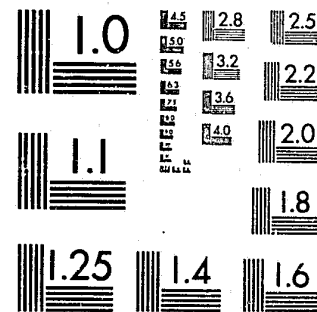


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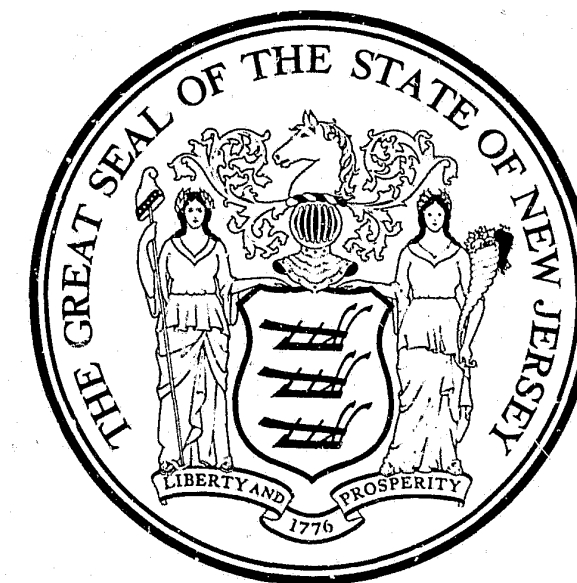
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VIOLENT HOMES, VIOLENT CHILDREN

A STUDY OF VIOLENCE IN
THE FAMILIES OF JUVENILE OFFENDERS



STATE OF NEW JERSEY
Department of Corrections, Division of Juvenile Services

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A Study of Violence in the
Families of Juvenile Offenders

by

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NCJRS

APR 30 1984

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February, 1984

U.S. Department of Justice
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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This is a study of the relationship between family violence and violent delinquency. It is distinctive in that it is concerned not only with family violence that children experience as victims but also that which they witness, and because it asks not whether family violence leads to delinquency but whether it leads to violent delinquency. It seeks to provide juvenile correctional institutions with a foundation for providing remedial treatment to violent offenders and to encourage links between the protective services community and juvenile correctional community.

The study proceeds from the theoretical point of view that violence, like most other kinds of behavior, is learned. In particular, it is learned by imitation and modeling in intimate social groups. Since the family is the most intimate of social groups, and a powerful agent of socialization, we hypothesized that children from violent homes are likely to be more violent themselves than children from homes free of violence.

The study focused on a group of incarcerated juveniles. The case records of 374 offenders were examined; 224 of those offenders completed a questionnaire and 22 were interviewed. There were no significant differences between offenders who completed a questionnaire and offenders who refused; and comparison of the evidence of family violence in the case

records and the family violence reported by the offenders suggested that the questionnaires were for the most part completed reliably.

These were the principal findings:

- Most of the offenders were abused and most also witnessed family violence.
- Typically the violence in the homes of the offenders was chronic and in many it was an everyday part of life.
- Family violence was often serious enough to cause bruises and bleeding and even injuries that required medical care.
- Violence was not always inflicted in the name of punishment but was sometimes inflicted irrationally and for its own sake.
- Offenders were abused mainly by their parents and fathers and mothers were about equally abusive.
- A good deal of abuse also was inflicted by siblings.
- Female offenders were abused no less often than male offenders and no less severely.

- A majority of offenders had been arrested at least once for a violent offense and many had been arrested for several violent offenses.
- Family violence was associated with drug and alcohol abuse, the absence of a parent and unsatisfactory relationships.
- There was a close relationship between the violence offenders experienced in their homes and violent delinquency; the more offenders were abused the more violent crimes they committed.
- More precisely, there was a close relationship between the violence offenders experienced in their homes and expressive violent delinquency; that is, the more offenders were abused the more they engaged in violence for its own sake.
- Violent delinquency seemed to result not only from life threatening and culturally proscribed family violence but also from family violence that is routine and culturally approved.
- Knowing how often offenders were abused was more helpful in explaining violent delinquency than either family structure or family relationships.

- Finally, family violence was associated with escapist delinquency; the more offenders were abused the more they ran away from home and abused drugs and alcohol.

Such findings underscore the importance of addressing the issue of family violence in providing treatment to incarcerated juvenile offenders--especially violent offenders.

In particular:

- Special efforts should be made in the course of diagnostic assessments and medical examinations to identify offenders who experienced family violence.
- Treatment should pursue such aims as helping offenders gain insight into the connection between their own violent behavior and the violence they experienced in their homes; clarifying and challenging their values concerning violence; and providing them with the opportunity to both ventilate anger and develop benign ways of coping with it.
- The establishment of separate living quarters for offenders from violent homes would not only facilitate treatment but also provide

offenders with a locus of identification and relieve their sense of isolation.

Such findings also suggest a need for cooperative links between juvenile correctional institutions and the protective services community. For example:

- Protective services agencies should provide juvenile correctional institutions with training about such issues as the identification of children from violent homes, their social and psychological needs and effective modes of treatment.
- Protective services agencies and correctional institutions should collaborate in decisions about where offenders will live and what services they will receive after leaving the correctional system.
- Protective services agencies and correctional institutions should collaborate in developing and advocating educational programs designed to prevent family violence.

INTRODUCTION

Julie began running away at age five. Her father is an alcoholic. He beats the patient whenever his wife asks him. The patient's mother is described as a sadist: "I'd be kicked down the stairs or beat with a cord with a knot in it." Her brother is frequently "slapped around" while he sits helplessly in his wheelchair. Julie is sure that her mother derives positive satisfaction from her brutality.

The patient was apparently taught to be violent and to choose the sadistic rather than the masochistic role. Julie apparently has little in the way of conscience to hold back her behavior. Further observation will be necessary to be able to ascertain whether there is potential for therapy or other measures which may help her. At the time the prognosis appears guarded.

(From a psychiatric evaluation of an incarcerated juvenile offender)

For most of human history, family violence did not exist as a social problem (May, 1978). What parents did to their children and husbands to their wives was no one's concern but their own. If they chose to beat them no one would disapprove. And no one, least of all the state, would think of intervening.

It would be too much to say that as a society we have

concluded absolutely that family violence is wrong. Most of us still think it is all right for parents to hit their children and many of us think it is all right for husbands to hit their wives. But our taste for family violence is certainly not what it once was. Indeed, we are surrounded by signs--among them child abuse reporting laws, self help groups for abusive parents and shelters for battered women and children--that family violence is currently viewed as a serious social problem.

Family violence concerns us so much because, on the one hand, it contradicts cherished images of families wrapped in warmth and love. It is supposed to matter more than anything else to parents that their children are safe and content and husbands and wives are supposed to love and respect one another. It is shocking and unsettling, then, to learn of violence between parents and children and husbands and wives--violence that is sometimes so brutal we can scarcely imagine it.

We are also angered and upset by family violence because of its consequences. The pictures we see of battered women and children--of their physical injuries--are heart rending. And there is every reason to suspect that the social and psychological consequences of family violence--especially for children--are serious and long lasting.

Purpose of the Research

This is a study of the relationship between family violence and violent delinquency. It focuses on a group of incarcerated juvenile offenders and asks two principal questions:

- How much violence did they experience in their homes?
- What was the impact of family violence on delinquent activity?

Studies of the relationship between family violence and delinquency have typically been concerned only with child abuse. This study is concerned not only with child abuse but also spouse battering, violence between siblings and even violence that children inflict on parents. Hence it is possible to explore the impact of family violence that children experience as both victims and witnesses.

Another way in which this study is distinctive is that it is concerned with the relationship between family violence and the nature of delinquent activity. It is common for studies to ask whether family violence leads to delinquency. This study asks whether family violence leads to violent delinquency.

This study also has practical aims. It seeks to provide juvenile correctional institutions with a basis for providing remedial treatment to violent offenders. Furthermore, it seeks to encourage the forging of cooperative links between

the protective services community and the correctional community.

Organization of the Report

CHAPTER ONE offers a literature review concerned mainly with the frequency of family violence, its social, cultural and psychological causes and its physical, social and psychological consequences--including its consequences with regard to delinquency in general and violent delinquency in particular.

CHAPTER TWO describes the theory that informs the research and our research methodology.

CHAPTER THREE contains three parts: the first assesses the reliability of the self reports of family violence we obtained from the offenders in our research sample; the second describes our findings concerning violence in the homes of the offenders; and the third describes the conditions that were associated with violence in the homes of the offenders.

CHAPTER FOUR tells what we learned of the relationship between the violence in the homes of the offenders and the nature of their delinquent activity; in particular, it examines the relationship between the number of times the offenders were abused and the number of violent crimes they committed.

CHAPTER FIVE offers two case histories that illustrate much of what we discovered of the relationship between family violence and violent delinquency.

CHAPTER SIX summarizes our research findings, pursues their implications for the development of treatment programs for incarcerated juvenile offenders and for the forging of cooperative links between juvenile correctional institutions and the protective services community, and offers suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER ONE: AN OVERVIEW OF THE PROBLEM

The Incidence of Family Violence

Since it occurs mainly behind closed doors, few social problems are so hidden as family violence. The family violence that comes to public attention is only that which is reported by victims and witnesses. But for many reasons--embarrassment and fear of reprisal and doubt anything will be done anyway are among the most important--most family violence is not reported.

How then do we know that family violence is such a large problem? Perhaps it is more a problem in our imaginations than anything else. Maybe it is receiving more attention than it deserves.

For one thing, we know that family violence is an immense problem because so much of it does come to public attention. The National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect (1982), for example, gathered information from child care agencies and estimated that more than a million children are abused annually. And since that estimate is based on reported cases of abuse, it represents, as everyone concedes, only a small proportion of the actual problem.

We also know that family violence is an immense problem because of what has been learned from studies that did not rely on official records. Gelles (1977), for example, interviewed parents about violence in their own homes and estimated that in a single year as many as 1.7 million children were kicked or punched by their mothers or fathers. Gil (1970) estimated from the results of a survey that as many as four million adults knew of a child who had been abused in the previous year. Corfman (1979) estimates that each year 1.8 million women are seriously assaulted by their husbands. Straus (1977) reports that in a single year there were 1.7 million violent encounters between husbands and wives in which a knife or gun was used. And Gelles (1974) interviewed 80 couples and half reported serious violence in their marriages.

Still another way we know that family violence is common is from the experience of criminal justice agencies. Curtis (1974) reports that as many as 40% of all murders occur within families. And according to Parnus (1967), the majority of calls that the police receive for assistance involve family disputes and it is in responding to such calls that police officers are most likely to be killed.

Is family violence not only an immense problem but a growing one? There is some evidence that it is. The American Humane Association (1978), for example, reports a 47% increase in child abuse between 1975 and 1978. What is not clear, however, is the extent to which such an apparent increase in family

violence is a consequence only of improved reporting (Cohen and Sussman, 1975; Gil, 1970; Johnson, 1974).

Sources of Family Violence

Why, in a society that never tires of proclaiming its reverence for the family, is family violence so common? In the minds of many, there is no mystery. Families are violent because ours is a violent society: because they are surrounded by other violent institutions. Family violence is thus only one more manifestation of the violence that permeates the society as a whole.

In that vein, it has been noted that cultural values condone--even encourage--violence in general and family violence in particular. The overwhelming majority of Americans, for example, think it is all right for parents to hit their children (Gelles, 1979). And many--20% according to one study (Martin, 1981)--think there are occasions when it is all right for husbands to hit their wives.

There are, of course, culturally prescribed limits on the frequency and severity of such violence and on the occasions on which it is permissible. But those limits sometimes are not easy to identify. That is, it is not always clear when violence is normative and how much violence is excessive.

In some cultural groups, moreover, the boundaries of per-

missible violence seem to be especially broad. Hence there exists a subculture that is particularly tolerant of violence--family violence included (Wolfgang and Ferracuti, 1967). Family violence is thus a way of life transmitted from generation to generation (Oliver and Taylor, 1971; Steele and Pollack, 1968). Parents abuse their children because they were abused by their parents and husbands abuse their wives because their fathers abused their mothers.

Such cultural influences aside, it has been suggested that there are structural reasons for the prevalence of family violence. In particular, the nuclear family has become the dominant family unit and its ties to the extended family have been attenuated (Parsons, 1964). The family is isolated and deprived of social and psychological support--especially of support needed to resolve conflict before it escalates into violence (Garbarino and Gilliam, 1980; Gelles, 1974).

The isolation of the family also frees it of scrutiny from the outside. What happens in the family happens mainly in private. Hence the audience that might have inhibited violence has been removed and parents are able to abuse their children and husbands abuse their wives in confidence that they will not be discovered.

What conditions within the family provoke violence? They seem, on the one hand, to involve the accumulation of stress. Hence there is evidence of a connection between family violence

and financial difficulty (Gil, 1970; Young, 1964), chronic unemployment (Baldwin and Oliver, 1975; Holter and Friedman, 1968), poor housing (Ounsted, Oppenheimer and Lindsay, 1975; Smith, 1975) and physical illness (Court, 1974). It is not surprising, then, that family violence is most common in the social groups that experience most stress (Coser, 1967; Elmer, 1967; Maden and Wrench, 1981).

But there is evidence of a connection not only between family violence and social problems but between family violence and the psychological problems of individual family members. Abusive parents, for example, have been found to suffer disproportionately from drug abuse and alcoholism (Baldwin and Oliver, 1975; Fontana, 1973; Gil, 1970), schizophrenia and other psychopathologies (Smith, Hanson and Noble, 1973; Ounsted et al., 1975), chronic depression (Court and O'Kell, 1970), poor impulse control (Green, Gaines and Sangrund, 1974), immaturity (Fontana, 1973), low intelligence (Smith, 1975) and coldness and rigidity (Skinner and Castle, 1969; Young, 1964). Such evidence suggests that family violence -- whatever its cultural and structural causes -- is partly an expression of personal deviance.

Consequences of Family Violence

The most obvious effects of family violence are physical. According to the National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect (1982),

more than 1000 children die each year as a result of abuse. Abuse has been associated with neurological impairment (Baldwin and Oliver, 1975; Caffey, 1972; Cooper, 1975; Franklin, 1977; Martin, Beezley, Conway and Kempe, 1974), injury to the eye (Caffey, 1974; Smith and Hanson, 1975), chronic illness (Pelton, 1981) and retarded growth (Martin et al., 1974; O'Neil, Meachem, Griffin and Sawyers, 1973). That is in addition to the less permanent injuries like bleeding and broken bones that are consequences of abuse.

But the consequences of family violence are also social and psychological. A connection has been discovered between child abuse and impaired intellectual development (Kent, 1973; Sangrund, Gaines and Green, 1974), educational and vocational failure (Green, 1978), damaged self esteem (Green, 1978; Sanchez-Dirks, 1979), problems in interpersonal relationships (Steele and Pollack, 1968; McCrea, Ferguson and Lederman, 1973) and self mutilation (Ross, 1980). Abused children also tend to become inadequate and abusive parents (Green, 1978; Segal, 1979).

It is only recently that the relationship between family violence and delinquency has received research attention. In one study, Lewis and Shanok (1979) compared the medical records of delinquent and nondelinquent children and found that the delinquents had been abused more, suffered more neurological trauma and required more hospital treatment. Alfaro (1981)

retrospectively examined court records and found that half the families that appeared in court for an investigation of abuse and neglect later had a child charged with being delinquent and ungovernable. Mouzakitīs (1981) administered questionnaires to 60 girls incarcerated in a correctional facility and 51% said they were beaten by their parents severely enough to leave bruises, 38% said they were beaten severely enough to cause bleeding and 25% said they were beaten severely enough to leave scars.

There is also some evidence of a relationship between family violence and violent delinquency. Alfaro (1981) found that delinquent children who had been abused were more violent than delinquent children who had not been abused. Lewis, Shanok, Pincus and Glaser (1979) similarly found that violent offenders had been abused more than twice as much as nonviolent offenders.

