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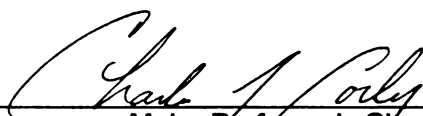
**The Relationship between Childhood Sexual, Emotional, and
Physical Abuse to Juvenile Delinquency and Adult Criminality**

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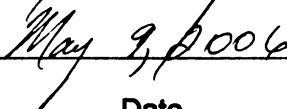
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**THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CHILDHOOD SEXUAL, EMOTIONAL, AND
PHYSICAL ABUSE TO JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AND ADULT CRIMINALITY**

By

Stacey-Ann Marie Gordon

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ABSTRACT

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CHILDHOOD SEXUAL, EMOTIONAL, AND PHYSICAL ABUSE TO JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AND ADULT CRIMINALITY

By

Stacey-Ann Marie Gordon

There are several purposes of the research study. The purposes of the study are to assess 1) the relationship between the type of childhood abuse, whether physical, sexual, or emotional, and juvenile delinquent behavior; 2) the relationship between the type of childhood abuse and adult criminality; and 3) the effects of intervening variables such as age, gender, race, child's final placement, the perpetrator's relationship to the victim, alcohol or drug use and approximated socioeconomic status.

Univariate, bivariate, and multivariate analyses are conducted. Logistic regression techniques were used to examine the relationships between the independent variables and each dependent measure. Official records for 593 abused youth re analyzed and revealed the following: 1) a consistent and inverse relationship between age and juvenile delinquency, 2) a consistent and direct relationship between age and adult criminality, 3) a consistent relationship between gender and juvenile delinquency, 4) a consistent relationship between gender and adult criminality, 5) a relationship between race and juvenile delinquency, and 6) a relationship between race and adult criminality. The variables child's final placement, the perpetrator's relationship to the victim, SES, drug or alcohol use, and abuse types are insignificant to the analysis of both juvenile delinquency and adult criminality.

To Laurice Millicent Gordon

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of the study is to examine the relationship between childhood abuse to that of a juvenile delinquent or a subsequent adult criminal charge. In today's society and with the ever-changing times children must not only be protected from the monsters that lure and prey outside their homes, playgrounds, and/or school grounds but also from those that reside within the home. Furthermore, youths face many obstacles that might prevent or slow down healthy and positive growth patterns without factoring in those problems experienced within the home environment.

In the early 1960's the child abuse phenomenon began to receive increased focus on the national level. That focus continually grew because of the increasingly large reports of alleged child abuse incidents made to Child Protective Services (CPS). Child Protective Services reports that during the period 1980 through 1993 there was a 155% increase in allegations of child maltreatment (Snyder, 1998, as cited in Bartollas & Miller, 2001). As such an increased focus is placed on the study of child abuse and related issues.

By 2003, 2.9 million referrals were made to Child Protective Services of which approximately 906,000 were found to be substantiated cases of child abuse and neglect (US Department of Health & Human Services, 2003: 41; 2006: 46). Both of the reports state that 4.9% of child victims are emotionally or psychologically abused, 9.9% are sexually abused and 18.9% suffer from physical abuse. Additionally, 60.9% of child victims are reportedly neglected by a parent or primary caregiver (US Department of Health & Human Services, 2003: 22; 2006: 41).

Childhood abuse has become a more prominent and aggressive predictor of juvenile delinquency because of its importance as an underlying factor of deviant behavior and its implications for subsequent adult criminal involvement. That is, child abuse is a very consistent as well as a damaging risk factor for offending behavior (Stewart, Dennison, & Waterson, 2002). Although, no single factor accounts for a youth's development of delinquent or criminal behavior(s) the literature establishes the importance of childhood abuse as a risk factor for subsequent delinquency (Smith & Thornberry, 1995; Stewart et al., 2002) and adult criminality (Widom, 1989). Additionally, the juvenile justice field has placed more emphasis on the distinctive relationship between childhood victimization¹, juvenile delinquency and subsequent adult criminal behavior.

The Definition of Child Abuse

Despite extensive study on the topic a noted problem with child abuse and neglect research is its conceptual and operational clarity. Following the 1974 Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act (CAPTA) a very broad definition is applied to characterize child abuse and neglect (Barnett, Manly, & Cicchetti, 1993),

“Child Abuse and Neglect means the physical or mental injury, sexual abuse, negligent treatment, or maltreatment of any child under the age of eighteen by a person responsible for the child's welfare under circumstances which indicate the child's health or welfare is harmed or threatened thereby” (Public Law 93-247 section 2).

¹ Victimization, in the context of this thesis, includes only instances of childhood physical, sexual, or emotional abuse. In this analysis only the aforementioned acts of commission are considered. Neglect, the act of omission is excluded from the data analysis. The term victimization is used interchangeable with maltreatment and abuse.

From its inception, the child abuse concept has been plagued by either inadequate or incomplete definitions that are used to describe and measure the phenomenon.

Barnett et al (1993) gives a short illustration of the development of child abuse definitions throughout the years. Child abuse is characterized by four major definitions: the medical-diagnostic, the sociological, the legal, and the ecological perspectives.

The medical-diagnostic definition approaches the issue of child abuse as a symptom of pathology. Under that perspective, emphasis rests on providing treatment to the parent following the assumption that they suffer from a disorder. In short, the focus rests solely with an assessment in order to provide treatment. In response to the medical-diagnostic the sociological definition surfaced which views child maltreatment as an act that is culturally inappropriate or that falls outside of the norms of the society. Following that definition child maltreatment was simply a “social judgment” (Barnett et al., 1993: 19). What does and does not constitute child abuse is greatly guided by cultural norms and practices. For instance, the use of spanking might be more acceptable in other Western societies than in the United States. For example, the cultural context in Jamaica allows for hitting a child in school for it is socially acceptable. That social norm is far different from that in the United States.

