

Each year since 1966, the Minnesota Department of Public Welfare (DPW) has collected and published data on child abuse/neglect in Minnesota. The data in this report represent only those received by DPW from local social service agencies and, therefore, reflect neither the total number of complaints to counties, nor the actual number of incidents which occurred in Minnesota during 1978.

While we will never know the exact number of incidents, we may have some idea of the number of reports not forwarded by county agencies from a recent study of child protective services conducted by DPW.<sup>1</sup> In this study, eleven counties were selected as a sample from which to examine child protection programs in Minnesota. They included metropolitan as well as rural and moderately populated counties. If the sample is representative of county agencies in general, such reporting information as can be taken from the study suggests that little more than half of the reports received by county agencies are, in turn, sent to DPW. This is also supported by our ongoing monitoring system which suggests that these eleven counties are not atypical.

In addition to the fact that local agencies do not report all known incidents to the state department, many such incidents do not come to the attention of local agencies, either because they are not detected, or are detected but not reported. Several surveys, for example, reveal a much higher incidence of child abuse/neglect than is reflected in official statistics.

While underreporting is one factor affecting the accuracy of this report, another is a revision in the Minnesota reporting law which became effective August 1, 1978. The revision required those persons previously mandated to report only abuse to now report neglect also. Accordingly, local social service agencies were instructed to forward data on neglect to the state department commencing August 1, 1978. The neglect tables contained in this report, therefore, represent incidents reported to the state department only for the five months between August 1 and December 31 of 1978.

A major problem encountered in the publication of these data is the time involved in receiving them from the National Clearinghouse. The delay in receiving the data and finalyzing the report is due to the fact that Minnesota, in addition to a number of states, uses the services of the National Clearinghouse for processing the data. This, in turn, however, results in a substantial savings in cost.

Despite problems in reporting and data collection, official figures on child abuse/neglect continue to show a marked increase. Table 1 lists the number of reports and the number of counties reporting since 1966. Figures in this table for 1978 represent abuse only since neglect reports were not sent to the state agency prior to August 1, 1978. It may also be noted that more counties are reporting which indicates that they are taking this responsibility more seriously as well as the fact that they are receiving more complaints.

# TABLE 1-Number of Cases Reported/Total Number of Counties Reporting for Periods Indicated

TIME		Number	of	Cacac	Poportod	Number	of.	Countrian	Reporting
		<u>rumber</u>	<u> </u>	UASES	Reported	Number	UL.	countres	Reporting
March-December,	1966	5		44				18	
January-December,	1967			75				16	
January-December,	1968	3		112				19	
January-December,	1969	)		143				24	
January-December,	1970	<b>)</b>		194				17	
January-December,	1971	L		252				24	
January-December,	1972	2		262				29	
January-December,	1973	3		278				21	
January-December,	1974	ł		362				34	
January-December,	1975	5,		529				29	
January-December,	1976			906				56	
January-December,	1977	7		1520				70	
January-December,	1978	3 .		2088				80	

Figure 1 graphs the trend in reporting over the same period. A sharp increase can be noted beginning in 1975, the first year additional professionals were mandated to report. The actual increase is greater than indicated by the curve, since prior to 1976, counties were instructed to report each child as a separate case, whereas reports received from 1976 to the present may include any number of children in one case.



It is important not to assume that Figure 1 reflects an increase in the total amount of child abuse. This is not known. The number of complaints have, no doubt, increased as a result of factors previously noted in addition to greate coverage given the problem by the media and the increasing conscientiousness of county agencies in forwarding their reports.

Table 2 provides the number of reports received by the local county welfare/ social service agencies and reported to DPW along with the local agency's determination that the report is substantiated or not substantiated. According to the National Clearinghouse, a substantiated report includes: an admission of the fact of abuse or neglect by persons responsible; an adjudication of abuse or neglect; or any other form of confirmation deemed valid by the county agency. An unsubstantiated report means that the county could not confirm the reporter's suspicion of abuse/neglect; no further action planned.

Local social service agencies in Minnesota utilize an additional category known as "unable to substantiate". This includes complaints, the validity of which cannot be determined to the agency's satisfaction, but for which there continue to be suspicion of abuse/neglect. For the purpose of this report, these cases will be included in the tables under the heading of "not substantiated", although within the course of the one year period during which county agencies are permitted to retain records on such cases, a number of them are found to be substantiated.