There is evidence, moreover, not only of a relationship between being abused and violent delinquency but between witnessing abuse and violent delinquency. Lewis et al. (1979), for example, found that violent offenders were four times more likely than nonviolent offenders to have witnessed abuse of a parent or sibling. And Bolton, Reich and Gutierrez (1977) found that the siblings of abused delinquents were more violent than siblings of nonabused delinquents.

Critique of the Literature

Perhaps the most compelling criticism of research concerned with the relationship between family violence and delinquency is a tendency to rely on case records for data. Such records are notoriously incomplete and inaccurate. An even more fundamental problem is that they convey information only about reported family violence and reported delinquency though most family violence and delinquent activity go unreported.

The samples about whom data have been gathered, moreover, have not been particularly large. And they have been comprised, for the most part, of delinquent children only. Hence it has been impossible to determine if there is more violence in the homes of offenders than nonoffenders. It has been much harder as well to draw causal inferences about the relationship between family violence and delinquency.

Still another failing is the narrow way in which family violence has ordinarily been defined. That is, the issue under investigation almost always has been the relationship between child abuse and delinquency. Only rarely has attention been given to the relationship between delinquency and other manifestations of family violence like spouse battering and violence between siblings.

There have been problems as well in measuring delinquent activity. One is that delinquency has been treated

as an undifferentiated phenomenon and distinctions among different kinds of delinquency--particularly between violent and nonviolent delinquency--have not been respected. And it is worth saying again that the delinquency with which most studies have been concerned is only that which is a matter of public record.

Finally, studies of the relationship between family violence and delinquency have typically been without an explicit theoretical perspective. Most, it seems, expected to find a lot of violence in the homes of juvenile offenders. But they fail to say why. And most suggest that family violence is a cause of delinquency, but they elaborate no theory to explain why family violence and delinquency are causally connected.

CHAPTER TWO: THE THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE AND RESEARCH STRATEGY

Theory

The theory that informs our study contends that violent behavior is learned behavior. In particular, it is learned through imitation and modeling. And that imitation and modeling occurs mainly in intimate social groups.

To say that violence is learned is to emphasize its "ordinariness". For it is through the same learning process that we come to behave in ways that are not defined as deviant. As Vold (1979:232) notes:

Contact with an intimacy group whose way of life is contrary to the law and offensive to conventional morality conditions the attitudes of the individual just as naturally as would contact with a more conventional group. In other words, the acquiring of attitudes favorable to crime--and the learning of criminal behavior patterns--is just as normal a psychological process (it is, in fact, the same psychological process) as that of learning the way of life approved of by law-abiding society. On this basis, therefore, this theory rejects the idea of abnormality or degeneracy of the individual as necessary or important preconditions of criminality. Crime is conceived of as a pattern of behavior (with supporting attitudes) learned

in the course of time and in contact with 'definitions of behavior' favorable to criminality in the world of experience surrounding the individual. Thus crime is learned behavior, as is any other activity of man; it reflects something of the individual's personality and talents, but generally consists of routine action and attitudes, peculiar only in being non-law-abiding and in being in conflict with the generally prevailing morality of the established social and political order.

The proposition that violence is learned also implies that its roots lie in interpersonal relationships. Indeed it is from others--mainly by mimicking others--that violence is learned. Whether children become violent, then, depends on whether those with whom they associate are violent.

But it would not be of much consequence if those with whom they associate distantly and superficially were violent. Such relationships are of little social and psychological significance. Relationships that are socially and psychologically important--the ones that do most to shape behavior and attitudes--are those that are close and enduring.

With whom do children have such relationships? Many do with their peers. A good deal of attention had been given the role of a delinquent subculture in teaching children to be delinquent (Cohen, 1955; Sutherland and Cressey, 1974).

But children always have socially and psychologically important relationships inside their families. It is the first social group to which they belong and for a long time,

the locus of their most intimate relationships. As such, it is a powerful instrument of socialization.

Thus it is to be expected that violent families will produce violent children: that, since family experiences are of such profound social and psychological significance in most ways, they are also of significance in the etiology of violence.

There are even families in which socialization to violence is deliberate--families in which lessons about toughness and aggression and readiness to fight are explicit and displays of such behavior are approved and rewarded. But children are influenced at least as much by what they see as what they are told. Hence the persuasive lessons about violence are probably those that children learn in a more implicit and incidental way: by following the example of violent parents and siblings.¹

To the extent that violence is learned through modeling and imitation, it matters little whether it is experienced as a victim or witness. All that is required is someone violent to mimic. Hence there is reason to question the facile assumption that it is always worse to be a victim of violence than only to witness it: that abused children are more likely to become violent than children who witness abuse of parents and siblings.

What surely is important is how much violence children

experience in their homes. For almost always repetition facilitates learning. Everything else being equal, then, children who experience family violence chronically are more likely to become violent than those who experience it only occasionally.

Whether children become violent also depends on how closely they identify with their parents or siblings whose violence is available to copy. For the more we identify with others--the more we admire and want to be like them--the more eager we are to imitate their behavior (Brown, 1965). Hence the more children identify with violent parents and siblings--the less they are alienated from them and indifferent to their opinions--the more likely they are to be violent themselves.²

What about the severity of the violence that children experience in their homes? That is probably of small consequence with regard to whether children become violent. But it matters a lot with regard to how violent they become. Children who experience serious violence in their homes--violence that causes serious pain and injury--thus are likely to become more seriously violent than children who experience milder kinds of family violence.

But the violence that children experience in their homes is not only more or less severe, it is also more or less rational. Rational violence has an understandable and reasonable purpose--

discouraging children from misbehaving, for example. Irrational violence is violence for its own sake--violence inflicted, for example, in an alcoholic or sadistic rage. The rational violence that children experience in their homes teaches them that violence has rational and instrumental value--that it is a means to an end. Irrational violence teaches them that violence is an end in itself--that it is intrinsically satisfying.³

Where then do children apply such lessons? Many do so initially in their homes. Some do so by retaliating against abusive parents. Some follow the example of their parents in abusing their siblings. And some assault their fathers to prevent them from assaulting their mothers.

Lessons about violence learned in childhood homes are also applied in the homes we establish as adults. Perhaps the surest finding in the study of family violence is that abused children often become abusive parents. And it is almost as certain that children who witness their fathers beat their mothers later beat their wives.

But lessons are also generalized and applied in settings different than those in which they are learned. Children who learn to be violent in their homes thus are violent on the streets. Indeed, children who would like to be violent toward parents and siblings sometimes displace their anger and rage toward safer targets among friends, neighbors and strangers.

Some abused children even direct anger and rage upon them-

selves. They do so because they have concluded that they are worthless and deserve to be abused. Some children express such self loathing by mutilating their bodies with tattoos; others abuse drugs and alcohol; others choose boyfriends who abuse them and others engage in behavior, like attempting suicide, that is even more transparently self abusive.

Finally, it needs to be said that children are sometimes the instigators of violence in their homes. And sometimes their delinquency--even their violent delinquency--is what provokes parents to abuse them. Thus when exploring the relationship between family violence and violent delinquency--especially when trying to draw causal inferences--it is important to be sensitive to the order in which they occur.

The Research Strategy

Our study focused on incarcerated juvenile offenders in New Jersey. It relied on information extracted from case records and what the offenders told us through questionnaires and interviews.

SAMPLE: There are more than 20 correctional facilities for boys. At any given time there are about 1000 boys incarcerated in them. We conducted our research at the largest of the facilities, a training school for boys who are at least

15 years old.⁴

There are only three correctional facilities for delinquent girls.⁵ At any one time about 50 girls are incarcerated in them. In order to insure that our sample contained as many girls as possible, we included each of the facilities in our research.

At the time data collection began there were 329 boys in the training school and 45 girls in the three girls' facilities. The institutional case record of every boy and girl was examined.

If it were possible, we would have administered a questionnaire to each of the boys and girls in our original sample. For several reasons that was impossible. Fifty-six offenders were not available or had been released from the correctional system during data collection; 67 refused to complete a questionnaire and 27 failed to complete a questionnaire satisfactorily. Hence our final sample included 224 offenders--182 boys and 42 girls.

We were concerned that the offenders who refused to complete a questionnaire would differ in some systematic way from those who did complete one. In particular, we were concerned that offenders who experienced violence in their homes would be less willing to complete a questionnaire than those whose homes were free of violence. There was no certain way of determining if that were so. When we compared case records, however, we found no evidence that offenders from

violent homes were more reluctant to complete a questionnaire.

We did discover that black offenders more often refused to complete a questionnaire than white and Hispanic offenders. In addition, those who had been arrested for violent offenses refused more often than those who had never been arrested for a violent offense. Those differences did not, however, create a serious problem for our research.⁶

The offenders who completed a questionnaire were asked whether they were willing to be interviewed. One hundred twenty two of the 224 offenders said they were willing to be interviewed. A subsample of 22 offenders, all of whom had reported a great deal of family violence in their questionnaires, were selected to be interviewed.

RESEARCH SAMPLE

374 records examined

224 questionnaires completed

22 interviews conducted

DEVELOPMENT OF DATA COLLECTION INSTRUMENTS: The first step in the development of data collection instruments was to examine instruments used in similar studies. We then met informally with several members of institutional staff and asked for suggestions. Finally, we asked the members of our Institutional Review Board for advice.

Once our instruments had been developed, they were shown to institutional staff for comment. The questionnaire was pretested with nine boys and then revised. The revisions served to shorten the questionnaire and simplify language.

The questionnaire focused mainly on violence in the homes of the offenders.⁸ It described prototypical kinds of abuse and asked how often they happened, when they happened, and who was involved. The questions about family violence were preceded by fictional vignettes meant to capture the interest of the offenders and to encourage openness and candor.

The questionnaire also sought to establish the context in which the violence occurred. It focused on family structure, relationships with parents and parental characteristics. They were included because they have been linked theoretically and empirically to family violence.

Another portion of the questionnaire was concerned with delinquent activity. It described various kinds of violent and nonviolent delinquency. It asked the offenders how often they did each of them and how old they were the first and last time.

A precoded instrument was developed to record information from the case records. It was concerned with three kinds of information: evidence of family violence, arrest history, and information about personal pathology including drug and alcohol abuse. The information typically appeared in pre-sentence reports prepared by the probation department and diagnostic assessments.

The interview addressed the same issues as the questionnaire but sought greater detail. It explored such matters as the insights of the offenders about why their homes were so violent, what they did about it and how they feel about it now. It followed a semi-structured format and probing questions were asked whenever they seemed appropriate.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE: The first step in administering the questionnaire was to obtain a list of offenders from institutional staff. At the same time, the staff was asked to identify offenders with serious reading problems who would require special attention. In addition, the staff identified offenders for whom completing the questionnaire might be too stressful. Only a few offenders were excluded on this basis.

The rest of the offenders were then approached and the nature of the questionnaire was described to them. It was emphasized that participation in the research was voluntary

and that no one would be punished for refusing to participate. Those who agreed to participate were asked to sign a consent form.

The questionnaire was administered to groups of between three and ten offenders. Since reading problems were common, it was read aloud. The offenders were encouraged to ask questions when they found something unfamiliar. Completing the questionnaire took about half an hour.

FOOTNOTES--CHAPTER TWO

¹Brown (1965) has pointed out, in this regard, that parents who beat their children in order to discourage violence only encourage it because they have unintentionally provided a violent model for imitation.

²This is something of a paradox since almost always identification with parents is thought to be socially and psychologically beneficial.

³It is worth noting that irrational violence often occurs randomly and that children are usually unable to do anything to forestall it. The result is probably a profound sense of insecurity--of never being safe--that seriously harms social and psychological well-being.

⁴It was partly because of the sensitivity of the issues addressed by our research that we chose not to approach any boys less than 15 years old.

⁵One of the facilities for girls contained probationers rather than girls formally committed to the correctional system.

⁶See Appendix A for tables comparing participants and nonparticipants.

⁷The Institutional Review Board contained a member of the Board of Trustees from New Jersey's protective services agency, a community representative and several representatives from the Division of Juvenile Services of the New Jersey Department of Corrections. Its main function was to protect the interests of the research subjects.

⁸The data collection instruments appear in Appendix D.

CHAPTER THREE: VIOLENCE IN THE HOMES OF THE OFFENDERS

Reliability of the Self Reports

It was fundamental to our research strategy that we did not rely exclusively on case records to learn of violence in the homes of the offenders. Instead we asked the offenders themselves about violence in their homes. By doing so we hoped to capture not only reported family violence but also family violence that was not a matter of public record.

We needed to convince ourselves, however, of the reliability of what the offenders told us of violence in their homes. In particular, it was of concern to us that, despite our promises of confidentiality, the offenders might have chosen to conceal family violence. There are several reasons that they might have done so -- among them embarrassment and the desire to protect abusive parents.

There was no perfect way to assess the reliability of what the offenders told us of violence in their homes. But we could do so imperfectly by comparing the self reports of the offenders with the evidence concerning family violence in the case records. If the case records often contained evidence of family violence that was denied by the offenders,

the reliability of the self reports would be open to challenge.

But as Table 1 shows, comparison of the self reports¹ and case records gave us reason to believe that the self reports, for the most part, were reliable. Thus the case records contained evidence that 55 offenders had been abused and only 11 of them denied it. And the case records contained evidence that a parent had been abused in the families of 18 offenders and it was denied by only six of them. Hence concealment does not seem to have been a serious problem.²

But did the self reports do as they were intended by capturing family violence of which there was no evidence in the case records? It appears that they did. Hence 123 offenders reported that they had been abused though their case records contained no evidence of it. And 84 offenders reported that a parent had been abused though there was no evidence of it in the case records. All that violence experienced by the offenders as victims and witnesses would have been missed if we had not gathered self reports.

It needs to be conceded that some of the violence reported by the offenders may have been fabricated. Some may have been trying to rationalize their delinquency. Others may have been influenced by what they took to be our expectations. But neither of those motives, nor any other, seems particularly compelling. We suspect that most of the violence the offenders told us about was authentic.

TABLE 1 SELF REPORTED FAMILY VIOLENCE
BY EVIDENCE OF VIOLENCE IN CASE RECORDS

Abuse of Offender

<u>Self Report</u>	<u>Official Record</u>	
	<u>No Evidence</u>	<u>Some Evidence</u>
None Reported	23% (36)	20% (11)
Some Reported	<u>77% (123)</u>	<u>80% (44)</u>
	100% (159)	100% (55)

Abuse of Parents

<u>Self Report</u>	<u>Official Record</u>	
	<u>No Evidence</u>	<u>Some Evidence</u>
None Reported	54% (99)	33% (6)
Some Reported	<u>46% (84)</u>	<u>67% (12)</u>
	100% (183)	100% (18)

Sexual Abuse of Offender

<u>Self Report</u>	<u>Official Record</u>	
	<u>No Evidence</u>	<u>Some Evidence</u>
None Reported	94% (194)	56% (5)
Some Reported	<u>6% (13)</u>	<u>44% (4)</u>
	100% (207)	100% (9)

The self reports were less helpful with regard to sexual abuse. Thus four of the nine offenders whose case records contained evidence that they had been sexually abused denied it. And only 13 offenders acknowledged that they had been sexually abused though there was no evidence of it in their case records. We suspect that the reticence to report sexual abuse, among the boys especially, stems mainly from embarrassment. Whatever the reason, we had little confidence in the reliability of what the offenders told us of sexual abuse and chose to concern ourselves in data analysis only with what they told us of nonsexual kinds of abuse.

The Incidence of Violence

What can be said of violence in the homes of the offenders? It can be said, in the first place, that it was common, even commonplace. It can be said also that the violence in many homes was chronic--sometimes so chronic that it was an everyday part of life. And it can be said that the violence was usually severe--often severe enough to cause serious injury and even place lives in danger.

THE OFFENDERS AS VICTIMS: As Table 2 shows, over two-thirds of the offenders were beaten with a belt or extension cord--32% at least five times. And almost half were beaten with a

stick or some other hard object--15% five times or more.