The legal definition emphasizes the need to focus on universal guidelines and standards for identifying and making judicial decisions. The last perspective, the ecological definition, attributes maltreatment to and places emphasis on the environment or ecosystem. Just as there are varied conceptual definitions and emphases for child maltreatment there are also different operationalizations. Therefore, definitions of maltreatment change based on the approach used. For example, based on the legal

approach emphasis is placed on obtaining physical evidence of the abuse whereas the ecological viewpoint places importance on the impact of the environment.

There are generally three definitional problems relevant to child maltreatment: 1) defining the same maltreatment differently, 2) overlapping operational definitions for one type of maltreatment, and 3) the failure to identify other maltreatment types other than the ones being studied (Zuravin, 1991: 100). To overcome the problem of definition five principles are applied in formulating a maltreatment classification system: the use of subtypes, conceptual clarity, the measurability of operational translations, the purpose of definition, and the age and developmental stage of the child (Zuravin, 1991:102-104).

Using maltreatment subtypes is an effective way for ensuring that an adequate conceptual and operational definition of abuse is used (Barnett et al., 1993). Instead of categorizing abuse generally it is measured by the subtypes of physical, sexual, or emotional abuse and neglect (Zuravin, 1991:102). Those subtypes are further delineated by other categories of abuse. For example, physical abuse is measured by burning, choking, and hitting.

Conceptual clarity is ensured by including all the criterion or behavior that fits the specific abuse type as well as its subtype(s) (Zuravin, 1991: 102). In order to achieve clear concepts there should be at least one criterion that makes one type of abuse distinctively different from another (Zuravin, 1991: 103). That ensures that more than one type of abuse does not conceptually define the same maltreatment.

All behaviors used to describe the abuse concept must be both observable and measurable (Zuravin, 1991: 103). Behaviors must be tangible and measurable in terms of the duration, severity, and frequency of the abuse. As mentioned earlier, the purpose of

the definition of abuse must be stated. The purpose of definition guides the direction of the research whether it is law and policy, treatment or another (Zuravin, 1999: 104).

Lastly, the age and developmental age of the child is considered when developing classification systems. For instance, behaviors considered inappropriate when a child is an infant differs from those when the child is an early teen (Zuravin, 1991: 105; Barnett et al., 1993: 42). For example, leaving a four year old at home unattended constitutes neglect and more specifically failure to supervise. For a child twelve and over that behavior is no longer conceptualized as neglect.

This thesis examines the relationship between childhood abuse, juvenile delinquency, and adult criminality and more specifically assesses what are the predominant predictors of such behavior(s). Univariate, bivariate, and multivariate techniques are used in the data analysis procedures. Frequency runs are used to describe the characteristics of the data. Chi-square analyses and correlations are used to examine the bivariate relationships and associations between the independent and dependent variables. Multivariate logistic regression techniques are used to examine juvenile delinquency and adult criminality as a function of the various independent variables.

CHAPTER 1

THE STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The study proposes to assess the relationship between three of the most prominent social problems in the United States namely childhood abuse, juvenile delinquency, and adult criminal behavior.

The youthful population is faced with several impediments during the transition from childhood to adolescence and again from the teenage years to adulthood.

Additionally, youths constantly face social problems and contexts such as, poverty, isolation, economic stress, and dilapidated environments to which are added the extra strain of familial struggles and dysfunctions. A prevalent element within the family dysfunctions category is the ever-increasing problem and occurrences of child abuse. In the context of this thesis, victimization is a measure of the occurrences of child abuse whether physical, emotional, or sexual.

Child maltreatment is a rather broad concept inclusive of different types of abuse and neglect such as sexual, physical, and/or emotional abuse as well as physical, emotional, legal, moral, and/or educational neglect. Childhood maltreatment throughout this paper refers to childhood sexual, physical, or emotional abuse. The study proposes to assess the impact of the different aforementioned abuse types on a juvenile delinquent charge as well as an adult criminal charge. It also assesses the nature of that relationship, that is, whether a certain type of abuse versus another is more indicative of juvenile delinquency or adult criminality.

The study objectives are to 1) establish if there is a relationship between the type of abuse either physical, sexual, or emotional and juvenile delinquent behavior, 2) to

determine if a relationship exists between abuse type and adult criminal behavior 3) to determine if there are intervening variables that affect or account for the relationship between child abuse and delinquency and that of abuse and criminality, and 4) to establish what characteristics of age, gender, race, placement, SES, and alcohol or substance use relates to both the risk of becoming a juvenile or an adult offender.

It is important to understand the intricate relationship between childhood abuse, juvenile delinquency, and adult criminality because of its theoretical and policy implications. Grave importance is attached to linking juvenile delinquent career types to adult criminality because of its policy implications and theory development (Kempf-Leonard, Tracy, & Howell, 2001). Policy is guided by both informed qualitative and quantitative research studies that accurately examine the relationship in question. It is imperative to engage in sound evidence-based and data-driven decision-making policies to both strengthen theoretical frameworks and to reestablish the validity of prior research. The study also has implications for theory development where existent theories can be tested and reinforced or new ones formulated.

If in fact a direct relationship is identified between childhood abuse, juvenile delinquency, and adult criminality then interventions and preventions can be targeted within the home environment or wherever else it is necessary and appropriate. Due to the recurrent link between abuse, delinquency, and criminality, efforts must be made to provide for juveniles programs based on a continuum of care by addressing all aspects and influences of youth life. Such programs could include elements that are geared towards the development of prosocial behaviors or teaching appropriate family management practices. Specifically, programs must be geared towards addressing the

individual factors of the youth involved, peer influences, school factors, community characteristics, and family influences (Hawkins, Herrenkohl, Farrington, Brewer, Catalano, Harachi, & Cothorn, 2000). Individual factors such as aggressive and antisocial behaviors as well as the influences of delinquent peers and/or siblings must be addressed. Additionally, other aspects of life must be factored into prevention and intervention processes, such as academic failure, community or neighborhood disorganization and child maltreatment.²

Childhood abuse is like a plague that results in the mental, physical, and emotional disfigurement of youth. Various agents of the juvenile justice system question whether the physically, mentally, sexually, or verbally abused child becomes a delinquent youth and subsequently an adult offender due to the abuse(s) experienced. However, the question remains what causes or accounts for the differences between youths who have been abused who lead criminal lifestyles and those who do not? Essentially, what intervening variable(s) accounts for the differences in offending or non-offending behavior(s) among youth who experience childhood maltreatment?