TABLE 2- Number and Status of Reports by County for 1978

County	Abuse		Negle			ise and				<u>A11 C</u>	
	<b>a t</b>	Not	<b>a</b> 1	Not				Neither		~ 1	Not
	Sub.	Sub.	Sub .	Sub.	Sub.		Sub.		Tot.	Sub.	
	А	В	C,	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	ĸ
							· · · ·				
Aitkin	2	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	3
Anoka	56	37	0	1	· · · 0	0	. 1	2	3	57	40
Becker	3	4	6	0	1	0	0	0	1	10	4
Beltrami	20	16	0	2	2	0	2	2	6	24	20
Benton	3	1	0	1	2	0	1	1	2	6	- 3
Big Stone	0	0	2	0	.0	0	0	• <b>O</b> •	0	2	0
Blue Eartl	h 11	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	11	2
Brown	3	4	1	.0 .	1	0	1	1	3	6	5
Carlton	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0
Carver	8	12	5	3	0	0	0	2	2	13	17
Cass	5	12	3	4	0	0	0	0	0	8	16
Chippewa	3	1	2	4	1	0	Ö	0	1	6	5
Chisago	1	1	1	່ງ	. 0.	Õ	Ō	0	0	2	2
Clay	0	0	0	0	Ĩ	1	ŏ	Õ	2	2	0
Clearwate	r 2	2	· · Õ	ñ	ñ	0	ŏ	n N	0		2
Cook	- 0	1	ñ	2	ň	Ő	Ö	0	Õ.	õ	2
Cottonwood	. <b>.</b> .	Ō.	1	~ ^	1	0	0	0	1	5	
Crow Wing	4	2	<u> </u>	2	0	0	0	0	<u> </u>	4	U E
Dakota	62	29	15	18	11	1	2	7	21	91	5
	1		-	10						7L 1	54
Dodge	1	4	0	ц.,	0	0	0	U	0	L L	5
Douglas	2	1	3	4	0	0	0	0	0	8	5

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County Abuse (	Only Neglect O	nlv	Abus	e and Ne	eglect		A11	Cases
	Not	Not			g. Neither			Not
Sub.	Sub. Sub.	Sub.	Sub.	Sub. Sub		Tot.	Sub.	Sub.
A	B C	D	E	F G	Н	I	J	K
Fairbault 0	6 0	3	0	0 0	) 1	1	0	10
Freeborn 12	5 5	4	1		L 2	4	19	11
Goodhue 6	7 1.	2	0	0 0		1	· 7·	10
Grant 0	0 1	3	0		) 1	1	1	4
-	195 107	82	1.7		3 13	39	470	295
Houston 2 Hubbard 2	0 1 0 0	0	ວ 0	0 0		0	3	0
Isanti 8	5 6	1	1	0 0		4	15	0
Itasca 7	4 1	6	0	0 0		0	8	10
Jackson 2	2 0	0	Ō	0 0		Ŏ	2	2
Kanabec 3	2 1	3	0	0 0	0 C	0	.4	5
Kandiyohi 6	5 2	1	0		0 1	1	8	7
Kittson O	2 1	0	0	0 0		0	1	2
Koochiching 1	0 0	1	0	0 0		0	1	1
LacQuiParle l Lake 1	0 0 0 0	0	2		) 0 1 3	0 6	5 4	0 4
LeSueur 2	0 0	0	Ð		0	0	2	0
Lincoln 0	2 0	0	Õ		0 0	Ō	0	2
Lyon 10	6 4	5	3	0 0	0 2	5	17	13
McLeod 15	5 1	4	0		0 0	0	16	9
Marshall 1	0 0	0	0		0 0	0	11	0
Martin 5	3 6	0	1			2	13	3 .
Meeker 2 Mille Lacs 11	0 0 4 1	0 0	0	0 0	0 0 1	0	2 12	0
Morrison 3	5 1	6	0		$\tilde{\mathbf{D}}$	0	4	11
Mower 9	7 0	1	Ū.		0	0	9	8
Murray 1	0 1	2	0	0 0	O 0	0	2	2
Nicollet 3	3 2	2	0		D Q	0	5	5
Nobles 0	3 0	1	1			3	3	4
Olmsted 28 Otter Tail 9	21 6 8 4	7 16	1	0 0		8	35 14	29 31
Pennington 3	8 4 5 0	10	0			0	3	5
Pine 5		3	Ŏ	Ŭ Ŭ		1	7	9
Polk 4	5,1	3	0	0 0		0	-5	8
Pope 4	2 2	0	0	0 0		.0 ·	6	2
Ramsey 207	71 2	1	5	1	2 1	13	221 8	73
Redwood 7 Renville 1	$\begin{array}{ccc} 1 & 1 \\ 1 & 0 \end{array}$	0	0 0	0 0		0	8 1	1 1
Rice 7	3 1	2	ŏ	0 0		0	8	5
Rock 1	2 0	1	0	0 0		0	1	3
Roseau O	1 3	0	1	0 ]		2	5	1
St. Louis 96	79 3	7	8		1 4	13	108	90
Scott 3 Sherburne 18	1 0 16 0	0	0	0 0	0 0	0 1	3 19	1 22
Sherburne 18 Sibley 0	16 0 3 1	1	0	0 0		0	4	4
Stearns 18	20 5	13	Õ		Ő Ő	Ŭ,	23	33
Steele 5	4 0	1	1	0 (	0	1	6	5
Stevens 3	1 1	0	0	0 0		0	4	1
Swift 0	2 1	1	1		0 0	1	2	3
Todd 18 Wabasha 11	19 4 1 1	4	0	0 0	) 1 ) 0	1 0	22 12	24 2
Wabasha 11 Wadena 6	1 1 6 3	4	1		0 0	1	10	10
		••••	-					e des La secolo