It is perhaps not surprising that so many offenders were beaten with belts and sticks since such violence is, to some degree, normative in our society--at least when it is meant to correct misbehavior. It is more shocking that 20% of the offenders were threatened with a knife or gun. And it is still more shocking that 12% were assaulted with a knife or gun.

TABLE 2 PROPORTION OF OFFENDERS ABUSED

	<u>At least once</u>	<u>Five times or more</u>
Hit with belt or extension cord	68% (145)	32% (70)
Hit with stick or hard object	45% (99)	15% (32)
Threatened with knife or gun	20% (43)	3% (6)
Attacked with knife or gun	12% (26)	----

Indeed, we know from its consequences that the violence was serious. As Table 3 shows, 33% of the offenders were beaten so severely that they were bruised, 24% so severely that they bled and eight percent so severely that they received hospital care.

TABLE 3 EXTENT OF INJURY

	<u>At least once</u>	<u>Five times or more</u>
Bruised	33%(73)	11%(25)
Bled	24%(53)	5%(10)
Required hospi- tal care	8%(18)	----

We imagined that the girls might be abused less often and less severely than the boys because of the cultural expectation that boys are tougher and able to handle it better. As Table 4 shows, we found no such differences. Girls were abused as often as boys and the abuse was no less severe.

TABLE 4 PROPORTION OF OFFENDERS ABUSED BY SEX

	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Hit with belt or extension cord	68%(125)	53%(26)
Hit with stick or hard object	45% (83)	42%(16)
Threatened with knife or gun	19% (35)	21% (8)
Attacked with knife or gun	13% (23)	8% (3)
Bruised	33% (60)	43%(33)
Bled	23% (43)	27%(10)
Required hospi- tal care	9% (16)	5% (2)

Neither did abuse respect racial boundaries. As Table 5 shows, the overwhelming majority of blacks, Hispanics and whites was abused. And the abuse suffered by blacks, whites and Hispanics was chronic and severe.

It appears, however, that the white offenders may have been abused most severely. Hence 43% of the white offenders compared to 30% of the blacks and 26% of the Hispanics were beaten so severely that they were bruised. And 35% of the white offenders compared to 21% of the blacks and nine percent of the Hispanics were beaten so severely that they bled.

There were racial differences also in the specific kinds of abuse suffered by the offenders. White offenders were least often hit with a belt or extension cord but most often threatened with a knife or gun. And white offenders and Hispanic offenders were more often assaulted with a knife or gun than black offenders.

TABLE 5 PROPORTION OF OFFENDERS ABUSED BY RACE

	<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Hispanic</u>
Hit with belt or extension cord	50%(32)	71%(95)	82%(18)
Hit with stick or hard object	52%(34)	40%(53)	48%(11)
Threatened with knife or gun	34%(22)	13%(17)	17% (4)
Attacked with knife or gun	17%(11)	8%(11)	17% (4)
Bruised	43%(28)	30%(39)	26% (6)
Bled	35%(23)	21%(28)	9% (2)
Required hospital care	11% (7)	8%(10)	4% (1)

It was, as Table 6 shows, mainly the parents of the offenders who abused them. The abuse, moreover, was inflicted as often by fathers as by mothers, though fathers less often lived at home. Many offenders were abused by both parents.

More surprising was that the offenders were often abused by siblings. Indeed, seven percent of the offenders were assaulted by their siblings with a knife or gun--more than were assaulted with a knife or gun by a parent. Siblings were as responsible as parents for abusing offenders so severely that they were bruised, bled and required hospital care.

TABLE 6 PROPORTION OF OFFENDERS ABUSED BY VARIOUS FAMILY MEMBERS

	<u>By father</u>	<u>By mother</u>	<u>By mother and father</u>	<u>By sibling</u>	<u>By parent and sibling</u>
Hit with belt or extension cord	17% (37)	19% (42)	17% (37)	2% (4)	6% (13)
Hit with stick or hard object	6% (14)	12% (26)	6% (12)	12% (25)	4% (9)
Threatened with knife or gun	3% (6)	5% (11)	----	10% (21)	2% (4)
Attacked with knife or gun	1% (2)	3% (7)	----	7% (15)	----
Bruised	9% (19)	7% (16)	7% (15)	5% (11)	3% (7)
Bled	6% (14)	7% (16)	1% (3)	6% (14)	1% (2)
Required hospi- tal care	3% (6)	2% (5)	1% (1)	2% (5)	----

One might assume that almost all the abuse suffered by the offenders--at least that for which a parent was responsible--was inflicted in the name of punishment. Yet as Table 7 shows, that was not the case. As often as the offenders were hit with a stick or some other hard object for punishment they were hit with a stick or some other hard object for "some other reason." And when they were beaten so severely that they bled, it was more often for "some other reason" than for punishment.

If not in the name of punishment, why were the offenders abused? It seems fair to conclude that often they were abused for no reason--at least for no rational reason. That is, abuse, was inflicted for its own sake--with no motive but to vent anger and rage.³

TABLE 7 PROPORTION OF OFFENDERS ABUSED FOR PUNISHMENT

	<u>For punishment</u>	<u>For "some other reason"</u>
Hit with belt or extension cord	41% (89)	25% (54)
Hit with stick or hard object	20% (43)	21% (44)
Threatened with knife or gun	2% (5)	15% (32)
Attacked with knife or gun	1% (3)	9% (20)
Bruised	17% (38)	14% (31)
Bled	8% (16)	14% (30)
Required hospital care	2% (5)	5% (10)

Finally, we asked the offenders when the abuse began and ended. It typically began, as Table 8 shows, when they were about 11 years old--though many told us it began when they were much younger. The abuse typically ended in early adolescence--when, it might be inferred, they were old enough to leave home or big enough to defend themselves.

TABLE 8 MEAN AGE ABUSE BEGAN AND ENDED

	<u>Age began</u>	<u>Age ended</u>	<u>Duration (in years)</u>
Hit with belt or extension cord	8.5	12.0	3.7
Hit with stick or hard object	10.8	12.6	1.1
Threatened with knife or gun	13.7	14.5	.1
Attacked with knife or gun	13.8	14.1	.5
Bruised	10.9	13.1	2.4
Bled	12.1	13.2	1.1
Required hospital care	11.5	12.1	.8

THE OFFENDERS AS WITNESSES: It was not only as victims that the offenders experienced violence in their homes. They experienced it as witnesses as well. Indeed, there were only a few offenders who were victims of abuse who did not also witness it.

Much of the violence witnessed by the offenders as Table 9 shows, was inflicted on siblings. Almost always a parent was responsible. Hence 39% of the offenders saw a parent beat a sibling with a belt or extension cord.

TABLE 9 PROPORTION OF OFFENDERS
WHO WITNESSED SIBLINGS ABUSED

	<u>By father</u>	<u>By mother</u>	<u>By mother and father</u>
Hit with belt or extension cord	13% (28)	14% (31)	12% (26)
Hit with stick or hard object	7% (15)	7% (16)	4% (9)
Threatened with knife or gun	1% (2)	2% (4)	1% (1)
Attacked with knife or gun	1% (3)	1% (1)	----
Bruised	6% (12)	3% (6)	4% (9)
Bled	3% (6)	1% (2)	2% (4)
Required hospital care	2% (5)	1% (1)	1% (3)

But, as Table 10 shows, the offenders frequently witnessed their mothers abused as well. Almost always their fathers were responsible. Thus 26% of the offenders saw their fathers punch their mothers and 14% saw their fathers beat their mothers severely enough to leave bruises.

Some offenders even saw their mothers punch their fa-

thers and four percent saw their mothers abuse their fathers so severely they required hospital care.

TABLE 10 PROPORTION OF OFFENDERS

WHO WITNESSED PARENTS ABUSED

	<u>Saw mother abused</u>		<u>Saw father abused</u>	
	<u>By father</u>	<u>By sibling</u>	<u>By mother</u>	<u>By sibling</u>
Punched	26% (52)	1% (2)	7% (13)	3% (5)
Threatened with knife or gun	7% (15)	1% (1)	4% (8)	1% (1)
Attacked with knife or gun	3% (8)	----	2% (4)	----
Bruised	14% (27)	----	4% (6)	1% (1)
Required hospital care	8% (16)	1% (1)	4% (6)	----

THE OFFENDERS AS PERPETRATORS OF VIOLENCE: The offenders did not only passively experience family violence as victims and witnesses. Some, as Table 11 shows, inflicted violence--almost always on a father or sibling. Hence 22% punched their fathers and five percent attacked their fathers with a knife or gun. Almost 12% hit a sibling with a stick or some other hard object and nine percent beat siblings so severely they bled. Much of the violence inflicted by the offenders on parents and siblings, we suspect, was in self defense. And much of it was probably inflicted in defense of a parent or sibling.

TABLE 11 OFFENDERS WHO WERE VIOLENT TO
PARENTS AND SIBLINGS

	<u>Sibling</u>	<u>Father</u>	<u>Mother</u>
Hit with belt or extension cord	6% (13)	N/A*	N/A
Hit with stick or hard object	12% (26)	N/A	N/A
Punched	N/A	22% (46)	5% (10)
Threatened with knife or gun	8% (15)	10% (19)	1% (3)
Attacked with knife or gun	2% (5)	5% (11)	1% (1)
Bruised	7% (14)	8% (15)	1% (3)
Bled	9% (18)	N/A	N/A
Required hospital care	1% (3)	4% (8)	1% (1)

*These items were not asked in the questionnaire.

Correlates of the Violence

It was our principal aim to examine the impact of violence in the families of the offenders, not to locate the causes of the violence. Still we were curious about why--even though the families of the offenders were universally troubled--only some were violent. Hence we compared the violent and nonviolent families and discovered three differences between them--all of which may be helpful in explaining the causes of the family violence.

ALCOHOL AND DRUG ABUSE: In both violent and nonviolent families, alcohol and drug abuse was common. But, as Table 12 shows, it was more common in the violent homes. Hence alcoholic parents more often abused their children than nonalcoholic parents; alcoholic parents more often abused one another than nonalcoholic parents; fathers who used drugs were more violent toward their wives than fathers who did not use drugs; and mothers who used drugs were more violent toward their children and husbands than mothers who did not use drugs.

TABLE 12 PROPORTION OF PARENTS VIOLENT TOWARD OFFENDERS
AND SPOUSES BY ALCOHOL AND DRUG ABUSE

	<u>Abused offender</u>	<u>Abused spouse</u>
Father is alcoholic	53% (30)	31% (16)
Father is nonalcoholic	41% (60)	12% (6)
Father uses drugs	46% (10)	42% (8)
Father does not use drugs	44% (80)	14% (24)
Mother is alcoholic	56% (9)	20% (3)
Mother is nonalcoholic	45% (92)	7% (12)
Mother uses drugs	78% (7)	14% (10)
Mother does not use drugs	45% (94)	7% (14)

Such data does not necessarily suggest that alcohol and drug abuse were causes of the violence in the homes of the offenders. It may only be that the same conditions that provoked

violence also provoked alcohol and drug abuse. It may be, too, that drugs and alcohol were used to escape the pain of violence in the home.

But it is reasonable to infer that drug and alcohol abuse do play an important part in explaining family violence. They do so principally by extinguishing the self control that permits us to resist the impulse to be violent--an impulse that all parents probably feel now and then. Indeed, parents who could not even imagine abusing their children when sober are capable of abusing them in the most brutal ways when intoxicated.

But alcohol and drug abuse probably provoke family violence in less direct ways as well. Thus a husband might abuse his wife in frustration and anger because she has a drinking problem. Or a mother might abuse her child because she is experiencing strain over her husband's problem with alcohol.

FAMILY DISRUPTION: The overwhelming majority of offenders, as Table 13 shows, was from broken homes. Less than 20% lived with both biological parents right before they were incarcerated. Twenty-four percent were separated from their mothers and 77% from their fathers.

TABLE 13 WHERE OFFENDERS LIVED BEFORE INCARCERATION

Mother and Father	18% (41)
Mother and Stepfather	12% (27)
Father and Stepmother	3% (6)
Father only	2% (4)
Mother only	46% (103)
Other	<u>19% (42)</u>
	100% (223)

As Table 14 shows, moreover, broken homes were more often violent than intact homes. Thus 66% of the offenders from intact homes compared to 81% from broken homes were abused. And a parent was abused in 50% of the broken homes but only 34% of the intact homes.

TABLE 14 PROPORTION OF OFFENDERS AND PARENTS WHO WERE VICTIMS OF VIOLENCE BY FAMILY STRUCTURE

	<u>Intact home</u>	<u>Broken home</u>
Offender a victim of violence	66% (25)	81% (141)
Parent a victim of violence	34% (13)	50% (80)

It may be that the same problems that provoked violence in the families of the offenders ultimately caused them to dissolve. And it is likely, too, that some families came

apart because they were violent. But we suspect that some became violent because they were no longer intact--because, for example, the remaining parent was overwhelmed by child-rearing responsibilities and so was provoked to be abusive. Hence the causal relationship between family structure and family violence is probably reciprocal.

TROUBLED RELATIONSHIPS: It is fair to assume that many offenders have unsatisfactory relationships with their parents--that they became offenders partly for that reason. One would not have inferred that, however, from what the offenders told us. There was a tendency for them to idealize relations with their parents--especially relations with their mothers.

But as Tables 15 and 16 show, the offenders were somewhat less flattering in describing their relations with parents who abused them. Thus offenders abused by their fathers talked to them less often about problems and less often wanted to be like them than offenders whose fathers did not abuse them. And, compared to offenders whose mothers did not abuse them, offenders abused by their mothers talked to them less about problems, less often wanted to be like them, felt less close to them and less often thought about what they would say before doing something wrong.

TABLE 15 OFFENDERS' FEELINGS ABOUT FATHERS
WHO ABUSED THEM

	<u>Not abused by father</u>	<u>Abused by father</u>
Would like to be the kind of person he is	39% (43)	28% (25)
Feels close to him	74% (81)	79% (71)
Thinks about what he might say before doing something wrong	24% (27)	21% (19)
Talks to him about personal problems	28% (31)	10% (9)

TABLE 16 OFFENDERS' FEELINGS ABOUT MOTHERS
WHO ABUSED THEM

	<u>Not abused by mother</u>	<u>Abused by mother</u>
Would like to be the kind of person she is	56% (65)	41% (38)
Feels close to her	96% (112)	87% (87)
Thinks about what she might say before doing something wrong	38% (45)	27% (27)
Talks to her about personal problems	33% (39)	27% (27)

There is little doubt that violence in a home does damage to relationships. Children become alienated from their parents, for example, because their parents abuse them. But there is also little doubt that relationships become violent because they are troubled in other ways. When husbands beat their wives, for example, it almost always suggests that their relationship is fundamentally flawed. Hence it may be said that disturbances in relationships play an important part in promoting family violence.

FOOTNOTES--CHAPTER THREE

¹The variable measuring self reported abuse was created by examining if the offender ever reported the following:

- being hit with a belt or extension cord
- being burned with hot water on purpose
- being burned with a cigarette on purpose
- being tied up
- being hit with a stick or some other hard object
- being threatened with a knife or gun
- being attacked with a knife or gun
- being beaten so badly it left bruises
- being hurt so badly he bled
- being hurt so badly he had to go to the hospital

²It should be noted that we were very liberal in interpreting the case records with regard to family violence. That is, every suggestion of abuse was treated as though it actually occurred even though that is not necessarily so.

³Of course it is difficult to ascertain the exact circumstances surrounding the abuse. It is possible that the offenders and those who abused them interpreted the situation differently. Nonetheless, it is probably fair to conclude that it is the offenders' perceptions of the abuse that are most important in understanding their behavior.

CHAPTER FOUR: FAMILY VIOLENCE AND DELINQUENCY

Several studies report that delinquent children often come from violent homes. Yet few have asked whether family violence is related to violent delinquency. In this chapter we examine the delinquent behavior of the offenders in our sample and its relationship to the violence they experienced in their homes.