Research Hypotheses

The primary hypothesis is that childhood abuse increases the risk of a juvenile delinquent charge and an adult criminal charge.

H₁: There is a relationship between gender and juvenile delinquency.

H₂: There is a relationship between gender and adult criminality.

H₃: There is a relationship between race and juvenile delinquency.

H₄: There is a relationship between race and adult criminality.

² The aforementioned does not include all the youthful influences that might shape delinquent or criminal behavior(s) but instead was simply an illustration of the variety of influences present. The exclusion of an influence such as parental criminality, poverty, or poor family practices does not discount its importance.

- H₅: There is a relationship between age and juvenile delinquency.**
- H₆: There is a relationship between age and adult criminality.**
- H₇: There is a relationship between SES and juvenile delinquency.**
- H₈: There is a relationship between SES and adult criminality.**
- H₉: There is a relationship between physical abuse and juvenile delinquency.**
- H₁₀: There is a relationship between physical abuse and adult criminality.**
- H₁₁: There is a relationship between emotional abuse and juvenile delinquency.**
- H₁₂: There is a relationship between emotional abuse and adult criminality.**
- H₁₃: There is a relationship between sexual abuse and juvenile delinquency.**
- H₁₄: There is a relationship between sexual abuse and adult criminality.**
- H₁₅: There is a relationship between a child's final placement and juvenile delinquency.**
- H₁₆: There is a relationship between a child's final placement and adult criminality.**
- H₁₇: There is a relationship between drug or alcohol use and juvenile delinquency.**
- H₁₈: There is a relationship between drug or alcohol use and adult criminality.**
- H₁₉: There is a relationship between the perpetrator's relationship to the victim and juvenile delinquency.**
- H₂₀: There is a relationship between the perpetrator's relationship to the victim and adult criminality.**

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Youths experience many obstacles in their daily existence ranging from the problems at home to coping with the pressures of adolescence. As previously mentioned, one recurring and ever-growing obstacle to positive youth development which has been extensively researched is the experience of child abuse. Additionally, wide debate exists regarding the causes and correlates of both juvenile delinquent and adult criminal behavior.

Several studies investigate the relationship between childhood abuse, juvenile delinquency, and adult criminality (Brown, 1984; Widom, 1989; Smith & Thornberry, 1995; Hamilton, Falshaw, & Browne, 2002; Stewart et al., 2002). Others examine the more specific relationship between physical abuse and subsequent adult behavioral problems (Caetano, Field, & Nelson, 2003). Prior research concludes that childhood abuse is a correlate of juvenile delinquency and adult criminality (Widom, 1989; Stewart et al., 2002). The literature review will first report on juvenile delinquency, adult criminality, and childhood abuse. Secondly, the review will examine the literature as it relates to childhood physical, sexual, and emotional abuse. The section ends with a brief overview on the effects of childhood abuse.³

Juvenile Delinquent and Adult Criminal Behavior

A widely recognized and highly accepted notion is that the role of the youthful offender in society has evolved (Ferro, 2003). That is, juvenile and youth crimes that were existent in the early to mid 1990s differ substantially from that of the youth of the

³ The effects of childhood abuse are only briefly addressed because the intention of this paper is not to examine or assess the impact or consequences of abuse instead it is simply to explore the relationship.

latter 1990s and present day. Additionally, the dynamics of juvenile life and crimes have changed significantly where several issues are compounded creating a downward ripple effect for youths involved. That is, youths of today are not only overwhelmed by the problem of peer pressures, but also by issues such as abuse and other social situations, which are age inappropriate.

Present day juveniles are labeled as more volatile, engaged in more heinous criminal acts, and are constantly exposed to age inappropriate behaviors. Ferro (2003) noted that the substantial increase in juvenile crime is attributed to a myriad of factors including: the growing popularity and abuse of illegal drugs, the increased availability of firearms, a downsized economy, and the anticipated growth in the juvenile population. In addition to the aforementioned sources of juvenile crime, the assertion still remains that youthful delinquent and adult criminal behaviors have taken on new dimensions.

The study of juvenile crime and delinquency is not new but instead has been an integral part of society for many years (Ferro, 2003). However, the issue of delinquent behavior is often complicated by the fact that youths enter the juvenile justice system with many mental and psychological problems (Brown, 1984). The relationship between victimization and subsequent mental and emotional problem behaviors is established (Browne & Finkelhor, 1986). Consequently, youths that enter the juvenile justice system pose a tremendous challenge because it becomes more difficult to address their social needs when they have other psychological needs that also have to be met. However, it is insufficient to address the offense committed by the juvenile, by the application of harsh sanctions, whilst ignoring what could possibly be the underlying problem or source of the dysfunction.

As such, the problem of juvenile delinquency or adult criminality cannot be effectively addressed without assessing the correlates of those behaviors. If a child's delinquent behavior stems from the abuse(s) experienced within the home environment then identifying the presence and addressing the effects of the ill treatment can only alter resultant behavioral problem(s). Similarly, the effects of such experiences on adult behaviors must be assessed.

Bivariate analysis reveals both a strong and significant correlation between childhood maltreatment and the likelihood of official delinquency (Smith & Thornberry, 1995). The Smith and Thornberry (1995) study concludes that 45% of the abused versus 31.7% of the non-abused youth in the sample engage in official delinquent behaviors. Similarly, one study examines the direct pathway from childhood maltreatment to that of juvenile offending among a sample of Australian youth (Stewart et al., 2002). The analysis found that youth with a maltreatment experience are more likely than those non-maltreated to engage in delinquent behavior(s), 17% versus 10% respectively. Similarly, Widom (1989) in her study assesses the relationship between abuse, neglect, and violent criminal behavior. Her analysis finds that those subjects who report childhood abuse had higher criminal rates than those who did not.