County	Abuse	Only	Neglect	the second s		ise and				A11 (	Cases
		Not		Not	Both			Neither			Not
	Sub.	Sub.	Sub.	Sub.	Sub.	Sub.	Sub.	Sub.	Tot.	Sub.	Sub.
1	A	В	<b>"C</b>	D	Έ	F	G	H	I	J	K
Waseca	9	3	0	0	1	, O	đ	0	1	10	3
Washington	n 47	31	2	5	3	1	0	1	5	53	37
Watonwan	2	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	- 4	1
Wilkin	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.	5 <b>0</b> -	2	0
Winona	10	6	6	3	0	0	0	3	3	16	12
Wright	19	9	8	5	0	0	1	0	1	28	14
Yellow											
Medicine	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
Totals ]	1194	727	243	258	69	11	19	68	167	1536	1053

Column I represents reports alleging both abuse and neglect in combination. Columns E through H indicate whether either or both were substantiated or unsubstantiated. The total in Column I should, therefore, be added to the totals of Columns A and B, C and D since it reflects reports of abuse as well as neglect. Hence, reported abuse totals 2,088 as noted in Figure 1. Likewise, the Column I total must also be added to the total of Columns C and D in order to compute total reported cases of neglect. Keeping in mind that neglect reports were received by the state agency for somewhat less than five months during 1978, the number received totaled 668.

Taking the number of cases substantiated for abuse from Columns A and F, substantiated abuse totaled 1,205 while substantiated neglect from Columns C and G totaled 362 for the period during which neglect was reported. Also, because a single reported case may involve more than one child, the 1,205 substantiated cases of abuse actually included more than 1,506 victims while total substantiated abuse and neglect included more than 1,964 victims. These figures are noted in Table 3 which also includes severity in each case.

Table 3 - Involved Children in Substantiated Cases and Degree of Severity as Indicated by Medical Treatment Required

Severity	-Abuse Freq	Only- Col%	Neglect Freq	Only Col%	Abuse & Freq	Neg. Col%	All Freq	Cases Co1%
No Treatment	1044	74.8	307	67.0	63	57.3	1414	72.0
Moderate	283	20.3	123	26.9	30	27.3	436	22.2
Serious/Hosp	64	4.6	25	5.5	12	10.9	101	5.1
Perm Disabil	3	0.2	2	0.4	1	0.9	6	0.3
Fatal	2	0.1	1	0.2	4	3.6	7	0.4
Total	1396	100.0	458	100.0	110	100.0	1964	100.0

Table 3 contains 37 missing observations meaning that in 37 instances the counties reporting failed to note the measures of severity or total children involved in a case on the reporting form sent to DPW. Therefore, the actual totals for any measure of severity, as well as for each column may be somewhat larger than those appearing in the table. When data such as these are missing, it is often because the forms must be sent to DPW within twenty days which in some instances is not enough time to determine such factors as severity. Of the total fatalities, five were female and two were male.

In addition to medical services required in many cases, are social and related services given to protect the children and preserve the family intact as are noted in Table 4.

Table 4 - Services Provided to Each Family in Substantiated Cases.

	-Abuse	Only-	Neglect	Only	Abuse & 1	Veglect	A11	Cases	
Services Provid.	Freq	Co1%	Freq	Co1%	Freq	Co1%	Freq	Co1%	
0	0.00	0E C	7 01	02 0	<b>E O</b>	067	1007	05.0	
Casework Couns.	968	85.6	181	83.8	58	96.7	1.207	85.8	
Homemaker Serv.	28	2.5	15	6.9	2	3.3	45	3.2	
Day Care Serv.	60	5.3	13	6.0	3	5.0	76	5.4	
Foster Care	194	17.2	42	19.4	16	26.7	252	17.9	
Shelter Care	141	12.5	31	14.4	8	13.3	180	12.8	
Health Serv.	414	36.6	73	33.8	27	45.0	514	36.5	
Juv/Fam Court Ret	170	15.0	33	15.3	15	25.0	218	15.5	
Crim. Act Taken	147	13.0	2	0.9	. 6	10.0	155	11.0	
No Action Taken	213	18.8	31	14.4	13	21.7	257	18.3	
Other Prot. Serv.	161	14.2	28	13.0	13	21.7	202	14.4	
Total	2496	220.7	449	207.9	161	268.3	3106	220.8	
# of Inv. Fam.	1131		216	, <sup>,</sup>	60		1407		

Current practice in child protection emphasizes services to keep families together while providing safety for the children and rehabilitation for abusive and neglectful parents. This is based on the opinion of child development professionals that children are most often emotionally more secure with their own families than with strangers, even though the natural home setting may be far from ideal.

This trend appears evident from the figures in Table 4. Of the 2,496 services provided to the families involved in all cases, 1,765 of the services include either no actions or services aimed at keeping the family together such as counseling, homemaker, temporary shelter and day care. These services, along with no action, comprise more than half of the services provided. The percentages in each column total more than 100 since a given family is likely to be receiving a number of services in aggregate. In 132 cases, services to be provided were not indicated. This may be attributed to the fact that, as in Table 3, the time within which the form must be completed is also a factor here.



Figure 2 graphs the number of reports received by counties for each month of calendar year 1978.