Delinquent Background

Juveniles are committed to New Jersey's correctional system for a variety of offenses. These offenses include property crimes such as burglary, theft and vandalism as well as violent crimes such as murder, robbery, rape and aggravated assault. Regardless of their committing offense, the majority of offenders have been involved in violent crimes.

As Table 17 shows, only 21% have never been arrested for a violent offense¹ and nearly one-fifth have been arrested for a violent offense at least five times. While the majority of both boys and girls has been arrested for a violent offense, the boys appear to be more violent than the girls. For ex-

TABLE 17 NUMBER OF ARRESTS FOR VIOLENT CRIMES BY SEX

	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>
0	20% (63)	34% (15)	21% (78)
1	22% (69)	23% (10)	21% (79)
2	17% (55)	18% (8)	17% (63)
3	14% (43)	9% (4)	13% (47)
4	7% (22)	9% (4)	7% (26)
5 or more	<u>21% (67)</u>	<u>7% (3)</u>	<u>19% (70)</u>
	101% (319)	100% (44)	98% (363)

ample, 80% of the boys compared to 66% of the girls have been arrested for violent crimes.

The arrest data also indicate racial differences. White and Hispanic offenders are slightly less violent than black offenders. As Table 18 indicates, 29% of whites and 25% of Hispanics compared to 18% of blacks have never been arrested for a violent offense.

The use of arrest data to assess delinquent activity has several limitations: it measures only delinquent activity that comes to the attention of authorities; it reflects inconsistencies in the processing of offenders by the juvenile justice system; and by using official categories of crime it provides few details about the crime itself. Because of these limitations, we asked the offenders for self-reports of delinquent activity.

TABLE 18 NUMBER OF ARRESTS FOR VIOLENT CRIMES BY RACE

	<u>Black</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Hispanic</u>
0	18% (43)	29% (26)	25% (9)
1	20% (46)	23% (21)	31% (11)
2	17% (39)	22% (20)	11% (4)
3	14% (33)	10% (9)	14% (5)
4	8% (19)	7% (6)	3% (1)
5 or more	<u>23% (55)</u>	<u>8% (8)</u>	<u>17% (6)</u>
	100% (235)	99% (90)	101% (36)

As Table 19 indicates, the most commonly reported delinquent activity is shoplifting followed by burglary and going to school high on drugs and alcohol. Beating someone for the hell of it is the most often reported violent crime.

Several sex differences appear. In particular, boys more often report property crimes including shoplifting, auto theft, and burglary. Girls report running away and drug use more frequently. Interesting differences also appear in the types of violent crimes boys and girls report. Boys are especially likely to report robbery and armed robbery--violence that is committed primarily for material gain. Girls, on the other hand, are more likely to report beating someone for the hell of it--a violent act that apparently brings no reward but the satisfaction of hurting someone.

TABLE 19 PERCENTAGE OF OFFENDERS WHO REPORTED COMMITTING THE FOLLOWING OFFENSES BY SEX

	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>
Ranaway	45% (81)	55% (21)	47% (102)
Shoplifting	76% (136)	55% (21)	72% (157)
Auto Theft	57% (102)	34% (13)	53% (115)
Burglary	76% (136)	42% (16)	70% (152)
Robbery	51% (91)	34% (13)	48% (104)
Armed Robbery	46% (83)	26% (10)	43% (93)
Attacked someone with a weapon	45% (80)	47% (18)	45% (98)
Used hard drugs	51% (91)	60% (23)	53% (114)
Prostitution	13% (23)	8% (3)	12% (26)
Arson	13% (23)	16% (6)	13% (29)
Rape	8% (14)	8% (3)	8% (17)
Went to school high on alcohol or drugs	65% (118)	71% (27)	66% (145)
Beat someone for the hell of it	51% (92)	68% (26)	54% (118)

The self reports also indicate racial differences in delinquent activity. Most striking is the proportion of white offenders reporting substance abuse compared to black offenders. As Table 20 indicates, 85% of the white offenders

TABLE 20 PERCENTAGE OF OFFENDERS WHO REPORTED
COMMITTING THE FOLLOWING OFFENSES BY RACE

	<u>Black</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Hispanic</u>
Ranaway	37% (49)	66% (43)	45% (10)
Shoplifting	74% (97)	75% (49)	50% (11)
Auto Theft	45% (59)	61% (40)	73% (16)
Burglary	67% (88)	75% (49)	68% (15)
Robbery	51% (66)	40% (26)	54% (12)
Armed Robbery	45% (59)	29% (19)	68% (15)
Attacked someone with a weapon	40% (53)	51% (33)	55% (12)
Used hard drugs	37% (48)	85% (55)	50% (11)
Prostitution	11% (15)	14% (9)	15% (3)
Arson	6% (8)	27% (17)	18% (4)
Rape	7% (9)	9% (6)	9% (2)
Went to school high on alcohol or drugs	55% (73)	91% (59)	59% (13)
Beat someone for the hell of it	50% (65)	66% (43)	45% (10)

compared to only 37% of the blacks reported using hard drugs and 91% of the whites compared to 55% of the blacks report attending school high on drugs or alcohol. Differences also appear in the nature of violent crimes committed. White of-

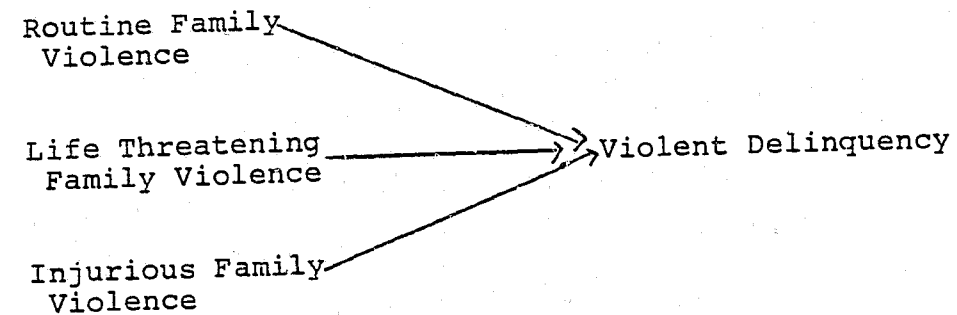
fenders more often report beating someone for the hell of it, while blacks more often report robbery and armed robbery.

A Conceptual Model Explaining the Relationship Between
Family Violence and Violent Delinquency

Our theoretical perspective posits that violence is learned in much the same way as other kinds of behavior. That is, individuals learn by imitating the violence of others--especially those with whom they have psychologically important relationships. Family relationships are ordinarily the most important in a child's life. Exposure to family violence, then, is likely to be critical in promoting violence in general and violent delinquency in particular.

In order to examine the relationship between family violence and violent delinquency, we devised a conceptual model that includes three manifestations of family violence: routine violence, life threatening violence and injurious violence. The model, as presented in Figure 1, suggests that the frequency with which the three forms of family violence occur will have a direct effect on violent delinquency.

FIGURE 1 CONCEPTUAL MODEL OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN
FAMILY VIOLENCE AND VIOLENT DELINQUENCY



Routine family violence is measured by the number of times an offender was hit with a belt or stick or some other hard object. Such violence is often inflicted in the name of punishment and is, to a large extent, culturally approved. The common assumption is that such violence does no harm and, in fact, is good for children. We are not convinced that such violence is benign. We hypothesized that the more often offenders were victims of routine violence, the more violent they are.

Life threatening violence is measured by the number of times an offender was threatened or assaulted with a knife or gun. Such violence is both extreme and culturally proscribed. Nonetheless, children who experience it in their homes are likely to conclude that it is both legitimate and expedient.

We hypothesized that the more often offenders were victims of life threatening violence, the more violent they are.

Injurious violence is measured by the number of times offenders were beaten so badly they were bruised or bled. It does not refer to the nature of the abuse but to the severity of its consequences. Children who are beaten severely learn how effectively violence can be used to inflict pain and compel others to submit to one's will. We hypothesized that the more often offenders were victims of severe violence, the more violent they are.

The dependent variable in our model is violent delinquency. It is measured by the number of times an offender was arrested for murder and reported having robbed someone with a weapon, robbed someone without a weapon, raped someone, attacked someone with a weapon, and beat someone for the hell of it.² Self reports were used in each case with the exception of murder.³

Testing Our Conceptual Model

To test our conceptual model, ordinary least squares regression is used. This statistical technique allows us to assess the individual contribution of several independent variables to our dependent variable, violent delinquency. The independent variables in the model include three variables measuring family violence: routine violence, life threatening

TABLE 21 MEAN, STANDARD DEVIATION AND
RANGE OF SCORES ON SCALES (N=179)

	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Standard Deviation</u>	<u>Range</u>
Number of violent crimes	9.99	10.20	0-50
Routine family violence	5.40	6.32	0-20
Life threatening family violence	.63	1.82	0-11
Injurious family violence	2.20	4.66	0-20

violence and injurious violence, and three control variables: age, race and sex.⁴ Table 21 presents the mean, standard deviation and range of the variables used in the regression.

As Table 22 indicates, the independent variables in the regression explain 10% of the variance in violent crime. Although the proportion of variance explained is modest, it indicates that family violence is significant in explaining violent delinquency. In particular, the manifestation of family violence that significantly affects the number of violent crimes committed is routine violence. The more often offenders were victims of routine violence, the more violent crimes they committed. This suggests that the most ordinary type of family violence--one that is sometimes culturally approved--leads to violent acts outside the home. Contrary to our expectations, life threatening family violence and injurious family violence have no significant effect on violent delinquency.

TABLE 22 REGRESSION OF FAMILY VIOLENCE ON
NUMBER OF VIOLENT CRIMES

<u>Independent variable</u>	<u>Number of Violent Crimes</u>		
	<u>Unstandardized regression coefficient</u>	<u>Standard error</u>	<u>Standardized regression coefficient</u>
Routine family violence	.41	.15	.25**
Life threatening family violence	.69	.47	.12
Injurious family violence	-.22	.21	-.10
Nonwhite	.91	1.72	.04
Male	1.62	2.14	.06
Age	-1.57	.67	-.19*

$R^2 = .10$

*p < .05
**p < .01
***p < .001

Race, sex and age were entered into the model primarily as control variables. While race and sex are not significant, the younger the offenders are the more violent crimes they have committed. One possible explanation is that the younger the offenders are when incarcerated, the more seriously delinquent

they are. Generally, the correctional system is used only after alternative placements have been exhausted, particularly when offenders are young. When older offenders are committed, it is usually after an accumulation of offenses.

Although the analysis found that family violence does have an effect on violent delinquency, it suggests that not all forms of family violence are important. Only routine violence affects violent delinquency. This suggested to us that perhaps violent delinquency is not unidimensional either and that distinctions can be made among types of violent crimes.

One important distinction is between violent crimes that are primarily instrumental and those that are primarily expressive. Instrumental violent crimes usually use violence or the threat of violence to achieve another goal. For example, robbery is an instrumental crime. Expressive violent crimes do not necessarily involve a motive other than the satisfaction of participating in violence. For example, assaulting someone for no reason or raping someone are expressive crimes.

We hypothesized that family violence is a better predictor of expressive violent crimes than instrumental crimes. We assumed that much of family violence is also expressive in nature---it is an expression of anger and uncontrolled emotions. Learning violent behavior involves not only learning the techniques of committing violent acts but also learning that committing violent acts can be emotionally satisfying. Expressive

violent crimes generally contain an element of pleasure for those committing the crime. In the case of instrumental crimes, it is possible that those committing the crimes are only interested in the end product such as monetary gain.

To examine the effect of family violence on expressive and instrumental crimes, regression is used again. Expressive violent delinquency is measured using the number of times an offender was arrested for murder and reported rape, attacking someone with a weapon, and beating someone for the hell of it. Instrumental violent crime includes the number of times an offender reported robbery and armed robbery.

As Tables 23 and 24 indicate, the independent variables in the model explain 14% of the variance in expressive violence and only five percent in instrumental violence. Furthermore, none of the independent variables in the instrumental violent model is significant. Two of the variables measuring family violence have a significant impact on expressive violence.

Both routine family violence and life threatening violence are important in explaining expressive violence. This is particularly interesting since life threatening family violence was not useful in explaining our general measure of violent delinquency. In many ways, life threatening family violence is an expressive type of violence. It is violence that typically occurs outside the context of punishment and

TABLE 23 REGRESSION OF FAMILY VIOLENCE ON
EXPRESSIVE VIOLENT CRIMES

Independent variable	Expressive Violent Crimes		
	Unstandardized regression coefficient	Standard error	Standardized regression coefficient
Routine family violence	.24	.09	.26***
Life threat- ening family violence	.82	.27	.25**
Injurious family violence	-.16	.12	-.13
Nonwhite	-.28	.98	-.02
Male	-.12	1.22	-.01
Age	-.79	.38	-.16*

$R^2 = .14$

*p < .05
**p < .01
***p < .001

is not culturally approved. It is likely to occur spontaneously and in times of emotional intensity rather than something that is intended and planned. Our findings suggest that offenders who are exposed to this particular form of family violence are particularly likely to commit expressive violent crimes.

TABLE 24 REGRESSION OF FAMILY VIOLENCE ON
INSTRUMENTAL VIOLENT CRIMES

Independent variable	Instrumental Violent Crimes		
	Unstandardized regression coefficient	Standard Error	Standardized regression coefficient
Routine family violence	.16	.09	.16
Life threat- ening family violence	-.11	.30	-.03
Injurious family violence	-.03	.13	-.02
Nonwhite	1.44	1.07	.11
Male	1.07	1.32	.06
Age	-.57	.42	-.11

$R^2 = .05$

*p < .05
**p < .01
***p < .001

Routine violence has an equally important effect on expressive violent crimes. This suggests that when offenders experience even the most usual forms of family violence, violence that typically occurs in the context of punishment, they are likely to commit expressive violent crimes. Apparently

exposure to violence of any sort conveys the message to children that violent acts are acceptable.

It should be noted that injurious violence does not have a significant effect on any of our measures of violent delinquency. It is difficult to interpret this finding. One possibility is that whether the violence actually results in physical harm does not affect how well the lessons of violence are learned. Children learn to imitate violence by experiencing it regardless of whether they are injured or not.

Overall, the analysis indicates that family violence does affect violent delinquency. However, it also suggests that it is only useful in explaining expressive violence--violence that is intrinsically rewarding and an end in itself. Yet family violence explains only a portion of expressive violence. Because family violence occurs in the broader context of family life, we decided to examine the effects of other family characteristics on expressive violence.

Family Structure, Family Violence and Violent Delinquency

Many studies have addressed the issue of the relationship between broken homes and delinquency (Chilton and Markle, 1972; Nye, 1958; Dentler and Monroe, 1961; Toby, 1957). They suggest that juveniles who come in contact with the juvenile

justice system are disproportionately from broken homes. A relationship also seem to exist between family violence and broken homes. As we saw earlier, many of the offenders in our study who experienced family violence also came from broken homes.

We were interested in determining if the inclusion of family structure in our model would alter the relationship between family violence and violent delinquency. In other words, does family violence remain important in explaining violent delinquency when family structure is taken into account? We expected that the incidence of a broken home⁵ would not diminish the importance of family violence. We believe that violent delinquency is learned through interaction with others and is not a direct result of structural factors. A broken home does not necessarily provide an environment that generates violent delinquency. Only if a broken home produces family violence would we expect it to result in violent delinquency.

As Table 25 indicates, the results of the regression analysis do not change when family structure is entered into the model. Whether an offender comes from a broken home is insignificant in explaining expressive violent crimes. What remains significant is the offender's exposure to routine family violence and life threatening family violence. This lends support to our belief that violent delinquency is most likely to result when children are exposed to violence in their homes.