Childhood Abuse and its Relation to Delinquency and Criminality

There are several problems associated with the study of childhood abuse that are relevant to both the issues of delinquency and criminality: the measurement and definition of abuse, the use of official data sources only, and establishing temporal order. Research cannot conclusively state the percentage of youth who have contact with the juvenile justice system that have been abused. That lack of consensus is due in part to

both the inaccuracy of data and the difficulty in collection methods (Osofsky, 2001; Jewell, 1999: 17).

It was only in the year 1968 that all then 50 of the United States moved towards enacting a law for officially reporting suspected incidents of child abuse⁴ (Jewell, 1999: 3). For example, before the implementation of the National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS) both the Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) and the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) systems stated inaccurate numbers of child abuse (Jewell, 1999: 3; Finkelhor & Ormrod, 2000). In addition to the problem of the under and/or over reporting of victimizations is the fact that essential variables, such as age, were often excluded from the analysis where offenses against children under the age of 12 were not counted (Finkelhor & Ormrod, 2000).

However, throughout the years researchers use different operational definitions for childhood abuse. A common problem with abuse definitions is that some are more inclusive than others. For example, instances of assaults might be included in the measurement of sexual abuse. Similarly, the issue of conceptualization often arises where sexual abuse includes both sexual molestation and a youth's exposure to inappropriate sexual content such as pornographic materials. That dilemma necessitates the need for the juvenile justice field to further study the dynamics of abused and/or neglected youth in order to adequately provide system services. It is also important in order to establish approximate and accurate numbers of abused youth which, aides with the policy of providing juveniles with a continuum of services thereby increasing their ultimate successful re-entry and reintegration.

⁴ The act mandating the reporting of child abuse incidents was not signed into law until 1974.

The importance of establishing the temporal order of delinquency and abuse is addressed throughout the literature. Loeber, Kalb, and Huizinga (2001) address whether delinquency increases a juvenile's chances of victimization or does the latter serve as a risk factor for delinquent behavior. Although the authors specifically address serious or violent victimization⁵ the article does lend some support for the notion that the relationship between childhood abuse and juvenile delinquency is established. However, the temporal sequencing of victimization and delinquency is ensured by the use of a target population of youth aged birth through 11 (Widom, 1989). Additionally, the longitudinal nature of a research study also validates temporal order unlike cross-sectional studies (Stewart et al., 2002). The present study ensures temporal sequencing because youth are sampled from birth through age eleven thereby allowing the abuse to occur before a delinquent offense.

Smith and Thornberry (1995) examine the association between childhood maltreatment and juvenile delinquency specifically through official and self-reported data. The authors emphasize the limitation of using official reports of child abuse because its correlation with juvenile delinquency could result from the tendency for more formal recognition for some families versus others. That is, official action might be taken against some families more so than others where a higher social standing might decrease the likelihood for formal recognition of the abuse. Although there is an apparent class bias in the use of official data that alone does not discount the validity of the observed relationship (Brown, 1984).

⁵ The analysis of victimization in this thesis focuses solely on the physically, emotionally, and sexually abused child. Caution must be used when drawing inferences from the Loeber et al (2001) study because it involved a broader definition of victimization inclusive of offenses such as assaults and burglaries.

Gender Patterns

There are gender differences in the commission of juvenile delinquent and adult criminal behavior(s). Similarly, there are gender differences in the experience of childhood abuse. For the calendar year 2003 52% of child victims of abuse were females versus 41% who were males (US Department of Health & Human Services, 2006: 41). However, there are instances where no substantial differences in the incidences of abuse for males or females are reported. Smith and Thornberry (1995) report that 13% of males in the sample experience abuse similar to 14.1% of females. In their analysis no significant gender differences are found for the incidents of abuse. Similarly, Stewart et al (2002) and Hamilton et al (2002) report no significant gender differences in the experience of maltreatment.

Nevertheless, research contends that males are significantly more criminal than females (Siegel, 2003: 68; Piquero, Gover, MacDonald, & Piquero, 2005). Kilpatrick and Saunders (2000) found that males are more likely than females to commit a delinquent act, 17.7% versus 6.7% respectively. Similarly, males report a higher frequency of adult criminal behavior than females, 38.1% versus 13% respectively (Widom, 1989). The literature also examines gender differences for youths who have been abused and/or neglected. The preliminary report from the Youth Development Series⁶ concludes that in both the Denver and Pittsburgh research sites males are the most likely to be victims (Loeber et al., 2001).

Research also states that males with a history of abuse or neglect are at a greater risk for adult criminal behavior (Widom, 1989; Stewart et al., 2002). On the same note,

⁶ The Youth Development Series presents findings from the Program of Research on the Causes and Correlates of Delinquency. The study sites include Rochester, New York; Denver, Colorado; and Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. The Loeber et al (2001) analysis included only the Denver and Pittsburgh sites.

Widom (1989) reports that 38.1% of abused males versus 13% of maltreated females later engaged in adult criminal behavior(s). In that study, older black males with a history of abuse or neglect are at an increased risk for displaying criminal behavior. Similarly, Stewart et al (2002) reports that 25% of abused males in comparison with 11% of abused females are later delinquent. Therefore, males who are abused are more likely than females to later engage in criminal activities. Research also suggests that a youth's chances of entering the juvenile system and proceeding to the adult criminal system are greatly increased by the experience of the three forms of maltreatment: physical, sexual, and emotional abuse (Osofsky, 2001).

Although much is reported with regards to gender differences in juvenile delinquency the gender gap has not been thoroughly assessed because until recently study samples typically have been strictly male (Malinosky-Rummel & Hansen, 1993). Additionally, abuse samples are not always equally represented by gender; for example, most studies of sexual abuse have targeted female subjects and only a small number of males (Kendall-Tackett, Williams, & Finkelhor, 1993). However, one of the most substantial and noted differences between juvenile delinquent females and males is that the former internalizes whereas the latter externalizes (Kendall-Tackett et al., 1993; Elliott, 1994; Feldman, 1997; Caetano et al., 2003). That is, females are more prone to suppress their feelings whereas males are more likely to act outwardly.