The numbers are not broken down by abuse or neglect categories. However, it might be assumed that the sharp rise of reported cases indicated by the graph as beginning in August 1978 was, in part, the effect of a DPW bulletin instructing local agencies to forward reports of neglect to the state agency. Another factor contributing to the continuing increase through the early fall may also be the return of children to school thus indicating the importance of school personnel in identifying child maltreatment.

Tables 5 and 6 include the number of reports received from sources required to report, and the ratio of substantiated to unsubstantiated cases for abuse only for 1977 and 1978.

Table	5	-	Reports	Received	from	Persons	Mandated
			to	Report -	- 1977	7 -	

	Substantiated	Not	Substantiated	Total
Private Physician	36		26	62
Hospital/Clinic Physician	67	4	33	100
Hospital/Clinic Personnel	75		50	1.25
Nurse	13		12	25
Coroner/Medical Examiner	0		1	1
Public Social Agency	45		27	72
Private Social Agency	34		14	48
Court	4		2	6
Law Enforcement Agency	73		29	102
School Nurse	59		14	73
Teacher	30		17	47
Other School Personnel	119		45	164
Day Care, Head Start, etc.	<u>38</u> 593		28	66
Total	593		298	891

# Table 6 - Reports Received From Persons Mandated to Report - 1978

	Substantiated	Not Substantiated	Total
Private Physician	34	25	59
Hospital/Clinic Physician	65	50	115
Hospital/Clinic Personnel	98	51	1.49
Nurse	23	14	37
School Nurse	71	29	100
Teacher	40	23	63
Other School Persons	190	71	261
Preschool Care	35	41	76
Public Social Agency	68	44	112
Private Social Agency	42	17	59
Court	1 <b>1</b> 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	0	1
Law Enforcement	100	39	139
Medical Examiner	0	1	1
Total	767	405	1172

A comparison of the two tables shows a significant increase in the number of reports received by mandated reporters in 1978. Nevertheless, the ratio of reports received from mandated to that received from voluntary reporters remained about the same as in 1977 when the total number of reported incidents of abuse was 1,520. This suggests that increased reporting from both groups may result as much from growing awareness of the problem as from the reporting law.

Table 6 also illustrates the importance of public schools in making child maltreatment known to local agencies with more than one-third of reports by mandated reporters coming from school personnel. At the same time, private physicians and private agencies continue to be reluctant to report with the total number of abuse reports from physicians in private practice actually decreasing in 1978. While one can only speculate on many of the reasons for this reluctance, there are factors which help to make it understandable and less surprising, perhaps, than it seems to appear. For example, persons in private practice tend to be more skeptical of public agencies such as social services. There may, in many cases, therefore, be the fear on the part of

private professions that reporting incidents of abuse will cause families to become involved with unknown and possibly harmful systems; in short, that the treatment may be worse than the problem. This is supported by a study on the reporting of child sexual abuse which appears in the September 8, 1978 Journal of the American Medical Association (JAMA).<sup>2</sup> The reasons given for not reporting by those physicians surveyed included fear that disclosure would harm the family, and dissatisfaction with social service methods. Such studies, as well as such statistics as appear in these tables indicate a need for increased communication between professionals in the private and public sectors who work with families and children.

Among reports received by social service agencies from non-mandated reporters, the largest number was reported by the victims or their parents/caretakers. Of the total of 462 abuse/neglect complaints received from these persons, 301 were substantiated. The lowest ratio of substantiated reports was received from anonymous sources with only 22 of the 86 reports being found to have validity.

Table 7 includes the age and sex of all children involved in substantiated cases of abuse. Reports which involved both abuse and neglect are not listed in this table. Also, there were four reports in which the age and sex categories were not identified. Thus, the totals are somewhat less than the total number of children actually involved in all cases of reported abuse.

Age	1000 0000 0000 0000 0000 0000 0000000	Abuse On	1. Vaning and an and an and a state of the	NA BANKSHI AMARIJAN DANI MANT
	Male	Female	Subtot	Co1%
1	26	25	51	3.6
1	24	23	47	3.3
2	36	24	60	4.2
3	35	33	68	4.8
4 5	40	30	70	5.0
5	29	33	62	4.4
6	31	43	74	5.2
7	27	37	64	4.5
8	34	40	74	5.2
9	26	40	66	4.7
10	29	35	64	4.5
11	37	27	64	4.5
12	39	52	91	6.4
13	27	68	97	6.9
14	37	83	120	8.5
15	33	110	143	10.1
16	19	99	118	8.4
17	18	61	79	5.6
Total	549	863	1412	100.0

Table 7 - Involved Children by Age and Sex in Substantiated Reports of Abuse Only

When broken down by age categories and viewed graphically, the ratio of abused male to female children takes the following form



Age Groups



The imbalance in the ratio of abused females to males in early and late adolescence has been noted in a previous DPW report and raises a number of questions. Young women have been considered less able than males to defend themselves against physical attack. Also, expectations as to the respective roles of sons and daughters have differed. Fathers, for example, have traditionally been likely to take their son's sexual misconduct more lightly than their daughter's; the latter's often engendering parental frustrations resulting in abusive punishment. More significant, however, is the greater amount of sexual abuse committed against females.