TABLE 25 REGRESSION OF FAMILY VIOLENCE AND
FAMILY STRUCTURE ON NUMBER OF EXPRESSIVE
VIOLENT CRIMES COMMITTED

Independent variable	Number of Expressive Violent Crimes		
	Unstandardized regression coefficient	Standard error	Standardized regression coefficient
Routine family violence	.25	.09	.26**
Life threat- ening family violence	.81	.27	.25**
Injurious family violence	-.15	.12	-.12
Broken home	-.48	.11	-.03
Nonwhite	-.20	.99	-.02
Male	.03	1.24	.00
Age	-.76	.39	.15*

$R^2 = .14$

*p < .05
**p < .01
***p < .001

Relationship with Parents, Family Violence
and Violent Delinquency

A great deal of research has examined the impact of family relationships on delinquent activity. It has generally confirmed that children who have unsatisfactory relationships with their parents are more prone to commit delinquent acts (McCord, McCord and Zola, 1959; Hirschi, 1969). As we saw earlier, the offenders in our sample who come from violent homes are also more likely to have problematic relationships with their parents.

To examine the interrelationship among violent homes, relationships with parents, and violent delinquency, we added two variables to our model--offenders' relationships with their mothers and offenders' relationships with their fathers.⁶ We expected that the children who have unsatisfactory relationships with one or both parents would have committed the most expressive violent crimes. When relationships with parents are poor, parents are unable to exert a positive influence on their children. This may result in inadequate socialization as well as limit parents' ability to supervise.

We also expected that family violence would remain significant in explaining expressive violent crimes. Although unsatisfactory relationships with parents may be important, it is the exposure to family violence that actually teaches children violent behavior.

As Table 26 indicates, when relationships with parents are entered into the regression, the amount of variance explained in expressive violence increases from 14% to 17%. The regression analysis indicates that offenders who have poor relationships with their fathers have committed more expressive violent crimes. It also confirms that family violence remains significant in explaining expressive violence.

A particularly interesting finding is that offenders' relationships with their fathers are more important than their relationships with their mothers. In fact, relationships with mothers are not significant at all in explaining expressive violence. It is possible that our findings reflect the fact that our sample is predominantly male and that relationships with fathers are particularly crucial for boys. When relationships are strained, it creates unhappiness and frustration in the offenders' lives that may be expressed through violent acts. It is also possible that such relationships prevent fathers from exerting much control over their children.

Overall, the analysis indicates that family violence is more important than family relationships in predicting expressive violent delinquency. Specifically, the strongest contributors in the model remain exposure to life threatening family violence and routine family violence. Once again, this lends support to our belief that violent behavior is learned by imitation in the context of the family.

TABLE 26 REGRESSION OF FAMILY VIOLENCE AND
RELATIONSHIPS WITH PARENTS ON NUMBER OF
EXPRESSIVE VIOLENT CRIMES COMMITTED

Independent variable	Number of Expressive Violent Crimes		
	Unstandardized regression coefficient	Standard error	Standardized regression coefficient
Routine family violence	.19	.09	.20*
Life threat- ening family violence	.99	.30	.29**
Injurious family violence	-.19	.13	-.14
Inadequate relationship with father	.27	.13	.16*
Inadequate relationship with mother	-.17	.21	-.08
Nonwhite	-.39	1.10	-.03
Male	.78	1.31	.05
Age	-1.08	.42	-.22**

$R^2 = .17$

*p < .05
**p < .01
***p < .001

The Relationship Between Family Violence
and Other Types of Delinquency

The offenders in our study not only have extensive histories of violent behavior but they have been involved in other types of delinquent behavior as well. We expected that family violence would also contribute to these types of delinquency. In particular, we expected that children who experience violence may seek ways of escaping their situation. We focused on two types of "escapist" behavior: running away and substance abuse. When children run away they are able to physically escape the tension and threat of harm that permeates their homes. Children who use drugs and alcohol may be seeking to psychologically escape the problems of violent homes.

We examined the effect of family violence on the number of times offender ran away and the number of times they went to school high on drugs or alcohol. As Tables 27 and 28 indicate, the independent variables in the model explain 19% of the variance in running away and 24% of the variance in going to school high.

The most important independent variable explaining running away is the race of the offender. Nonwhite offenders ran away less often than white offenders. Another significant variable explaining running away is life threatening violence. Offenders who experienced violence involving a weapon ran away

TABLE 27 REGRESSION OF FAMILY VIOLENCE ON
NUMBER OF RUNAWAYS

Independent variable	Number of times runaway		
	Unstandardized regression coefficient	Standard error	Standardized regression coefficient
Routine family violence	-.01	.05	-.02
Life threat- ening family violence	.27	.14	.15*
Injurious family violence	.09	.06	.13
Nonwhite	-1.97	.52	-.28***
Male	-1.12	.65	-.13
Age	-.15	.20	-.06

$R^2 = .19$

*p < .05
**p < .01
***p < .001

more often. This suggests that children from these homes perceive a serious threat to their safety and feel they must physically escape the situation. Other forms of family violence have no effect on the offenders' propensity to run away.

TABLE 28 REGRESSION OF FAMILY VIOLENCE ON NUMBER OF
TIMES ATTENDED SCHOOL HIGH ON DRUGS AND ALCOHOL

Independent variable	Number of times attended school high		
	Unstandardized regression coefficient	Standard error	Standardized regression coefficient
Routine family violence	.12	.06	.16*
Life threat- ening family violence	.11	.20	.04
Injurious family violence	-.05	.09	-.05
Nonwhite	-4.38	.73	-.43***
Male	-.61	.91	-.05
Age	.33	.29	.08

$$R^2 = .24$$

*p < .05
**p < .01
***p < .001

In the model focusing on drug and alcohol abuse, the most important contributor is, once again, the race of the offender. White offenders went to school high more often than nonwhite offenders. Routine family violence is also significant in explaining substance abuse. The more often

offenders experienced routine family violence, the more often they went to school high. This suggests that children have a difficult time psychologically coping with violent homes. Perhaps drug and alcohol use allow them to avoid experiencing the anxiety and frustration of growing up in a violent home.

The findings also raise another possibility. When drug and alcohol abuse becomes severe, the consequences can be devastating to the user. In many ways, their use becomes a form of self abuse. Children who experience family violence learn that they are unworthy and unloved. They may even learn to believe that they are unlovable. This lesson may manifest itself in children who identify with the role of the abused. One way of fulfilling this role is to abuse oneself through the destructive use of drugs and alcohol.

FOOTNOTES--CHAPTER FOUR

¹Violent offenses include murder, robbery, sex offenses, aggravated assault, assault, arson and carrying a concealed weapon. For a complete breakdown of specific offenses, see Appendix B.

²Violent delinquency could be measured several ways other than by the frequency with which violent crimes were committed. For example, we could have attempted to divide our sample into violent and nonviolent offenders. This would have been difficult since most of the offenders admitted committing violent crimes and we did not want to discriminate arbitrarily between violent and nonviolent offenders. We could also have attempted to rate the seriousness of the violent crimes they committed. But attempts to do this rely on a rating scale that requires a great deal of knowledge about the details of the event--information that was, for the most part, unavailable. Rather than making distinctions about the severity of violent crimes, we focused on the frequency with which they were committed. This decision was based on the assumption that the number of violent acts an offender commits is indicative of how seriously committed an offender is to violent delinquency.

³Self reports were used because they are capable of measuring more activity than arrest data. Self reports were not used in the case of murder since we doubt that any of the offenders committed murders for which they were not arrested.

⁴Dummy variables were created for race and sex. They were coded as follows:

Nonwhite	1	Male	1
White	0	Female	0

⁵A broken home was defined as any living situation prior to incarceration in which the mother or father was not present.

⁶See Appendix C for a discussion of how these variables were created.

CHAPTER FIVE: TWO FAMILIES

Because it is easy to forget that the numbers in the previous chapters concern real children, we offer below the case histories of two boys -- both told by the boys themselves. In several ways, their experiences are typical of the boys and girls we met in conducting our research. We hope that they help to animate what so far has been portrayed only as a statistical connection between family violence and violent delinquency.

David

David is 17 years old and tall and lean with a boney face. The violence in his home was typical in that it was serious -- even brutal; in that it was chronic -- so chronic that it was an everyday part of life; and in that it was irrational violence -- violence inflicted mainly in a drunken rage. Hence David, like many offenders, had ample opportunity to learn violence in his home. And, as we shall see, he applied what he learned first in his home and later on the streets.

My mom married my father when I was about two years old. That was in Virginia when he was in the service and my mom was poor and didn't have enough money to feed us. She'd take me

and my sister over my father's house. She said we used to eat peanut butter and crackers and watch television. That's how they got to know one another and got married.

We moved up here when I was around three. We lived with my grandmother for a while and then we moved into this small apartment. We were a regular family then--quiet, loving. My father worked then. He had a motorcycle and he used to take us to the park all the time and we'd visit my grandmother about everyday. We were, you know, a normal family.

Then about six years ago we moved to this house in a different town. That's when my parents started drinking. And I started drinking. And the whole family fell apart.

Before we moved my mother never worked a day in her life. Then she decided she wanted to work. She didn't want to be a housewife anymore. She talked to my father about it and at first he kept saying no. But she kept after him and he finally said all right.

Once she got a job my mother started hanging around with the wrong people. She used to cheat on my father. One night I was sleeping and my father woke me and asked if I wanted to go looking for my mom because she wasn't where she was supposed to be. We got in my father's car and we went looking for her. Finally, we found her after driving around for a while. It was in this hotel.

I used to spy on her a lot after that. My father got me

doing it. When I needed money or something like that I'd go looking for her. My town has bars all over the place and I'd usually find her in one of them. I'd get mad--seeing her drinking all the time.

When she got home my father would always walk up to her and say, "Where were you, why did you have to lie?" My mother would get mad and say, "Why are you spying on me? Why are you staring at me--keeping an eye on what I'm doing?"

After a while my father started taking her out drinking himself--to try to get together with her. I guess he felt guilty. He figured, "She's going with other men so it's got to be my fault. There's something I'm doing wrong." So he'd take her out drinking. But when my father drinks he gets very jealous. Even if my mother just looks at another man he gets mad. He'd beat the shit out of the other man. Then when they got home he'd beat up my mother.

Toward the end about every night they went out drinking together. And when they got home almost every night he'd beat her. I'd catch them on the floor wrestling. And he'd be on top of her--punching her. I'd kick him in the face, pick him up and slam him--all kinds of things. He'd try to hit me back--he'd damn sure try. But when he was drunk he couldn't do nothing. When he was straight I was no match for him. But when he was drunk he didn't know what he was doing.

Once he sobered up he'd come downstairs, look at my mother

and say, "What happened to you?" My mother wouldn't answer him. And then he'd say, "Oh man--I must have did it." And then he wouldn't say nothing. My mother thought he was faking it. She figured he wasn't that drunk and he did it on purpose. But I believed him. I figured if you were that drunk you'd have to forget what you were doing.

One time--it was New Year's Eve--my parents went out and these friends of mine brought over two cases of beer and we went to my bedroom and we drank and drank till the beer was gone and then my friends left. I fell asleep and woke up around two o'clock and I went out and I hung around for a while and when I got back I saw the same thing was happening--my father was beating my mother. He had punched her in the eye--the blood-vessels in her eye were all broken. She had a black eye and bruises all over her, scratches here and there and her tooth went right through her lip. That was the worst I ever seen him beat her.

Then he went after my sister. She had just got this nightgown for Christmas that he bought her. He grabbed it and ripped it all up--and that was her favorite. I got mad and I ran up to him--grabbed the back of his head and I spun him around and smashed his face into my knee. He just fell on the ground and I was punching him in the face--for at least twenty minutes. I don't know what I would have done if the cops didn't come. I don't know if I would have sat there and beat him to death.

But I never got it that bad from my father. I used to get over on him--no matter how drunk I was. I'd be outside drinking and as soon as I'd walk inside--hit the warm air--I'd straighten up enough to pull it off. I'd walk in and my mother would look at me and say I was drunk. And I'd say I'm not--I'm just tired. I'd bullshit--I'd always bullshit her. But she wouldn't believe me. She'd go in and tell my father I was drunk as hell but my father wouldn't get excited. He'd look at me and I wouldn't be staggering or shaking or nothing and he figured there was no problem.

He'd beat the hell out of me for other things though--cutting school, being where I wasn't supposed to be, going out without telling him where I was going--crap like that. He used to beat me with a belt--but not to put bruises or anything. He used to tell me, "If you're going to act like a man, you'll take a beating like a man." So we'd go outside and fight and he'd kill me.

The main reason I started drinking was to be with my friends. They'd ask me, "Hey, do you want to try this?" and I'd say, "Hey, why not?" I'd be afraid to say no because they might think I was a baby or something.

There wasn't nobody who could drink as much as me. We used to have contests--who could drink the most. I never lost. There were guys years older than me who'd been drinking half their lives. I could beat them--no sweat.

A lot of time me and my friends used to go up to the mall together. One day somebody asked me if I could steal them a socket set. I stole that and I got away with it. I found out it was fun and then I did it again and again and again. Then I was robbing practically every store I passed. I kept getting away with it, too -- for about a year. Then one day I started saving everything -- for about three months I saved everything I stole. I got a big truckload of it and I calculated it all up and it came to over three thousand dollars.

The first time I got arrested they brought me down to the station and my father came and got me. He didn't even punish me for that. He said, "What the police will do is enough punishment for you." Because he thought I was going to get locked up but all they did was put me on house arrest and informal probation -- whatever the hell that is.

Mostly what I did with the money I got from stealing was use it on drugs. I used to use anything -- except I wouldn't stick a needle in my arm. I used any kind of drug as long as I didn't have to use a needle.

One time me and my friends went to this church parking lot where they were having bingo in the church. Right in the back is a pile of bricks and we all grabbed as many as we could carry. Then we jumped on the cars and started smashing them. We smashed about twenty before the police got there and then we ran and got away with it -- they never found out who did it.

We used to jump people, too -- just for the hell of it. This one time we went to a state fair and this kid asked me if I wanted to beat somebody up and I said "What for?" and he said, "Just for the fun of it." So we got this victim -- this kid about our own age -- and pulled him in back behind this fence and we just beat him up. I just kept punching him. We knocked him out, too. He was just laying there. And while we were doing it, I felt like I was getting out this anger from outside -- against my mother and my whole family.

I did that kind of stuff about once a month -- sometimes with the same guy and sometimes with other people. Mostly we used to pick on guys our own age. We never picked on women. No way we'd pick on women. And I never used any weapon. Just my fists -- I'd just beat the kid with my fists. I never regretted it either. Sometimes I'd look forward to the next time. Now I look back and think that was stupid of me. But I didn't see it that way then. I thought it was fun.

Alan

Alan, a small and wiry 17 year old, is incarcerated for murdering his father. That was his one and only delinquent offense and he did it because, for as long as he can remember, his father had brutalized his mother and brother and sister and him and it seemed the time had come to put an end to it. What is remarkable -- yet typical -- about Alan's story is the severity and irrationality of the violence in his home; it was usually in a drunken rage that Alan's father abused his wife and children. And, though Alan's story is in many ways unique, it shows in an unambiguous way how the violence that children experience in their homes can lead them to violence themselves.

Once, when I was skipping school a lot, they took me to court and I had to see this psychologist. I told him that my father was an alcoholic and beat up the family everyday. I told him how when my mom came home from work he'd take her check and go to the bar and spend it. And then he'd come home drunk and take it out on the family. And my mom would take a couple of dollars from his wallet when he was asleep because she needed money. But the psychologist wouldn't believe it. He thought nothing could ever happen that way.

My mother told me her relationship with my father used to be pretty good. But then it went downhill when he started drinking and doing drugs. She was the one he picked on worse than anybody. Since I was small I've seen him beat the shit out of her. I didn't like it. But there was nothing I could do about it.

Whenever my father had some kind of problem with one of his friends or something he'd come home drunk and beat up one

CONTINUED

1 OF 2

of us. Then he'd sit down at the table and tell my mom to get him something to eat or he was going to break her neck. Then he'd go to bed.