The hypothesis that males are more likely than females to engage in delinquent acts is because males externalize their feelings (Caetano et al., 2003). There are distinctive patterns of criminal behavior for females and males; however, other researchers have not entirely adopted the theory of internalizing and externalizing

behaviors (Hamilton et al., 2002). That disagreement possibly increases the necessity for the youthful and adult systems to treat male delinquent and criminal subjects separately from females because the literature has established that the same approach should not be used for both. Additionally, the increased involvement of girls in the juvenile justice system is well noted (Pepi, 1997; Acoca, 1999). Furthermore, research concludes that females who experience early instances of physical, emotional, or sexual abuse are at an increased likelihood to enter the juvenile justice system (Osofsky, 2001).

Age

The general premise is held that there is an inverse relationship between victimization and age as well as crime (Siegel, 2003: 67). Following that principle an increase in age indicates a decrease in child victimization, as well as juvenile delinquency, and adult criminality. With respect to child abuse, youth within the age group birth through three are most likely victims representing 16.4% of maltreatment cases in the year 2003 (US Department of Health & Human Services, 2003: 23). Conversely, those within the age ranges 16 through 17 and 12 through 15 are the least likely to experience victimization representing only 5.9% and 10.7% respectively (US Department of Health & Human Services, 2003: 23).

The assumption is held that younger children are more likely to be victimized because of two main reasons. Firstly, their age makes them defenseless to such acts and secondly because most of their time is spent within the confines of the home environment. Overall, the literature states that there is an inverse relationship between age and delinquent involvement as well as adult criminality (Siegel, Welsh, & Senna, 2003: 67). The premise is that individuals age-out of deviant behavior.

Race

The relationship between race and child abuse has been examined where contrasting findings are reported. Research has shown that youth of minority status are more likely to be the victims of youthful crime than any other racial grouping (Finkelhor & Ormrod, 2000). Similarly, Caetano et al (2003) maintain that occurrences of childhood abuse are greater for Blacks and Hispanics as compared to Whites. According to the US Department of Health and Human Services' (2003) report Pacific Islanders, American Indians or Alaska Natives, and African-Americans have the highest victimization rates recorded at 21.4%, 21.3%, and 20.4% in that order.

Additionally, other studies conclude on a larger scale that Whites are less likely than both Blacks and Hispanics to be victimized (Paschall, Flewelling, & Ennett, 1998; Loeber et al., 2001; Piquero, Macintosh, & Hickman, 2002). However, contrasting findings are reported. For example, Smith and Thornberry (1995) found no significant racial differences for the abused group reporting percentages for Whites, African-Americans, and Hispanics: 16.4%, 14%, and 8.7% respectively. However, Morales (1998: 16) states that there is no association between child abuse and race but instead the strongest correlate for child abuse is poverty.

Research also reports that Whites are less likely than those of minority status, specifically Blacks and Hispanics, to be juvenile offenders (Paschall et al., 1998; Piquero et al., 2002). Similarly, Kilpatrick and Saunders (2000) assessed the prevalence of both familial and nonfamilial violence on adolescents and conclude that Non-Caucasians are more likely than Caucasians to commit a delinquent offense, 18.1% versus 9.9% respectively. Conversely, Huizinga and Elliott (1987) found no statistically significant

racial patterns or differences in the commission of delinquent activities . However, in that analysis, minorities recorded higher rates for more serious offenses than Whites.

On a similar note, one study found that of the abused and neglected group Blacks (39%) are more likely than Whites (24.4%) to have a subsequent criminal record (Widom, 1989). Overall, the likelihood for system involvement is greater for African-American youths than for Whites (Williams, Ayers, Outlaw, Abbott, & Hawkins, 2001). In that study, race explained 3% of the variance in juvenile justice system involvement for delinquency at both ages 15 through 16 and again at 18 through 19.

The Perpetrator's Relationship to the Child Victim

In looking at childhood abuse it is important to note that most crimes against youth are not committed by strangers but instead by an individual that the child is familiar with (Finkelhor & Ormrod, 2000; Osofsky, 2001). Additionally, most instances of childhood abuse are committed by adults (Schmallegger, 2003: 591).

Finkelhor and Ormrod (2000), in their article characterizing crimes against juveniles, found that adult offenders are responsible for 55% of all reported juvenile victimizations. Additionally, family perpetrators committed 20% of the offenses against youth. For example, in the instance of sexual abuse usually both the victim and the offender are familiar with each other (Barlow, 1990: 205). Furthermore, 83.9% of child abuse perpetrators are parents (whether biological, step, or adoptive) whereas only 13.4% are non-parental perpetrators (US Department of Health & Human Services, 2003: 24). Similarly, Hamilton et al (2002) reported that 49% of offenses against juveniles are at the hands of family members. That finding is important because the literature states that

abuse by a family perpetrator is more detrimental than that by a stranger (Browne & Finkelhor, 1986; Kendall-Tackett et al., 1993).

Using a multi-State data set comprised of approximately 200,000 child abuse perpetrators the 2002 National Child Abuse and Neglect Data System (NCANDS) study reports that there is a gender difference in terms of child abusers (Shusterman, Fluke, & Yuan, 2005). That study reports that 46% of perpetrators are male whereas the remaining 54% are females. Additionally, male perpetrators are found to be older than females. Similarly, the US Department of Health and Human Services (2003) reports similar percentages where 58.2% of perpetrators are females and 41.8% are males.

Although violent crime is beyond the scope of this study research reports that only 11% of violent crime child perpetrators are strangers (Finkelhor & Ormrod, 2000). Additionally, simple assault is the most prominent crime committed against juveniles while sexually based crimes are the least committed offense against youths by strangers. However, the majority of all youthful victims are the sufferers of the latter offense, where more than 70% of all reported sexual offenses are committed against young victims (Finkelhor & Ormrod, 2000).