Shocking, as these figures may appear, sexual abuse remains very much under-reported. In the JAMA study referred to earlier, 58% of the physicians responding to the survey stated that they do not report incidents of child sexual abuse. In a 1978 study entitled <u>Child Abuse in Texas<sup>3</sup></u> conducted by Sam Houston State University, 37.5% of the children found to be abused were reported to have been sexually abused. In the same study, nearly 75% of the respondants who acknowledged having been physically and sexually abused as children did not report the incidents. The general reasons given were fear of retribution, ignorance of where to report and the belief that such abuse was normal.

While the Texas statistic of 37.5% appears consistent with figures which have emerged from local data which indicate that sexual abuse constitutes 25-40% of all incidents of abuse, hard facts, nevertheless, are lacking. It may be stated, however, that sexual abuse of children is much more common than has been acknowledged, and that treating the victims and perpetrators depends largely on improving communications between those persons who are required to report and the agencies required to respond to the reports.

Tables 8 and 9, respectively, list the age and sex of perpetrators on substantiated reports and the relationship of the perpetrator to the victim.

	A	buse	Only	Ne	Neglect Only			Neglect & Abuse			All Cases		
Age in Years	М	F	Tot	M	F	Tot	М	F	Tot	M	F	Tot	
10-14	31	10	41	0	0	0	2	1	3	33	11	44	
15-19	75	23	98	1	23	24	2	4	6	78	50	128	
20-24	72	73	145	10	54	64	5	8	13	87	135	222	
25-29	77	74	151	17	44	61	3	11	14	97	129	226	
30-34	121	85	206	9	34	43	4	3	7	134	122	256	
35-39	155	57	212	17	36	53	5	4	9	177	97	274	
40-44	128	28	156	12	11	23	3	4	7	143	43	186	
45-49	54	10	64	7	5	12	· 7 ·	0	7	68	15	83	
50-54	37	5	42	4	4	.8	4	1	5	45	10	55	
55-59	19	0	19	1	0	1	2	0	2	22	0	22	
60-64	10	1	11	1	0	, 1	0	0	0	11	1	12	
65-69	8	0	8	1	0	1	Ö	0	0	9	0	9	
70+	5	1	б	1	0	1	0	0	0	6	1	7	
Totals	792	367	1159	81	211	292	37	36	73	910	614	1524	

Table 8 - Age and Sex of Perpetraters in Substantiated Cases

Table 9 - Relationship of Perpetrater to Victim in Substantiated Cases.

	A	buse (	)n1y	Ne	glect	Only	. 4	Abuse	& Neg.		A11 C	ases
Relationship	М	F	Tot	M	F	Tot	M	F	Tot	M	F	Tot
Natural Parent	519	385	904	167	402	569	54	52	106	740	839	1579
Adopted Parent	34	14	48	. 4	7	11	2	1	3	40	22	62
Stepparent	214	16	230	19	5	24	12	1	13	245	22	267
Foster Parent	10	6	16	0	0	0	3	. 3	6	13	9	22
Grandparent	9	3	12	1	2	3	1	1	2	11	6	17
Sibling	70	6	76	0	2	2	3	0	3	73	8	81
Preschool Care	37	33	70	1	2	3	2	2	- 4	40	37	77
Other Relative	36	5	41	1	2	3	1	2	3	38	9	47
Parent Outside	9	0	9	1	0	1	0	0	· · · · 0	10	0	10
Teacher	-7	1	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	1	8
Other	97	3	100	4	0	4	2	1	3	103	4	107
Totals	1042	472	1514	198	422	620	80	63	143	1320	957	2277

In Table 8, age and sex were not recorded in 274 reports, while in Table 9, relationship was unrecorded in 53 cases.

Reaching certain conclusions from these data is made difficult by the fact that the frequencies of each of the categories within the total population are not known in all instances. Some inferences may, nevertheless, be made. As Table 8 indicates, for example, males are more likely than females to be perpetrators of abuse, particularly in the age groups of thirty and older. At the same time, fathers are less likely to be the subjects of neglect complaints. This may indicate that traditional sex roles still predominate in most households. Fathers, for instance, may not be as likely to be reported for neglect since they are not expected to tend directly to the child's physical needs, especially in the child's earlier years. As the children grow older, however, the nurturing role of the mother diminishes while the father assumes more disciplinary duties.

Table 9, not surprisingly, lists natural parents as the largest category of abusers and also those most likely to be neglectful. Stepparents, on the other hand, who mistreat children tend to be more involved in abuse. When looking at child abuse within the nuclear family (stepparents, adoptive parents, natural parents) one is also struck by number of incidents involving stepparents. The 230 substantiated reports for this group constitute more than twenty percent of the 1,682 reported incidents perpetrated by parents in nuclear family households. This would tend to support the feeling among many child protection workers that abuse by stepparents is disproportionately high. Conversly, abuse perpetrated by adoptive parents appears disproportionately low. Unfortunately, the frequencies of these groups within the total parent population, are difficult to determine from the census tables. Until these are known, there can be no firm conclusions regarding the risk factor for children in these kinds of families.