One time I saw him go after my mom with a shotgun. He shot at her, too. But he missed; I think he was just trying to scare her or something because he knows how to shoot a gun. My mom left and went over somebody's house and my father left, too, but then he came back and said the whole thing was my mom's fault and he went after her with a shotgun again. My brother called my mom and told her to hide and my father found out and came home and beat the shit out of him -- punched him in the face a few times, threw him across the floor.

Most of the time when my father beat me he was drunk. I'd go over somebody's house without asking him and he'd beat the shit out of me for it. And when he sobered up he never said he was sorry. He'd say, "You do something like that again and I'll kill you."

When he was beating me my brothers used to try to get out of the house so they wouldn't get it. But my mom would try to get him off of me. She'd jump on him -- start to hit him. He'd turn around and hit her, knock her across the room. Then he'd go back to what he was doing.

I tried to hit him back once. I swung at him. But it was a mistake. He beat the shit out of me. He busted my mouth open. Then he threw me across the floor. I didn't think I was going to get up again. My dad was an ex-boxer

and a karate teacher. He was short and kind of heavy set. Nobody wanted to mess with him.

I was always afraid of my father -- mostly of the things he would do to my mother. And I could never talk to him. The only time I might have a good time with him was if I went hunting with him or something. If somebody scared a deer or something he'd beat the shit out of them. That was about the only good times.

I never told any of my friends about my father because they'd probably be afraid to come around my house. But some of my teachers knew what was going on. I'd come into school with bruises and everything and I'd come up with a story -- like I fell off my bike or something. They'd say "sure" and they'd send me to the nurse and they'd find footprints on my ribs or something and they'd say, "How did you get that?" and I'd say me and my dad got into a fight last night. They never did anything about it, though.

One time my brother came into school and he couldn't sit down so they took him to the nurse. He had fly swatter marks on his back -- from the metal handle. The nurse called the Division of Youth and Family Services and they took him to court. But the judge threw it out. He said the way my brother acts he probably deserves it.

The police knew my father, too. He got locked up a couple of times for drinking and destroying somebody's property or something. If he didn't like somebody and they had animals

he'd kill them. He used to go and get these long skinny metal rods and make an arrow and shoot it at them. The neighbors would call the cops and the cops would tell my dad if there was anything like that again they'd put him in jail. The neighbors were all afraid of my dad face to face. But behind his back they'd say they were going to shoot and kill him.

My mom probably stayed with him so long because she was afraid of him. He said if she left he was going to find her and kill her wherever she was at. She tried to leave him once and he put her in the hospital with a double concussion and a couple of broken ribs. My mother told the doctors she fell down the steps. Some of them believed her. But some of them knew what was happening. But they wouldn't say anything about it.

It's hard to say why my father was like he was. He used to say that when he was a kid and he messed up his father would do the same thing to him as he did to us so he thought it was all right. I never knew his father. He died before I was born.

The night it happened my sister's boyfriend had been talking to me about it. I can't say it was impulsive or anything. It was something we had been thinking about for a long time but never had the courage to do. My oldest brother was talking about it the most because beside my mother he always got it the worst. It was just something that came up now and then. It was kind of

a joke at first. But the further it got the more serious it got.

What happened that night was my sister had been in her second month of pregnancy and my dad hit her in the stomach and made her lose the baby. I got mad about that. Then my dad hit me in the stomach. And then he busted my mom's mouth open. So I started drinking and smoking dope. And the more my sister's boyfriend talked to me about it the madder I got.

After my dad came home and went to sleep I went downstairs and grabbed the gun. So I had the gun in my hand -- a shotgun. My mom always got up late at night to go to the bathroom. So we waited till she went to the bathroom and we went to the bedroom where my dad was sleeping. I wasn't sure what I was doing. But I heard my sister's boyfriend say, "Point the gun over here." So I moved the gun but he didn't want it in the spot where I put it. So he reached over and grabbed it -- tried to jerk it from me. And it went off and hit my father between the spine and shoulder blade.

When my mom heard the shot she came running into the room-- seen me with the gun in my hand. I didn't let go; I just stood there with the gun at my side. When my mom ran in she turned on the light and seen that my dad was just laying there.

We knew we had to get rid of the body someplace. So we got the car -- took it around the backyard, right up to the back door. We had plastic around the back of the house -- we were starting to fix the house up, it was pretty cold out,

near the end of winter--so I pulled the plastic off. Then we took my dad through the house, put him in the back of the car and wrapped him up with a blanket.

My sister's boyfriend went upstairs and woke up my sister because she slept through the whole thing. He said, "You don't have to worry about anything anymore. We just killed your dad." She just looked at him. Then she wanted to come with us when we took the body to wherever we was going to take it.

We didn't know where it was going to be at first. We just rode around. And then we found a spot in a wooded area. There was this dirt driveway. We went up through that. There was a pile of leaves sitting there about a quarter of a mile off the road. We took the body out of the car and put leaves on it and drove home. Then we got the blankets that had blood on them and put them in the washer.

Later that night my cousin came over. My mom told her that my dad left and said he wasn't coming back. Then she went to the bedroom--seen that the bed was stripped. She looked under the mattress and saw blood.

At the time I was feeling scared. But I felt somewhat a good feeling because I didn't have to deal with my father anymore. I wasn't thinking about the cops or anything. But then, a couple of days later, after I got to thinking a little bit more, I thought about going to the cops and telling them myself what happened but I didn't.

When the detectives came to get us they didn't know who I was at first because I had long hair and they thought I was a girl or something. So I told them, "You must be looking for me." They already had my mom down at the police station. I figured since they had her they may as well take me, too. I wouldn't know what to do without her.

My sister's boyfriend was hiding upstairs in this hole or something in the wall. He had made it himself and had it all plastered up. The detectives came up and searched and found him and handcuffed him and put him in the car. I walked down with him, hopped in the car, sat in the front seat.

They had my mom in county jail for thirteen days and they had me in detention. I told them if they let her out I'd tell them exactly everything that happened. I had already told them most of everything but they wanted to know everybody that went with the body, where we put it.

They wound up putting my mom on two years probation. She got married again and she's going to have a baby next month. My sister's boyfriend went to Yardville. He got to do 14 years. The judge gave me a twenty year sentence. I think it was going to be worse but my sister got up and talked to the judge. I don't know what she said. She kind of persuaded him not to give me what he said he was going to give me -- juvenile life or something.

I try not to think about my father too much. If I do I

try to think as far back as I can on some of his good side-- see the good that he did. I try to take that instead of what he did bad.

When I look back on it, I feel it wasn't all his fault. He wasn't the only one in the house that had problems. We all did. His problems could have been taken care of but they wasn't. My mom could have had my dad set up to see a psychiatrist or talk to a judge or have him sent to a mental home or something. He had a bad mental problem. My mom wasn't doing what she could have done and that could have solved most of the problems.

I expect to be locked up for a year and a half. The longer I'm locked up the more I can deal with my problems and can understand more of what happened to me. In case something happens to me I'll know how to cope with it -- how to deal better with the problem.

When I get out I'll probably find out if I can move in with some friends for a while. Then I'll get a job, save some money, move into my own place.

I figure I'll have my own family one day. It'll be the complete opposite from my family. I'd want to be working - have everything paid off. And I'm not going to treat my kids badly all the time. If they want something, I figure they need something, I'll give it to them. But I might give them a good smack on the butt when they do something wrong--

real wrong. It ain't too good. But if they do something bad, I'll smack them.

CHAPTER SIX CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

This study was concerned with the connection between family violence and violent delinquency. It examined the hypothesis that the two kinds of violence are closely related: that the more violence children experience in their homes the more likely they are to be violent themselves. That hypothesis derived from the theoretical point of view that violence, like other kinds of behavior, is learned.

The study focused on a group of incarcerated juvenile offenders. The case records of 374 offenders were examined; 224 of those offenders completed a questionnaire and 22 were interviewed. There were no significant differences between offenders who completed a questionnaire and those who refused. Comparisons of the case records and questionnaires suggested that the questionnaires were by and large reliable.

Our principal findings were as follows:

- Most of the offenders were abused and most also witnessed family violence.
- Typically the violence in the homes of the offenders was chronic and in many it was an everyday part of life.

- Family violence was often serious enough to cause bruises and bleeding and even injuries that required medical care.
- Violence was not always inflicted in the name of punishment but was sometimes inflicted irrationally and for its own sake.
- Offenders were abused mainly by their parents and fathers and mothers were about equally abusive.
- A good deal of abuse also was inflicted by siblings.
- Female offenders were abused no less often than male offenders and no less severely.
- A majority of offenders had been arrested at least once for a violent offense and many had been arrested for several violent offenses.
- Family violence was associated with drug and alcohol abuse, the absence of a parent and unsatisfactory relationships.
- There was a close relationship between the violence offenders experienced in their homes

and violent delinquency; the more offenders were abused the more violent crimes they committed.

- More precisely, there was a close relationship between the violence offenders experienced in their homes and expressive violent delinquency; that is, the more offenders were abused the more they engaged in violence for its own sake.
- Violent delinquency seemed to result not only from life threatening and culturally proscribed family violence but also from family violence that is routine and culturally approved.
- Knowing how often offenders were abused was more helpful in explaining violent delinquency than either family structure or family relationships.
- Finally, family violence was associated with escapist delinquency; the more offenders were abused the more they ran away from home and abused drugs and alcohol.

Theoretical Implications

Our research proceeded from the proposition that children are more likely to become violent when they grow up in violent homes. What we discovered supports that proposition. Indeed, the more violence the offenders experienced in their homes the more violent offenses they committed.

Family violence is certainly not the sole cause of violent delinquency. Rather it is obvious that violent delinquency is a consequence of a complex configuration of factors. What our findings suggest is that family violence is one of those factors.

Our findings also help to identify the kinds of family violence that are related to violent delinquency. Violent delinquency, it seems, is not only a consequence of extreme family violence that almost everyone condemns. It apparently is a consequence, as well, of family violence that many of us find perfectly acceptable so long as it is in the name of correcting misbehavior. Hence family violence thought to be benign may not be so benign after all.

It does not seem, however, that family violence promotes all types of violent delinquency. Instead it promotes only violent acts, like rape and assault, that are intrinsically rewarding and ends in themselves. It apparently does not promote instrumentally motivated violence.

We assumed that there is a connection between family vio-

lence and violent delinquency because violence, like other kinds of behavior, is learned. While we discovered that children from violent homes are often violent themselves, we were unable to identify the process by which children from violent homes become violent offenders. That is, we were unable to confirm that the mechanism that produces the connection between family violence and violent delinquency is, in fact, learning.

We believe that violence is learned primarily through imitation and modeling; that children from violent homes become violent by mimicing the violence they experience around them. We recognize, however, that the process may sometimes be deliberate. Indeed, some parents want their children to be aggressive and violent when necessary and so encourage and even reward violent behavior.

We do not mean to suggest that learning--that which occurs through imitation and modeling or that which is intentional--accounts entirely for the connection between family violence and violent delinquency. It may be that the basis for the connection is partly psychological. That is, the personality disturbances that result from growing up in a violent home may ultimately manifest themselves in violent behavior.

A Model Treatment Program

Our findings concerning the relationship between family violence and violent delinquency suggest that family violence is an issue that warrants attention in the treatment of violent juvenile offenders. More than that, they suggest that it is a problem of such magnitude and seriousness that it is not enough to address it in a fragmented and incidental way. Rather family violence should be the focus of an integrated and holistic program of treatment.

Such a program could be part of a larger institution or occupy a space of its own. The important thing is that it be self contained and that offenders from violent homes live together. That would not only facilitate the delivery of treatment but also provide offenders with a locus of identification and fellowship and relieve their sense of isolation--the belief that what happened to them happened to no one else and that they are somehow responsible for it.

THE PROBLEM OF IDENTIFICATION: It might be that all offenders would benefit from treatment concerned with family violence. The offenders who would probably benefit most, however, are those who experienced it. Thus it is critical that correctional institutions develop effective techniques of identifying them.

An obvious first step is to examine case records. As our research reveals, however, the absence of family violence in a case record does not necessarily indicate that there was none. It is always important, therefore, to explore the possibility that offenders experienced family violence. That should be done as soon as possible--perhaps when they are in detention or a reception unit.

When social workers and psychologists conduct diagnostic assessments, then, they should routinely ask offenders whether they experienced family violence. Some offenders will readily admit it while others will be more reticent. There are probably creative ways, however, to encourage openness--including socio-dramas, films, visits from victims of family violence and discussion groups.

It is not only social workers and psychologists, however, who should be alert to the possibility that offenders experienced family violence. Doctors and nurses who conduct medical examinations should search for signs of abuse. And correctional officers, whose relations with offenders sometimes are especially close, should inform professional staff whenever they learn that an offender experienced family violence.

TREATMENT AIMS: The ultimate aim of the program is to discourage offenders from further violence. Toward that end, however, several specific aims would be pursued.

A central aim is to help offenders develop insight into the connection between their own violent behavior and the violence they experienced in their homes. It is a reasonable assumption--in fact, the assumption at the heart of psychotherapy--that insight has remedial value. Thus helping offenders appreciate why they behave violently ought to help them stop behaving violently.

Another aim is to clarify and challenge values concerning violence. It is likely that many offenders concluded from the violence they experienced in their homes that violence is all right: that it is a legitimate way to obtain what one wants and to express anger.

The violence of many offenders, in fact, is surely an expression of anger. More particularly, it is often an expression of anger toward abusive parents and siblings that has been displaced toward safer targets. Still another aim, then, is to provide offenders with an opportunity to ventilate anger and, more than that, help them develop benign ways of dealing with it.

THE PROGRAM: Since the program emphasizes the support offenders can give one another, its principal treatment modality is group therapy. Such groups would provide a structured opportunity for sharing experiences. Indeed, offenders are especially likely to be open with their peers.

The offenders would also participate in groups designed to develop parenting skills. Most of the offenders will someday have families of their own and some already have their own families. It is crucial, then, to break the cycle by which abused children become abusive parents.

A more immediate concern is preventing further violence in the homes of the offenders. Though eliciting parental involvement is always difficult, parents would be invited to participate in groups designed to enhance their parenting skills. They would also be asked to participate along with their children in therapy designed to address larger problems in family relationships.

The success of such a program depends on the selection of staff. They should be particularly supportive, concerned, and nurturant. Indeed, they should be all the things parents are supposed to be and the program should function as a kind of surrogate family. Staff would then serve as the right kind of adult models and give the offenders the opportunity to learn lessons different than those they learned in their own homes.

Forging Links With Protective Services

Family violence is traditionally, and by legal mandate, the concern of protective services agencies. Hence it is only

reasonable that, in their own efforts to deal with the problems of family violence, correctional institutions forge links with the protective services community. There are at least three areas in which such links would be helpful.

TRAINING: One of the ways in which protective services agencies would serve correctional institutions is by providing training. The training could focus, for example, on ways of identifying children who experienced family violence. It could explore the treatment needs of abused children. Finally, it could provide instruction in ways of dealing with children who seem to provoke abuse.

AFTERCARE: When offenders leave the correctional system, decisions need to be reached about whether they will return to their homes or to an alternative placement. At the very least, offenders should never be returned to homes that were violent without an investigation assessing the likelihood of further violence. Protective services agencies are especially equipped to conduct such investigations and to assist correctional institutions in placement decisions and decisions regarding aftercare services.

PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT: Another area for cooperation between juvenile correctional institutions and protective services

agencies is in developing and advocating educational programs and programs of other kinds designed to prevent family violence. Until now that function has belonged almost exclusively to the protective services community. Yet, in light of the connection between family violence and delinquency, especially violent delinquency, it is a function juvenile correctional institutions should share as well.

Cooperation between the protective services community and correctional institutions depends on the establishment of regular channels of communication. One way to achieve that is for correctional institutions and protective services agencies to designate liaisons to one another. It would be their responsibility, for example, to coordinate protective service investigations and develop community education programs.

Suggestions For Further Research

We discovered that violence in the homes of the offenders was common. Since our research had no comparison group, we cannot say with any certainty that violence is more common in the homes of juvenile offenders than the general population. Thus there is a need for research that examines the incidence of violence in the homes of nonoffenders as well as offenders.