Research shows that most abuse incidents occur within the home environment where youths from abusive households demonstrate a higher probability for displaying subsequent delinquent behaviors. As such, the family dynamic and environment is important for understanding the relationship between childhood abuse, juvenile delinquency, and adult criminality because behaviors are learned not only through socialization but also from direct or indirect observation. In an abusive environment such violent acts (physical, sexual, or emotional abuse) are reinforced as positive and socially

acceptable behaviors. As a result, the susceptible child copies and practices such social responses. Additionally, the susceptibility to a variety of abuses in adulthood also increases as a result of childhood victimization (Brown, 1984; Mullen, Martin, Anderson, Romans, & Herbison, 1996).

An individual's exposure to violence, in this instance abuse, is predictive of his or her own subsequent delinquent behavior (Nofziger & Kurtz, 2005). It is hypothesized that the exposure to such violent acts and behaviors increases the vulnerability for juvenile delinquency. That assertion is based on the ideology that violence is a learned response or behavior (Siegel et al., 2003: 121). Juveniles who are victimized by violence are also at an increased risk for violence in later adulthood (Nofziger & Kurtz, 2005). Although the study does not address violent crime it is important to note that prior victimization is also indicative of future violent behavior because there is a strong relationship between ones exposure to violence and subsequent offending behavior.

Similar to the varying and adverse effects that result from physical, emotional, or sexual abuse there are differences in who are the perpetrators. Someone within the youth's immediate environment usually carries out the acts of both physical and emotional abuse whereas sexual abuse is typically carried out by a male outside of the home (Mullen et al., 1996). For example, only 27% of sexual abuse perpetrators are parents whereas 75.9% resided outside of the home (US Department of Health & Human Services, 2003: 64).

Socioeconomic Status (SES)

Youth that are subjected to social and economic hardships and family disruptions are more prone to childhood abuse than those in organized environments (Mullen et al.,

1996). A strong correlation is noted between poverty and child abuse and/or neglect as well as the severity of the maltreatment (Pelton, 1994: 74). Although social situations such as poverty, unemployment, and welfare are risk factors for abuse that does not mean that child abuse is inevitable in families with a low SES and nonexistent in those with a higher SES.

The Hawkins et al (2000) research study assesses the strengths and duration of changeable risk and protective factors for youth violence. The study also addresses the importance of identifying and targeting risk and protective factors in order to provide adequate intervention and prevention programs. That meta-analysis of 66 studies, reports that the potential for increased involvement in crime or violent behavior(s) is often fueled by poverty (Hawkins et al., 2000).

The importance of the home environment has been continually addressed throughout the content of this thesis. Childhood abuse is a direct signifier of the reduction or breakdown in the quality of family life, which directly affects the subsequent behaviors of the youth (Siegel et al., 2003: 196). The reduction in the quality of family life can result from economic hardships, poor family management practices, parental substance abuse, and such other factors (Hawkins et al., 2000).

Based on the level of significance attached to the home environment a fairly logical assumption can be made. If a parent or primary caregiver engages in poor family practices such as neglect or failure to provide or being verbally abusive or emotionally unavailable to the youth's needs then that both weakens the family structure and strains the social environment. For example, in a home plagued with a history of chronic substance abuse the child is forced to assume inappropriate age responsibilities such as

those required of the parent. Additionally, poor family relationships and practices foster maladaptive behaviors towards the vulnerable and impressionable child.

Broken families⁷ might also exhibit characteristics, conducive to abuse, such as social disorganization, violent or aggressive behavior, and/or substance abuse. Wells and Rankin (1991) conducted a meta-analysis of the impact of broken homes on juvenile delinquency. Across the 50 studies included the prevalence of juvenile delinquency rests between 10% and 15% higher for those youths from broken homes in comparison to those from intact environments. Additionally, the study concludes that there are no significant differences in the impact of broken homes by gender or race.

Crime as traditionally being viewed as a lower-class phenomenon. The view has been solidified because of specific characteristics that relate to criminal behavior such as poverty and disorganized communities that are ever present in lower class neighborhoods. Weis (1987) examines the correlation between social status and juvenile delinquency using the Seattle Youth study (SYS) data set for the years 1978 and 1979. Using a disproportionate stratified sample the researcher over-samples for males, blacks, lower SES, and official delinquents. The study reports no relationship between social class and self-reported or official measures of delinquency. Using an ecological measure of class social status was calculated by the median income of the census tract in which the juvenile lived. The study concludes that the association between official delinquency and SES was weak with a reported gamma value of $-.17$. Therefore, a weak and negative relationship exists between one's SES and delinquent involvement. Furthermore, the

⁷ The assumption is not that broken families are exclusively from a low SES but instead that such a family environment contributes to the likelihood of abuse, and delinquent behaviors.

author concludes that regardless of the measure or scale used for either SES or delinquency only a weak relationship was observed (Weis, 1987).

According to theory, a low SES is a strong correlate of juvenile delinquent behavior. However, empirical findings suggest that there is only a weak relationship between juvenile delinquency and a low SES. Wright, Caspi, Moffitt, Miech, and Silva (1999) reexamine the relationship between SES and juvenile delinquency guided by the general hypothesis that it is a matter of causation and not correlation. They conclude that the causal link between SES and juvenile delinquency is indirect, and exists only because of the presence of intervening variables.

Similar to the problem of a concise definition of abuse social class is often not easily defined (Brown, 1984). Brown notes a limitation in the social class variable when drawing causal inferences with abuse. That is, as noted before, there is an apparent class bias where cases involving those in the upper strata are not reported. In his analysis Brown (1984) concludes that child maltreatment and juvenile delinquency are correlated independently of social class where there is a weak inverse relationship with abuse. In contrast to the Brown findings, Smith and Thornberry (1995) report a significant difference in maltreatment by social class where 19.5% of those of lower class status in comparison to 8.2% of the middle and upper classes report instances of abuse.