Table 10 lists the frequency of substantiated cases by income categories. Income was not recorded on 300 of the forms sent to the National Clearinghouse by local social service agencies. The table, therefore, does not include all substantiated cases.

> Table 10 - Estimated Annual Income of Perpetrators of Child Abuse/Neglect.

Estimated Year. Inc		Only- Col%	Neglect Freq	Only Col%	Abuse Freq	& Neg. Col%	All Freq	Cases Col%
\$ 0 - \$ 2,999	43	4.3	18	10.3	4	7.0	65	5.2
\$ 3,000 - \$ 4,999	131	13.0	52	29.7	9	15.8	192	15.5
\$ 5,000 - \$ 6,999	132	13.1	31	17.7	10	17.5	173	14.0
\$ 7,000 - \$ 8,999	105	10.4	15	8.6	8	14.0	128	10.3
\$ 9,000 - \$10,999	114	11.3	19	10.9	8	14.0	141	11.4
\$11,000 - \$12,999	112	11.1	17	9.7	3	5.3	132	10.7
\$13,000 - \$15,999	141	14.0	7	4.0	5	8.8	153	12.3
\$16,000 - \$19,999	115	11.4	8	4.6	6	10.5	129	10.4
\$20,000 - \$24,999	59	5.9	7	4.0	0	0.0	66	5.3
\$25,000 - \$29,999	30	3.0	0	0.0	1	1.8	31	2.5
\$30,000 - \$39,999	13	1.3	1	0.6	2	3.5	16	1.3
\$40,000 +	12	1.2	0	0.0	1	1.8	13	1.0
Total	1007	100.0	175	L00.0	57	100.0	1239	100.0

Despite the missing observations, these data continue to support the belief that low income is a stress factor or is at least partly responsible for stressful situations. Also, as was previously noted, the rate of abuse tends to be relatively high among younger parents with infants and 'toddlers, and a large portion of this group would quite likely be found in the lower income category.

Perhaps more interesting than understandable is the significant drop in substantiated cases from the \$16,000 to the \$20,000 income categories. The 1977 data showed a similar reduction at precisely the same point. This would indicate something other than coincidence. It has been thought that our income data were biased by the fact that lower income groups are more visible to the public agencies and professionals most likely to report suspected abuse/neglect. While this may be true to some extent, one would not expect the \$16,000 income group to be highly visible. However, there seems to be little difference in reported cases between this group and the \$3,000 to \$5,000 category. There appears, therefore, to be a factor somewhere between the incomes of \$16,000 and \$20,000 which is responsible for a reduction in either the number of actual or reported incidents of abuse. While a similar difference does not appear with regard to neglect, the numbers in that column are too low to be significant.

> Table 11 - Type of Injury or Harm Suffered in Substantiated Cases by Age and Sex of Victim

Abuse/Neglect Type	Males Freq	Co1% Adj*	Females Freq	Co1% Adj*	All Cases Freq	Co1% Adj*
Brain Dam/Skull Ft	4	0.5*	6	0.5*	10	0.5*
Sub Hem/Hematoma	7	0.8*	6	0.5*	13	0.7*
Bone Fracture	24	2.9*	14	1.2*	38	1.9*
Disloc/Sprain/Twst	15	1.8*	13	1.2*	28	1.4*
Internal Injuries	2	0.2*	4	0.4*	6	0.3*
Malnutrition	13	1.6*	4	0.4*	17	0.9*
Failure to Thrive	12	1.4*	11	1.0*	23	1.2*
Exposure to Elems	9	1.1*	7	1.6*	16	0.8*
Locking In/Out	14	1.7*	10	0.9*	24	1.2*
Poisoning (Unint)	1	0.1*	0	0.0*	1	0.1*
Cuts/Bruises/Welts	417	49.8*	418	37.1*	835	42.5*
Sexual Abuse	61	7.3*	420	37.2*	481	24.5*
Molestation	15	1.8*	194	17.2*	209	10.6*
Deviant Acts	23	2.7*	26	2.3*	49	2.5*
Incest	4	0.5*	85	7.5*	89	4.5*
Unspecified	17	2.0*	83	7.4*	100	5.1*
Long Drug Addiction	2	0.2*	2	0.2*	<b>- 4</b>	0.2*
Physical Neglect	119	14.2*	102	9.0*	221	11.2*
Emotional Neglect	92	11.0*	83	7.4*	175	8.9*
Medical Neglect	43	5.1*	53	4.7*	96	4.9*
Educational Neglect	33	3.9*	23	2.0*	56	2.8*
Abandonment	35	4.2*	25	2.2*	60	3.1*
Lack of Supervision	158	18.9*	120	10.6*	278	14.1*
Other	98	11.7*	86	7.6*	184	9.4*
Total	1181	141.1*	1424	1.26.2*	2605	132.6*
# of Involved Children	n 837		1128		1965	

Thirty-six reports did not identify the nature of the injury in Table 11. This is not a large enough number, however, to affect the overall picture. Quite significant here, again is the high female to male ratio of victims in the sexual abuse category. These figures tend to strengthen the inference regarding female sexual abuse made from Table 7 and Figure 3. The column percentages are greater than one hundred and the number of incidents greater than the number of involved children in Table 11 due to the facts that abuse and neglect are included in the same table, and in a large number of cases both are present. Also, a single child is frequently the victim of more than one kind of harm or injury.

