was this therapy helpful? YES _____ NO _____

66. Have you been the victim of a sexual assault as an adult?
YES _____ NO _____

67. Was the offender
A spouse _____
A Friend _____
A Relative _____
A Stranger _____
Other _____

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68. What was the nature of the assault? _____

69. Was this assault reported to anyone? YES _____ NO _____
70. (If YES) Were you given counseling to help you cope with the assault?
YES _____ NO _____
71. (If YES) Was the counseling beneficial? YES _____ NO _____
72. Explain why or why not. _____

73. Are you now, or have you ever been married, or involved in a live-in relationship with boyfriend/girlfriend? YES _____ NO _____
74. (If YES) Have you been the victim of spouse abuse? YES _____ NO _____
75. (If YES) What was the nature of this abuse (Physical, Psychological, or sexual)? _____

76. Was this abuse reported to anyone? YES _____ NO _____
77. Were you given help in coping with this problem? YES _____ NO _____
78. (If YES) Was this help beneficial? YES _____ NO _____
79. Explain why or why not. _____

80. (If you were the victim of spouse abuse) were your children also abused?
YES _____ NO _____
81. Was help given to the children? YES _____ NO _____
82. Have you observed any long term effects from this abuse in yourself?
YES _____ NO _____
83. Explain _____

84. Have you observed any long term effects from this abuse in your children?
YES _____ NO _____
85. Explain _____

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86. List crimes you have committed in their order of seriousness.

87. Your current age _____

88. Your race _____

89. Your sex MALE _____ FEMALE _____

90. Last grade completed in school _____

91. Approximate gross family income OF YOUR PARENTS while you were growing up

92. Parents marital status while you were growing up

MARRIED	_____
SINGLE	_____
SEPARATED	_____
DIVORCED	_____
WIDOWED	_____
COMMON LAW SPOUSE	_____