Child's Final Placement

Frame (2002) examines the relationship between a child's placement in foster care to child and family characteristics as well as child abuse and neglect reporting histories. In that analysis, reasons for the child's removal from the home include: 80.8% neglect, 13.6% physical abuse, 2.1% sexual abuse, and 1% emotional abuse. Similar to

the Stewart et al (2002) study those sexually abused were most likely to be placed outside of the home environment (Frame, 2002). In the Stewart et al (2002) analysis both sexually and emotionally abused youth were 35% more likely to be placed outside of the home. Physically abused youth were 41% more likely to be placed in out-of-home placements.

Stewart et al (2002) report that 26% of abused youth versus 13% of non-abused youth who were placed outside of the home subsequently offended. The literature contends that placements outside of the home prove more detrimental to the youth than in-home placements. Wall (2005: 67) states that group care placements are greatly associated with the exhibition of more aggressive and delinquent behaviors than any other placement types combined.

There are a number of pathways through which child victims of abuse become delinquent and/or criminal. A child's final placement after the dissolution of a dependency petition filed with the Court is one possible link. However, the majority of abused youth are not removed from their home environment (Frame, 2002; Wall, 2005: 29). Wall (2005) reports that following an allegation of child abuse against a parent or primary caregiver 90% of abused youth remain in in-home placements.

Drug or Alcohol use

The literature has debated the causal link between drug and/or alcohol use and involvement in crime. An even greater problem rests with the association between chronic substance abuse and delinquent as well as criminal behavior(s). Increasingly, the importance of identifying and addressing substance abuse is heightened because of the

widespread use among juveniles. Despite efforts on the part of the government and its war on drugs incidents of both drug and alcohol use have risen (Flowers, 1999: 3).

Flowers (1999: 7) notes that emphasis should be placed on the role of alcohol or drugs in criminal behavior because of its far-reaching social and economic consequences. That is, the use or abuse of drugs or alcohol leads to increased criminal involvement in order to satisfy an addiction. Additionally, there is a direct correlation between substance abuse and criminal involvement not only for drug crimes but also for violent, economic, and sexual offenses (Flowers, 1999: 32).

Peers, family, personality, school, and delinquency are noted as the correlates of drug use for juveniles⁸ (Flowers, 1999: 61). Parental drug or alcohol abuse is highly associated with child abuse (Morales, 1998:16). The literature outlines that child abuse is also a manifestation of parental abuse (Flowers, 1999: 153) and that drug or alcohol use increases delinquent or criminal involvement.

Physical Abuse

Physical abuse is the most easily documented as well as regularly studied type of maltreatment (Barnett, Manly, & Cicchetti, 1993: 35). Research states that physical abuse is more predictive of future offending than both sexual and emotional abuse (Stewart et al., 2002). One possible explanation for that finding is that physical abuse is more detectable than both sexual and emotional abuse. That is, physical abuse typically results in bruises on the child victim whereas both emotional and sexual abuse has no visible signs, marks, or bruises. However, that does not mean that physical abuse always results in bodily injuries whereas other types of abuse do not.

⁸ Peers are recorded as the strongest predictors for drug use.

Although a specific association does not exist between race and child abuse studies note that a relationship exists. The prevalence of childhood physical abuse is not greatest among Blacks and Hispanics but instead among Whites (Caetano et al., 2003). With respect to gender, Kilpatrick and Saunders (2000) conclude that males are more likely than females to be physically abused 21.3% versus 13.4% respectively. No clear difference exists for abuse perpetrators. That is, males represent 22% of perpetrators in comparison to 18% of females (Shusterman et al., 2005). Additionally, 22% of males in comparison with 18% of females are associated with childhood physical abuse.⁹

The experience of physical abuse during childhood along with having witnessed parental violence both serve as risk factors for criminal behavior in subsequent adulthood, specifically in the Caetano et al (2003) analysis. Both Widom (1989) and Smith and Thornberry (1995) report that those who are physically abused are more likely to commit violent crimes later in life. On the other hand, Brown (1984) reports that the experience of physical abuse has no correlation with delinquent behavior. Furthermore, physical abuse is very commonly associated with later aggressive and delinquent behaviors. However, in the Wall (2005) study physically abused youth are not found more aggressive than those who had experienced other forms of maltreatment.

Emotional Abuse

There is a noted paucity of research on childhood emotional abuse, which is usually studied alongside both physical and sexual maltreatment (Spertes, Yehuda, Wong, Halligan, & Seremetis, 2003). Additionally, emotional abuse is noted as the most problematic and difficult subtype to define because it is not identifiable by physical

⁹ In that analysis 36% of males versus 66% of females are associated with child neglect.

marks and bruises, unlike sexual or physical maltreatment, and as such might not come to the attention of government authorities.

Emotional abuse is potentially the most harmful type of maltreatment of the three studied (Jewell, 1999: 114). That is, emotional abuse attacks the youth internally where the child fosters negative thoughts and feelings of self-worth. The Brown (1984) study on the correlation between social class, childhood maltreatment, and juvenile delinquency found that the experience of emotional abuse showed a positive correlation with delinquent behavior. Therefore, emotional abuse is directly related to the likelihood of delinquent behavior.

Sexual Abuse

The research literature reports substantial declines in child abuse cases. Finkelhor and Jones (2004) provided several key explanations for the decline in child sexual abuse cases throughout the 1990s. They report explanations such as a real decline in sexual abuse incidents, changes in Child Protective Services (CPS) data collection methods or definitions, and the increased conservatism within CPS. The decline is also attributed to the increased focus on the implementation of prevention and intervention programs and the ability of the system to identify criminal sexual behavior (Finkelhor & Jones, 2004).