Table 12 lists a number of social economic, emotional and psychological factors found in families where abuse/neglect was identified.

	-Abuse	Only-	Negleo	t Only	Abuse	& Neg.	A11 (	Cases
Factors Present	Freq	Col%	Freq	Co1%	Freq	Co1%	Freq.	Co1%
Broken Family	385	34.5	119	50.2	22	33.3	526	37.1
Family Discord	538	48.2	92	38.8	35	53.0	520 665	46.9
Insuf. Income	256	22.9	100	42.2	28	42.4	384	27.1
	236 81	7.3	24	42.2	5		110	7.8
New Baby/Preg				the second se	-	7.6		
Cont. Child Care	168	15.1	50	21.1	19	28.8	237	16.7
Phys. Abuse Spouse	211	18.9	32	13.5	2.4	36.4	267	18.8
Mist. Abuse As Child	286	25.6	24	10.1	25	37.9	335	23.6
Recent Relocation	0	0.0	0	0,0	0	0.0	. 0	0.0
Inadequate Housing	85	7.6	55	23.2	13	19.7	153	10.8
Social Isolation	183	16.4	59	24.9	18	27.3	260	18.3
Loss Control Disabil	516	46.2	16	6.8	29	43.9	561	39.5
Lack of Tolerance	540	48.4	30	12.7	37	56.1	607	42.8
Incap Phys. Handicp	55	4.9	7	3.0	3	4.5	65	4.6
Alcohol Dependence	254	22.8	80	33.8	23	34.8	357	25.2
Drug Dependence	48	4.3	28	11.8	б	9.1	82	5.8
Mental Retardation	35	3.1	9	3.8	5	7.6	49	3.5
Mental Hith Problem	196	17.6	39	16.5	10	15.2	245	17.3
Police/Court Recrd	92	8.2	17	7.2	13	19.7	122	8.6
Nor Auth Meth Diso	256	22.9	20	8.4	19	28.8	295	20.8
Total	4185	375.0	801	338.0	334	506.1	5320	374.9
# of Involved Fam.	1116		237		66	1	1419	

Table 12 - Factors Present in Families Where Abuse was Substantiated

This category was not identified on 120 reports. Even so, most of these significant factors have appeared so often in previous reports and clinical observations that they only tend to confirm what is already known. Most abuse, for example, results when physical discipline becomes excessive, and stems from a lack of tolerance of a child's behavior. Accompanying conditions also, generally tend to include those such as insufficient income of family discord. What is difficult to determine, however, is the extent to which any single factor taken by itself is either causal or precipitating. Most professionals would agree, for example, that alcohol dependence may be causal in neglect. But to what degree does it actually cause abuse, or phrased differently, to what extent is it an accompanying condition? Many family therapists strongly believe that treating one's alcoholism does not diminish one's predisposition to abusive behavior. This suggests that persons who abuse alcohol as well as their children need to receive counseling for both problems. The high number of incidents involving lack of tolerance and lack of control raises the philosophical question which asks where discipline ends and abuse begins.

Finally, it is difficult to know if a number of the factors listed have any significance at all. For example, one might infer from the figures that mental retardation is not a factor and that it may, in fact, negatively impact on incidents of both abuse and neglect. The same may be said for physical incapacitation. Again, unfortunately, we do not know the frequencies of these factors in the total parent population and, therefore, we can infer nothing, but note only that they do not appear to be significant to the overall problem of child abuse/neglect.

Another factor thought by many to have significance is family size as shown in Table 13.

Numbe	rof	Children	-Abuse Freq	0n1y <del>-</del> Co1%	Neglect Freq.	Only Col%	Abuse Freq	& Neg. Col%	All Freq	Cases Col%
	1		373	31.0	101	26.4	19	27.5	493	32.0
	2		316	26.2	70	26.4	24	34.8	410	26.6
	3		233	19.3	52	19.6	13	18.8	298	19.4
	4		150	12.4	26	9.8	10	14.5	186	12.1
	5		82	6.8	8	3.0	0	0.0	90	5.8
1	6		38	3.2	8	3.0	2	2.9	48	3.1
	7		8	0.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	8	0.5
	8		4	0.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	4	0.3
	9	<b>+</b> → 1 <sup>+</sup>	1	0.1	0	0.0	1	1.4	2	0.1
	Total		1205	100.0	265	100.0	69	100.0	1539	100.0

## Table 13 - Number of Children Per Family in Substantiated Cases

While national statistics indicate that an increase in incidents of abuse/ neglect accompany increases in family size, Minnesota's figures indicate exactly the opposite. In Minnesota, therefore, larger family size appears to have had a negative impact, at least on the number of incidents reported. Again, however, we do not know the frequency of large families in Minnesota in comparison to the national average.