That would make it possible to determine whether violence is, in fact, especially common in the homes of juvenile offenders and also clarify the causal connection between family violence and delinquency.

We intended to examine the separate effects of family violence that the offenders experienced as victims and witnesses. We were unable to do so because there were so few offenders in our sample who only witnessed family violence and were not abused themselves. Perhaps a larger research sample would identify enough subjects who only witnessed abuse so that the differential impact of family violence experienced as a victim and as a witness could be determined.

Our findings suggest that there is a connection between family violence and violent delinquency. It also needs to be asked whether there is a connection between family violence and violent crimes committed by adults. One issue is whether offenders who began their violent careers as adults were abused as children. Another is whether abused children who engage in violent delinquency continue to commit violent crimes as adults.

Finally, our research was concerned with the destructive consequences of family violence and on the basis of what we found we offered suggestions for treatment. But obviously it is better not to have to worry about the consequences of family violence at all. Hence there is a clear need for con-

tinued research that seeks to discover effective ways of preventing family violence.

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Appendix A

TABLE A.1 WILLINGNESS TO COMPLETE
QUESTIONNAIRE BY EVIDENCE OF PHYSICAL
ABUSE IN CASE RECORD

	<u>No evidence of abuse</u>	<u>Evidence of abuse</u>
Completed questionnaire	75% (167)	83% (57)
Refused to complete questionnaire	<u>25% (55)</u>	<u>17% (12)</u>
	100% (222)	100% (69)

TABLE A.2 WILLINGNESS TO COMPLETE
QUESTIONNAIRE BY RACE

	<u>Black</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Hispanic</u>
Completed questionnaire	71% (135)	92% (65)	85% (23)
Refused to complete questionnaire	<u>29% (56)</u>	<u>8% (6)</u>	<u>15% (4)</u>
	100% (191)	100% (71)	100% (27)

TABLE A.3 WILLINGNESS TO COMPLETE

QUESTIONNAIRE BY OFFENDER'S

ARREST RECORD

	<u>No violent offenses</u>	<u>One or more violent offenses</u>
Completed questionnaire	87% (54)	76% (170)
Refused to complete questionnaire	<u>13% (8)</u>	<u>24% (55)</u>
	100% (62)	100% (225)

Appendix BTABLE B.1 PERCENTAGE OF OFFENDERS EVER ARRESTED
FOR SPECIFIC OFFENSES BY SEX

	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>
Murder	4% (14)	----	4% (14)
Aggravated Assault	25% (79)	16% (7)	24% (86)
Assault	48% (153)	52% (23)	48% (176)
Robbery	39% (123)	29% (13)	37% (136)
Sex offense	10% (31)	2% (1)	9% (32)
Arson	5% (15)	4% (2)	5% (17)
Carrying a concealed weapon	20% (64)	2% (1)	18% (65)
Drug related offense	23% (74)	18% (8)	23% (82)
Malicious damage	19% (62)	7% (3)	18% (65)
Disorderly conduct	41% (131)	29% (13)	40% (144)
Property offense	88% (280)	73% (32)	86% (312)
Status offense	37% (119)	61% (27)	40% (146)

TABLE B.2 PERCENTAGE OF OFFENDERS EVER ARRESTED
FOR SPECIFIC OFFENSES BY RACE

	<u>Black</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Hispanic</u>
Murder	4% (9)	3% (3)	6% (2)
Aggravated Assault	28% (66)	14% (13)	19% (7)
Assault	49% (114)	49% (44)	47% (17)
Robbery	46% (108)	16% (14)	33% (12)
Sex offense	11% (26)	6% (5)	3% (1)
Arson	3% (6)	10% (9)	6% (2)
Carrying a concealed weapon	20% (47)	12% (11)	7% (6)
Drug related offense	19% (44)	28% (25)	36% (13)
Malicious damage	17% (41)	19% (17)	17% (6)
Disorderly conduct	37% (88)	50% (45)	25% (9)
Property offense	86% (203)	89% (80)	75% (27)
Status offense	34% (80)	59% (53)	36% (13)

Appendix C

To create the family relationship scales, principal factor analysis using an oblique rotation was conducted. Separate analyses were done with the items measuring relationships with mother and relationships with father.

All factors were significant since they achieved Eigenvalues of at least 1.0. Additive scales were constructed using those items that had factor loadings of 4.0 or better. The regression analysis in Chapter Four incorporated scales constructed from the first factors.

The results of the factor analysis were as follows:

ITEMS DEALING WITH MOTHER

	<u>Factor 1</u>	<u>Factor 2</u>
Do you feel close to her?	<u>.788</u>	.024
Does she love you?	<u>.779</u>	-.022
Do you care what she thinks of you?	<u>.683</u>	-.048
Would you like to be the kind of person she is?	<u>.560</u>	-.076
Do you talk to her about your problems?	<u>.531</u>	.053
Does she ever hit you for no reason?	<u>-.494</u>	.111
Does she ever hit you when she's drunk?	.060	<u>.908</u>
Does she ever get drunk in front of you?	-.097	<u>.589</u>
When you're about to do something wrong, do you think about what she might say?	.333	.103
Does she keep her feelings to herself	-.273	.044
Eigenvalue	2.89	1.08
Percentage of variance explained	73%	27%

ITEMS DEALING WITH FATHER

	<u>Factor 1</u>	<u>Factor 2</u>
Do you care what he thinks of you?	<u>.805</u>	.071
Do you feel close to him?	<u>.767</u>	-.036
When you're about to do something wrong, do you think about what he might say?	<u>.707</u>	.16
Does he love you?	<u>.707</u>	-.111
Would you like to be the kind of person he is?	<u>.630</u>	.003
Do you talk to him about your problems?	<u>.616</u>	-.073
Does he ever hit you when he's drunk?	.102	<u>.873</u>
Does he ever hit you for no reason?	-.081	<u>.571</u>
Does he ever get drunk in front of you?	.042	<u>.510</u>
Does he keep his feelings to himself?	-.230	.099
Eigenvalue	3.33	1.15
Percentage of variance explained	74%	26%

118

Medical Problems: _____

76

77

1, 2 08

3 - 5

6, 7

Family History:

8

Child was physically abused

2

9

Child was sexually abused

2

10

Sibling was physically abused

2

11

Sibling was sexually abused

2

12

Spouse battering

2

13

Evidence of neglect

2

14

DYFS involvement

2

Comments: _____

15

16

Placement History:

119

Number of
timesAge of first
placement

Foster Home

Group Home/Residential Treatment Center

Correctional Facility

Other _____

(specify)

17, 18
19, 20
21, 22
23, 24
25, 26
27, 28
29, 30
31, 32

Behavioral Problems:

33

Alcohol abuse

2

34

Marijuana abuse

2

35

Drug abuse

2

36

Chronic truancy

2

37

Runaway

2

38

Arson

2

39

Homosexuality

2

40

Sexual dysfunction

2

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Who were you living with before you came here?

- ☐ mother only
☐ father only
☐ mother and father
☐ mother and stepfather
☐ father and stepmother
☐ foster parents
☐ someone else who?

2. Is your father living? ☐ yes ☐ no3. Is your mother living? ☐ yes ☐ no4. How many brothers do you have? 5. How many are older than you? 6. How many stepbrothers do you have? 7. How many are older than you? 8. How many sisters do you have? 9. How many are older than you? 10. How many stepsisters do you have? 11. How many are older than you?

1, 2
3 - 5
6, 7

01

8

9

10

11, 12

13, 14

15, 16

17, 18

19, 20

21, 22

23, 24

25, 26

NOW WE WOULD LIKE TO ASK SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR MOTHER. BY THAT WE MEAN THE MOTHER WITH WHOM YOU LIVED THE LONGEST - WHETHER THAT IS YOUR NATURAL MOTHER OR ADOPTIVE MOTHER OR STEPMOTHER OR FOSTER MOTHER OR SOMEONE ELSE.

12. Who are you thinking of?

- ☐ mother
☐ stepmother
☐ someone else who?

13. How old were you when you last lived with her? 28, 29

14. Do you feel close to her?

- ☐ very close
☐ close
☐ not close

15. Would you like to be the kind of person she is?

- ☐ definitely
☐ probably
☐ definitely not

16. Do you talk to her about your problems?

- ☐ often
☐ sometimes
☐ never

17. Does she ever get drunk in front of you?

- ☐ often
☐ sometimes
☐ never

27

30

31

32

33

18. Does she ever hit you when she's drunk?

- ☐ often
☐ 1 sometimes
☐ 2 never
☐ 3

34

19. Do you care what she thinks of you?

- ☐ a lot
☐ 1 somewhat
☐ 2 not at all
☐ 3

35

20. Does she ever hit you for no reason?

- ☐ often
☐ 1 sometimes
☐ 2 never
☐ 3

36

21. When you're about to do something wrong, do you think about what she might say?

- ☐ often
☐ 1 sometimes
☐ 2 never
☐ 3

37

22. Does she love you?

- ☐ a lot
☐ 1 somewhat
☐ 2 not at all
☐ 3

38

23. Does she keep her feelings to herself?

- ☐ often
☐ 1 sometimes
☐ 2 never
☐ 3

39

THE NEXT GROUP OF QUESTIONS CONCERN YOUR FATHER. HERE, TOO, WE ARE INTERESTED IN THE FATHER WITH WHOM YOU LIVED THE LONGEST - WHETHER THAT IS YOUR NATURAL FATHER OR ADOPTIVE FATHER OR STEPFATHER OR FOSTER FATHER OR SOMEONE ELSE.

24. Who are you thinking of?

- ☐ father
☐ 1 stepfather
☐ 2 someone else
☐ 3 who?

40

25. How old were you when you last lived with him? _____ 41, 42

26. Do you feel close to him?

- ☐ very close
☐ 1 close
☐ 2 not close
☐ 3

43

27. Would you like to be the kind of person he is?

- ☐ definitely
☐ 1 probably
☐ 2 definitely not
☐ 3

44

28. Do you talk to him about your problems?

- ☐ often
☐ 1 sometimes
☐ 2 never
☐ 3

45

29. Does he ever get drunk in front of you?

- ☐ often
☐ 1 sometimes
☐ 2 never
☐ 3

46

30. Does he ever hit you when he's drunk?

 often
 1
 sometimes
 2
 never
 3

47

31. Do you care what he thinks of you?

 a lot
 1
 somewhat
 2
 not at all
 3

48

32. Does he ever hit you for no reason?

 often
 1
 sometimes
 2
 never
 3

49

33. When you're about to do something wrong, do you think about what he might say?

 often
 1
 sometimes
 2
 never
 3

50

34. Does he love you?

 a lot
 1
 somewhat
 2
 not at all
 3

51

35. Does he keep his feelings to himself?

 often
 1
 sometimes
 2
 never
 3

52

PUT A CHECK NEXT TO EACH THING THAT IS TRUE OF YOUR MOTHER AND EACH THING THAT IS TRUE OF YOUR FATHER.

	<u>Mother</u>	<u>Father</u>	
36. Drinks a lot	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	53, 54
Quotes the bible a lot	<u> 2 </u>	<u> 2 </u>	55, 56
Is out of work a lot	<u> 2 </u>	<u> 2 </u>	57, 58
Worries a lot about money	<u> 2 </u>	<u> 2 </u>	59, 60
Is uptight all the time	<u> 2 </u>	<u> 2 </u>	61, 62
Has a bad temper	<u> 2 </u>	<u> 2 </u>	63, 64
Uses drugs	<u> 2 </u>	<u> 2 </u>	65, 66
Is sick a lot	<u> 2 </u>	<u> 2 </u>	67, 68
Spent time in prison	<u> 2 </u>	<u> 2 </u>	69, 70
Spent time in a mental hospital	<u> 2 </u>	<u> 2 </u>	71, 72
Stays away from home a lot	<u> 2 </u>	<u> 2 </u>	73, 74
Works hard	<u> 2 </u>	<u> 2 </u>	75, 76

37. Suppose you did something your mother didn't like; what would she do?

- 1 nothing
 2 talk to me about it
 3 yell at me
 4 call me names
 5 send me to my room
 6 make me stay at home 77, 78
 7 slap me
 8 punch me
 9 hit me with a belt or extension cord
 10 hit me with something hard
 11 something else what?

38. Suppose you did something your father didn't like; what would he do?

- 1 nothing
 2 talk to me about it
 3 yell at me
 4 call me names
 5 send me to my room 79, 80
 6 make me stay at home
 7 slap me
 8 punch me
 9 hit me with a belt or extension cord
 10 hit me with something hard
 11 something else what?

1, 2
3 - 5
6, 7

02

INDICATE HOW STRONGLY YOU AGREE OR DISAGREE WITH THE FOLLOWING:

39. I'm a good person--at least as good as others.

Strongly Agree 1 2 Agree 3 Disagree 4 Strongly Disagree 8

40. There are many good things about me.

Strongly Agree 1 2 Agree 3 Disagree 4 Strongly Disagree 9

41. I feel that I'm a failure.

Strongly Agree 1 2 Agree 3 Disagree 4 Strongly Disagree 10

42. I'm able to do things as well as most people.

Strongly Agree 1 2 Agree 3 Disagree 4 Strongly Disagree 11

43. I don't have much to be proud of.

Strongly Agree 1 2 Agree 3 Disagree 4 Strongly Disagree 12

44. I take a positive attitude toward myself.

Strongly Agree 1 2 Agree 3 Disagree 4 Strongly Disagree 13

45. On the whole, I'm satisfied with myself.

Strongly Agree 1 2 Agree 3 Disagree 4 Strongly Disagree 14

46. I wish I had more respect for myself.

Strongly Disagree 15
 1 Strongly Agree 2 Agree 3 Disagree 4

47. Sometimes I feel useless.

Strongly Disagree 16
 1 Strongly Agree 2 Agree 3 Disagree 4

48. Sometimes I feel I'm no good.

Strongly Disagree 17
 1 Strongly Agree 2 Agree 3 Disagree 4

INDICATE HOW OFTEN YOU DID EACH OF THE FOLLOWING AND HOW OLD YOU WERE THE FIRST TIME.

	How many times?	How old were you the first time?	
49. Ran away from home			18, 19 20, 21
Shoplifted			22, 23 24, 25
Stole a car			26, 27 28, 29
Broke into a place to steal something			30, 31 32, 33
Robbed someone <u>without</u> a weapon			34, 35 36, 37
Robbed someone <u>with</u> a weapon			38, 39 40, 41
Attacked someone with a weapon			42, 43 44, 45
Used hard drugs			46, 47 48, 49
Engaged in sexual relations for pay or favors			50, 51 52, 53
Set a building on fire			54, 55 56, 57
Forced another person to have sex			58, 59 60, 61
Were suspended from school			62, 63 64, 65
Went to school drunk or high on drugs			66, 67 68, 69
Beat someone up for the hell of it			70, 71 72, 73

PART II

We all wish we came from perfect families--families in which nothing ever went wrong. But none of us does come from a perfect family. In every family there is conflict and tension and people sometimes do things to hurt one another. The rest of this questionnaire deals with things that happened in your family: things that happened to you, things that happened to your brothers or sisters and things that happened to your mother and father.

FIRST LISTEN TO THE FOLLOWING STORY ABOUT SOME OF THE THINGS THAT HAPPENED TO A BOY NAMED PAUL.

Paul is fourteen years old and lives with his mother. Sometimes when Paul's mother gets angry she beats him with an extension cord. There are welts all over his back and sometimes he has to stay home from school because it hurts so much. Paul loves his mother but doesn't understand why she beats him that way. The only person he told so far is his friend Lenny and the two of them are thinking of running away together.

NOW WE WOULD LIKE TO KNOW IF ANYTHING SIMILAR HAS HAPPENED TO YOU.

Things That Have Happened To You

50. How many times did someone in your family hit you with a belt or extension cord? _____ 8, 9

How old were you the first time? _____ 10, 11

How old were you the last time? _____ 12, 13

Did it always happen when you were being punished?

____ Yes ____ No
1 2

14

Who did it?