Table 14 Disposition in Substantiated Cases

Dispositions	-Abus Freq	e Only- Col% Adj*	Negleo Freq	ct Only Col% Adj*	Abuse Freq	& Neg. Co1% Adj.*	-All Freq	Cases- Col% Adj*
Child at Home	921	71.3*	264	68.0*	50	56.6*	1235	69.8*
Disb Pending	107	8.3*	50	12.9*	18	20,0*	175	9.9*
Voluntary Plcmt	175	13.6*	47	12.1*	14	15.6*	236	13.3*
Court Placement	132	10.2*	41	10.6*	16	17.8*	189	10.7*
Consent To Adopt	3	0.2*	0	0.0*	0	0.0*	3	0.2*
Term Parental Rts	4	0.3*	1	0.3*	0	0.0*	5	0.3*
Total Disb.	1342	104.0*	403	103.9*	98	108.9*	1843	104.2*
# of Inv. Chldrn.	1291		388		90		1769	

Table 14 reflects the earlier noted emphasis on keeping families intact whereever possible. It also shows that court placements result more frequently from abuse than from neglect reports despite the fact that the presence of neglect can more easily be demonstrated. The disposition was not indicated on 232 reports. For the sake of interpretation, these may be included with the 175 cases where disposition was pending at the time the report was forwarded to DPW. This then represents 407 cases in which the final disposition is not known, and probably reflects the fact that the data forms are usually completed within the first few days of the assessment before a disposition can be determined.

### Summary and Conclusions

The number of cases of child abuse/neglect reported to county welfare/social service agencies is growing and will probably continue to do so. This is due to a number of factors. All states, for example, now have laws requiring certain professionals to report known or suspected child maltreatment to an agency authorized by the state to investigate, assess and treat the problem. In Minnesota, as in most states, this agency is the local social service/county welfare agency.

As was noted, however, more reports are actually made by voluntary than by mandated reporters. The fact that reports from private citizens are also increasing indicates a growing public awareness of the problem of child abuse/ neglect and with the awareness, an emerging consciousness which focuses on children's rights and nonviolent alternatives to traditional forms of physical punishment and discipline. In Sweden, this has recently resulted in legislation which prohibits parents from spanking their children. In Minnesota, and in the rest of the country, one result has been an emerging controversy between those who are unwilling to relinquish corporal punishment as a means of disciplining children and those who advocate nonviolent child-rearing methods. The former group emphasizes the rights of parents and tends to view children as the property of their parents. This group is inclined not to classify harsh punishment as child abuse and would perceive intervention by county or state agencies as an intrusion into family privacy and a violation of parental rights. The previously referred to Texas survey, for example, disclosed that 63.6% of the respondents did not feel that spanking a child with a wooden paddle constitutes child abuse and 71.8% did not consider shaking as abusive.

Not all child abuse, of course, results from isolated or occasional incidents of physical discipline. Much is also attributed to what has been called "role reversal" or "child abuse syndrome". Such maltreatment is usually perpetrated repeatedly on a single victim. Parents involved in this type of abuse are persons who feel inadequate and look to their child to meet their own dependency needs. Hence, this term "role reversal". Abuse occurs in such families when a child is unable to meet a parent's unrealistic expectations. Sexual abuse, including incest, is also a large part of the total picture.

As a result of the growing public consciousness of child maltreatment, and the resulting increase in reporting, both the authority and the responsibility of the child protection worker have increased. The law requiring certain professionals to report suspected child maltreatment also requires local social service/county welfare agencies to respond to such reports. The increased number of child protection cases in a given agency, however, is not always accompanied by an increased number of child protection workers.

The role of child protection worker, moreover, is not simply one of case management. This position places one at the very center of parents' rights - children's rights polarity, often several times a week. At the same time, he/she must deal with this issue, the protection worker must investigate reports, assess family situations and frequently make the decision whether or not to request the child's removal by law enforcement or the court. In addition, it is often difficult to determine whether abuse is occurring in a given case, and often in substantiated cases, the worker becomes the primary source of counseling for the family. Finally, the child protection worker is responsible for a large amount of paperwork, including collection of the data from which this report is assembled.

The large number of protection cases per worker and the scarcity of resources with which to prevent and treat child abuse/neglect has not been ignored or overlooked by the Minnesota State Legislature. In 1979, the Legislature appropriated \$400,000 for the training of both child protection workers and persons mandated to report, and for the establishment of experimental programs for the purpose of identification, treatment and prevention. As a result of this, a large number of proposals have been received by DPW and as of the writing of this report, several innovative programs are in the process of being funded. In addition, training needs of mandated reporters and child protection workers are being assessed, with training programs scheduled for 1980.

As reporting increases and the problem of child maltreatment becomes even more visible, the responsibilities of social services and child protection can be expected to continue to increase as is the case with any agency or group of professionals designated to deal with important public problems. At the same time, we may expect an increase in demand for such data as are contained in this report. Although they represent less than the total volume of child abuse/neglect, they will become increasingly important for planning, resource development and coordination.

Information not included in this report may be obtained by contacting:

Paul Spears Minnesota Department of Public Welfare Family and Children's Services Section Centennial Office Building St. Paul, MN 55155

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