____ father

15, 16

1 ____ mother

2 ____ stepfather

3 ____ stepmother

4 ____ brother

5 ____ sister

6 ____ someone else

7 ____ who?

51. How many times did someone in your family burn you with
hot water on purpose? _____ 17, 18
- How old were you the first time? _____ 19, 20
- How old were you the last time? _____ 21, 22
- Did it always happen when you were being punished?
- _____ Yes _____ No 23
1 2
- Who did it? _____ father 24, 25
1
_____ mother
2
_____ stepfather
3
_____ stepmother
4
_____ brother
5
_____ sister
6
_____ someone else _____ who?
7

52. How many times did someone in your family burn you with
a cigarette on purpose? _____ 26, 27
- How old were you the first time? _____ 28, 29
- How old were you the last time? _____ 30, 31
- Did it always happen when you were being punished?
- _____ Yes _____ No 32
1 2
- Who did it? _____ father 33, 34
1
_____ mother
2
_____ stepfather
3
_____ stepmother
4
_____ brother
5
_____ sister
6
_____ someone else _____ who?
7

53. How many times did someone in your family tie you up? _____ 35, 36

How old were you the first time? _____ 37, 38

How old were you the last time? _____ 39, 40

Did it always happen when you were being punished?

____ Yes ____ No
1 2 41

Who did it? _____ father 42, 43
 1
 _____ mother
 2
 _____ stepfather
 3
 _____ stepmother
 4
 _____ brother
 5
 _____ sister
 6
 _____ someone else _____
 7 who?

54. How many times did someone in your family hit you with a stick or some other hard object? _____ 44, 45

How old were you the first time? _____ 46, 47

How old were you the last time? _____ 48, 49

Did it always happen when you were being punished?

____ Yes ____ No
1 2 50

Who did it? _____ father 51, 52
 1
 _____ mother
 2
 _____ stepfather
 3
 _____ stepmother
 4
 _____ brother
 5
 _____ sister
 6
 _____ someone else _____
 7 who?

55. How many times did someone in your family threaten you
with a knife or gun? _____

How old were you the first time? _____ 55, 56

How old were you the last time? _____ 57, 58

Did it always happen when you were being punished?

1 Yes 2 No 59

Who did it? 60, 61

<u>1</u>	father	
<u>2</u>	mother	
<u>3</u>	stepfather	
<u>4</u>	stepmother	
<u>5</u>	brother	
<u>6</u>	sister	
<u>7</u>	someone else	<u>who?</u>

1

2 stepfather

3
stepmother

4 brother

5 sister

6 someone else
7 who?

who?

56. How many times did someone in your family use a knife
or gun against you? _____ 62, 63

How old were you the first time? _____ 64, 65

How old were you the last time? _____ 66, 67

Did it always happen when you were being punished?

1 Yes 2 No 68

Who did it? 69, 70

<u>1</u>	father	
<u>2</u>	mother	
<u>3</u>	stepfather	
<u>4</u>	stepmother	
<u>5</u>	brother	
<u>6</u>	sister	
<u>7</u>	someone else	<u>who?</u>

1 mother

2
 stepfather

3 stepmother

4 brother

5 sister

6 someone else
7 who?

who?

57. How many times did someone in your family beat you so badly
it left bruises? _____ 71, 72

How old were you the first time? _____ 73, 74

How old were you the last time? _____ 75, 76

Did it always happen when you were being punished?
____ Yes ____ No 77
1 2

Who did it? _____ 78, 79
1 father
2 mother
3 stepfather
4 stepmother
5 brother
6 sister
7 someone else _____ who?

58. How many times did someone in your family hurt you so
badly you started to bleed? _____ 8, 9

How old were you the first time? _____ 10, 11

How old were you the last time? _____ 12, 13

Did it always happen when you were being punished?
____ Yes ____ No 14
1 2

Who did it? _____ 15, 16
1 father
2 mother
3 stepfather
4 stepmother
5 brother
6 sister
7 someone else _____ who?

59. How many times did someone in your family beat you so
badly you had to go to the hospital? _____ 17, 18

How old were you the first time? _____ 19, 20

How old were you the last time? _____ 21, 22

Did it always happen when you were being punished?

_____ Yes _____ No 23
1 2

Who did it? _____ father 24, 25
1
_____ mother
2
_____ stepfather
3
_____ stepmother
4
_____ brother
5
_____ sister
6
_____ someone else _____
7 who?

NOW WE WOULD LIKE TO KNOW IF ANY OF THESE THINGS HAVE HAPPENED TO YOUR
BROTHER OR SISTER.

Things That Have Happened To Your Brother Or Sister

60. How many times did someone in your family hit your brother or sister with a belt or extension cord? _____

Who did it?

_____ father
1
_____ mother
2
_____ stepfather
3
_____ stepmother
4
_____ I did
5
_____ someone else _____
6 who?

26, 27

28, 29

61. How many times did someone in your family burn your brother or sister with hot water on purpose? _____

Who did it?

_____ father
1
_____ mother
2
_____ stepfather
3
_____ stepmother
4
_____ I did
5
_____ someone else _____
6 who?

30, 31

32, 33

62. How many times did someone in your family burn your brother or sister with a cigarette on purpose? _____

Who did it?

_____ father
1
_____ mother
2
_____ stepfather
3
_____ stepmother
4
_____ I did
5
_____ someone else _____
6 who?

34, 35

36, 37

63. How many times did someone in your family tie up your brother or sister? _____

Who did it?

_____ father
1
_____ mother
2
_____ stepfather
3
_____ stepmother
4
_____ I did
5
_____ someone else _____
6 who?

38, 39

40, 41

64. How many times did someone in your family hit your brother or sister with a stick or some other hard object? _____

Who did it?

_____ father
1
_____ mother
2
_____ stepfather
3
_____ stepmother
4
_____ I did
5
_____ someone else _____
6 who?

42, 43

44, 45

65. How many times did someone in your family threaten your brother or sister with a knife or gun? _____

Who did it?	_____ father	46, 47
	1 _____ mother	48, 49
	2 _____ stepfather	
	3 _____ stepmother	
	4 _____ I did	
	5 _____ someone else _____	
	6 _____ who?	

66. How many times did someone in your family use a knife or gun against your brother or sister? _____

Who did it?	_____ father	50, 51
	1 _____ mother	52, 53
	2 _____ stepfather	
	3 _____ stepmother	
	4 _____ I did	
	5 _____ someone else _____	
	6 _____ who?	

67. How many times did someone in your family beat your brother or sister so badly it left bruises? _____

Who did it?	_____ father	54, 55
	1 _____ mother	56, 57
	2 _____ stepfather	
	3 _____ stepmother	
	4 _____ I did	
	5 _____ someone else _____	
	6 _____ who?	

68. How many times did someone in your family hurt your brother or sister so badly he or she started to bleed? _____

Who did it?	_____ father	58, 59
	1 _____ mother	60, 61
	2 _____ stepfather	
	3 _____ stepmother	
	4 _____ I did	
	5 _____ someone else _____	
	6 _____ who?	

69. How many times did someone in your family beat your brother or sister so badly he or she had to go to the hospital? _____

Who did it?	_____ father	62, 63
	1 _____ mother	64, 65
	2 _____ stepfather	
	3 _____ stepmother	
	4 _____ I did	
	5 _____ someone else _____	
	6 _____ who?	

NOW LISTEN TO THE FOLLOWING STORY ABOUT A GIRL NAMED ROBERTA.

Roberta is eleven years old and something is happening to her. Her stepfather comes to her room at night and does things to her - sexual things. The first time Roberta was only seven years old and didn't know what was happening till it was all over. Then her stepfather made her promise not to tell anyone. Roberta wants her stepfather to stop but she's afraid of what he would do if she told anyone. She thinks her mother knows anyway because of the way she looks at her. Roberta is scared and ashamed and doesn't know what to do.

NOW WE WOULD LIKE TO KNOW IF ANYTHING SIMILAR HAS HAPPENED TO YOU.

Things That Have Happened To You

70. How many times did someone in your family masturbate in front of you? _____ 66, 67
- How old were you the first time? _____ 68, 69
- How old were you the last time? _____ 70, 71
- Who did it? _____ father 72, 73
- 1 mother
- 2 stepfather
- 3 stepmother
- 4 brother
- 5 sister
- 6 someone else _____
- 7 who?

71. How many times did someone in your family have sex
in front of you? _____

8, 9

How old were you the first time? _____

10, 11

How old were you the last time? _____

12, 13

Who did it? _____ father
1
_____ mother
2
_____ stepfather
3
_____ stepmother
4
_____ brother
5
_____ sister
6
_____ someone else _____
7 who?

14, 15

72. How many times did someone in your family show you
obscene pictures? _____

16, 17

How old were you the first time? _____

18, 19

How old were you the last time? _____

20, 21

Who did it? _____ father
1
_____ mother
2
_____ stepfather
3
_____ stepmother
4
_____ brother
5
_____ sister
6
_____ someone else _____
7 who?

22, 23

73. How many times did someone in your family touch
your genitals? _____

24, 25

How old were you the first time? _____

26, 27

How old were you the last time? _____

28, 29

Who did it? _____ father
1
_____ mother
2
_____ stepfather
3
_____ stepmother
4
_____ brother
5
_____ sister
6
_____ someone else _____
7 who?

30, 31

74. How many times did someone in your family have sex
with you? _____

32, 33

How old were you the first time? _____

34, 35

How old were you the last time? _____

36, 37

Who did it? _____ father
1
_____ mother
2
_____ stepfather
3
_____ stepmother
4
_____ brother
5
_____ sister
6
_____ someone else _____
7 who?

38, 39

NOW WE WOULD LIKE TO KNOW IF ANY OF THESE THINGS HAVE HAPPENED TO YOUR BROTHER OR SISTER.

Things That Have Happened To Your Brother Or Sister

75. How many times did someone in your family masturbate in front of your brother or sister? _____

Who did it?	_____ father	40, 41
1	_____ mother	42, 43
2	_____ stepfather	
3	_____ stepmother	
4	_____ I did	
5	_____ someone else _____	
6	_____ who?	

76. How many times did someone in your family have sex in front of your brother or sister? _____

Who did it?	_____ father	44, 45
1	_____ mother	46, 47
2	_____ stepfather	
3	_____ stepmother	
4	_____ I did	
5	_____ someone else _____	
6	_____ who?	

77. How many times did someone in your family show your brother or sister obscene pictures? _____

Who did it?	_____ father	48, 49
	1 _____ mother	50, 51
	2 _____ stepfather	
	3 _____ stepmother	
	4 _____ I did	
	5 _____ someone else _____	
	6 _____ who?	

78. How many times did someone in your family touch your brother or sister's genitals? _____

Who did it?	_____ father	52, 53
	1 _____ mother	54, 55
	2 _____ stepfather	
	3 _____ stepmother	
	4 _____ I did	
	5 _____ someone else _____	
	6 _____ who?	

79. How many times did someone in your family have sex with your brother or sister? _____

Who did it?	_____ father	56, 57
	1 _____ mother	58, 59
	2 _____ stepfather	
	3 _____ stepmother	
	4 _____ I did	
	5 _____ someone else _____	
	6 _____ who?	

NOW LISTEN TO THE FOLLOWING STORY ABOUT A GIRL NAMED LISA.

Lisa is twelve years old and lives with her mother and father and sister. Her mother and father argue a lot - mostly about her father drinking too much. Sometimes he gets so angry he beats Lisa's mother. Once he beat her so badly she had to go to the hospital. Lisa told her mother to throw her father out of the house but her mother told her to mind her own business. Lisa is afraid someday her father will hurt her mother so badly she won't get better.

NOW WE WOULD LIKE TO KNOW IF ANYTHING SIMILAR HAS HAPPENED TO YOUR MOTHER OR FATHER.

Things That Have Happened To Your Mother

80. How many times did someone in your family punch her? _____

Who did it?	_____ father	60, 61
	1 _____	
	2 _____ stepfather	62, 63
	3 _____ I did	
	4 _____ someone else _____ who?	

81. How many times did someone in your family beat her so badly it left bruises? _____

Who did it?	_____ father	64, 65
	1 _____	
	2 _____ stepfather	66, 67
	3 _____ I did	
	4 _____ someone else _____ who?	

82. How many times did someone in your family beat her so badly she started to bleed? _____

Who did it?	_____ father	68, 69
	1 _____	
	2 _____ stepfather	70, 71
	3 _____ I did	
	4 _____ someone else _____ who?	

83. How many times did someone in your family hurt her so badly she had to go to the hospital? _____

Who did it?	_____ father	72, 73
	1 _____	
	2 _____ stepfather	74, 75
	3 _____ I did	
	4 _____ someone else _____ who?	

84. How many times did someone in your family threaten her with a knife or gun? _____

Who did it?	_____ father	76, 77
	1 _____	
	2 _____ stepfather	78, 79
	3 _____ I did	
	4 _____ someone else _____ who?	1, 2 06 3-5 6, 7

85. How many times did someone in your family use a knife or gun against her? _____

Who did it?	_____ father	8, 9
	1 _____	
	2 _____ stepfather	10, 11
	3 _____ I did	
	4 _____ someone else _____ who?	

Things That Have Happened To You, Father

86. How many times did someone in your family punch him? _____

Who did it?	_____ mother	12, 13
	<u>1</u> stepmother	14, 15
	<u>2</u> I did	
	<u>3</u> someone else _____	
	<u>4</u> who?	

87. How many times did someone in your family beat him so badly it left bruises? _____

Who did it?	_____ mother	16, 17
	<u>1</u> stepmother	18, 19
	<u>2</u> I did	
	<u>3</u> someone else _____	
	<u>4</u> who?	

88. How many times did someone in your family hurt him so badly he had to go to the hospital? _____

Who did it?	_____ mother	20, 21
	<u>1</u> stepmother	22, 23
	<u>2</u> I did	
	<u>3</u> someone else _____	
	<u>4</u> who?	

89. How many times did someone in your family hurt him so badly he had to go to the hospital? _____

Who did it?	_____ mother	24, 25
	<u>1</u> stepmother	26, 27
	<u>2</u> I did	
	<u>3</u> someone else _____	
	<u>4</u> who?	

90. How many times did someone in your family threaten him with a knife or gun? _____

Who did it?	_____ mother	28, 29
	<u>1</u> stepmother	30, 31
	<u>2</u> I did	
	<u>3</u> someone else _____	
	<u>4</u> who?	

91. How many times did someone in your family use a knife or gun against him? _____

Who did it?	_____ mother	32, 33
	<u>1</u> stepmother	34, 35
	<u>2</u> I did	
	<u>3</u> someone else _____	
	<u>4</u> who?	

Thank you for completing the questionnaire. We would also like to conduct some personal interviews. If you think you might want to participate, place a check in the box below.

☐

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INTERVIEW

Where are you from?
 What is it like there?
 Tell me about your family.

Parents

What do your parents do?
 What are your parents like?
 How do they get along?
 Do they argue a lot?
 What do they argue about?
 Do they ever hurt each other?
 How do you feel when it happens?
 What do you do about it?

You and Parents

Do your parents visit you here?
 How do they feel about your being here?
 How do you and your parents get along?
 Do you argue a lot?
 What do you argue about?
 What do they do when you do something they don't like?
 Did they ever hurt you?
 How badly?
 How did it make you feel?
 What did you do about it?
 Did you ever hurt them?

Siblings and Parents

How do your parents and brothers
and sisters get along?

Do they argue a lot?

Do your parents treat your
brothers and sisters the same
way they treat you?

Do they punish them the same way?

You and Siblings

How do you and your brothers
and sisters get along?

Do you argue a lot?

Do you ever hurt each other?

Did any of them ever get in
trouble?

Delinquency

When did you start getting into
trouble?

What kind of things did you do?

Did you ever hurt anybody?
How badly?

Why did you do it?

How did you feel about it when
you were doing it?

How do you feel about it now?

Future

Are you going home when you
leave here?

Do you have plans for the
future?

When you have your own family,
would you like it to be different?

END