There are noted gender differences in the commission and incidents of sexually based crimes committed against juveniles. There are also contrasting research findings with regards to the most likely victims of sexual offenses.¹⁰ Studies report that young females are more likely than males to be the victims of sexual abuse (Pepi, 1997; Kilpatrick & Saunders, 2000). Kilpatrick and Saunders (2000) report that females are

¹⁰ Very little empirical research has been done with males in the study of sexual abuse (Browne & Finkelhor, 1986).

more likely than males to be the victims of sexual abuse, 13% versus 3.4% respectively. Additionally, males¹¹ are more often times than females found to be the perpetrators of sexual abuse against youth (Shusterman, et al., 2005). Shusterman et al (2005) report that 26% of male perpetrators are sexually abusive versus only 2% of females. Conversely, there are no differences between the incidences of sexual abuse for males and females when both instances of touching and non-touching¹² forms of the abuse are included in the analysis (Jewell, 1991: 58).

The Krahé et al (1999) study highlights the importance of assessing the causal link between victimization in childhood and subsequent revictimization. A direct causal relationship is observed between sexual abuse at infancy and victimization as well as further ill treatment during adolescence. However, no direct relationship exists between childhood sexual abuse and future abuse or victimization in adulthood (Krahé et al, 1999). The Krahé et al study found that the nonvictimized sample had fewer experiences of unwanted sexual occurrences than both the control and comparison groups (1999). They conclude that childhood sexual abuse is a substantial risk factor for subsequent victimization in later stages of life.

When looking at the many dimensions of childhood victimization, that is, the physical, emotional, and sexual, it is important to emphasize that each type may lead to a specific or differing pattern of individual behavior. That analysis proves difficult because abuse types usually are not studied in isolation. The type of abuse experienced impacts or influences the likelihood of offending behavior. For example, the type of abuse is related

¹¹ The category male in that instance refers to non-parent perpetrators only.

¹² Non-touching instances of sexual abuse include exhibitionism whereas contact includes masturbation, erotic fondling or kissing, oral stimulation, etc.

to the likelihood of offending behavior for youth who experience physical abuse but not for youthful victims of either sexual or emotional abuse (Stewart et al., 2002).

However, the range of harm associated with emotional, physical, and/or sexual abuse is unknown but the general consensus is that childhood abuse correlates with subsequent problems in adulthood (Starr, MacLean, & Keating, 1991: 9; Mullen et al., 1996). That necessitates the need for studying the nature of the relationship between the types of abuse at infancy, juvenile delinquency, and adult criminality.

The Effects of Child Abuse

The specific effect of physical, emotional, and sexual abuse is not mutually exclusive (Mullen et al., 1996). However the general consensus is that abuse is associated with later problems in adulthood. Nevertheless, many researchers assert that there are specific outcomes associated with a precise type of abuse (Brieke & Runtz, 1990; Mullen et al., 1996). For example, physical abuse is generally associated with the exhibition of aggressive behaviors whereas emotional abuse is typically believed to result in or to be associated with the exhibition of low self-esteem and confidence, and sexual abuse is said to result in maladaptive sexual behaviors in later adolescence and adulthood (Spertes et al., 2003).

While some child maltreatment effects are immediately identifiable there are others that are not. Due to the frequency, duration, and severity of the abuse experienced there can be short- or long-term consequences in both the child's physical and psychological well-being. However, there are many noted short- and long-term effects associated with the experience of childhood abuse (Mullen et al., 1996; Caetano et al., 2003).

However, other researchers maintain that there is a difficulty in deciphering the specific effects of each type of abuse where consequences are not mutually exclusive. For example, Hamilton et al (2002) examine the link between recurrent maltreatment and offending behavior and conclude that there is a difficulty in determining the effects of specific types of abuse because some maltreatment occurs in unison. For example, physical abuse does not necessarily result in bodily injuries but also in more severe trauma that might even lead to a handicap. Additionally, the act of sexual abuse might involve physical injuries to the victim. That poses a difficulty in research study samples where the effects of specific abuse types are not easily distinguishable. For example, nonsexually abused children are reportedly sexualized in the Kendall-Tackett et al (1993) study, where 17% of those physically abused exhibit sexually inappropriate behaviors. Mullen et al (1996) also states that physically abused youth have sexual problems as well as a lowered self-esteem. That study finding contradicts the general belief that physically abused youth exhibit aggressive and not sexually inappropriate behaviors.

A direct relationship is noted between emotional abuse and neglect with adult emotional and somatic functioning (Spertes et al., 2003). The Spertes et al (2003) findings states that psychological or verbal abuse is used to predict psychopathology as well as negative moods. The authors conclude that it is not only overt forms of abuse (physical and sexual) that impact adult development and health.

Mullen et al (1996) report that the impact of emotional abuse varies by the gender of the abuser. For example, emotional abuse by a female results in adult psychopathology whereas abuse by a male leads to difficulty in sexuality in adulthood. Browne and Finkelhor (1986) examine the long and short-term effects of childhood sexual abuse on a

sample of female victims. The identified short-term or initial effects include fear, anger, hostility, guilt, and shame. The noted long-term effects of childhood sexual abuse include but are not limited to depression, self-destructive behaviors, revictimization in adulthood, and promiscuity.¹³

The effects of sexual abuse are longstanding where the consequences are often displayed in adulthood. Research states that women who are sexually abused as children are more likely to be victims of sexual aggression in later life compared to those who are not exposed to that type of social condition (Krahé, Scheinberger-Olwig, Waizenhöfer, & Kolpin, 1999).

In their research study Krahé et al (1999) assert that childhood experiences of sexual abuse among the sample of female adolescents constitutes a risk factor for subsequent revictimization. Additionally, those individuals with a child history of sexual abuse score higher on the sexual revictimization scale than those with no prior instances of abuse (Krahé et al., 1999). Further effects are noted where the authors maintain that feelings of worthlessness among the women sampled predated, followed, or co-existed with the sexual abuse incident(s). Those feelings of worthlessness existent in childhood are indicators for a greater risk of being sexually revictimized in adolescence (Krahé et al., 1999).

The relationship between child abuse to that of both juvenile and adult criminality is a greatly debated topic. However, research shows that not all youths who are abused lead delinquent (Hamilton et al., 2002) or even criminal lifestyles (Jewell, 1991: 60; Widom, 1989; Margolin, 2005; Wall, 2005). Nevertheless, youth exposed to such

¹³ An in-depth analysis of the effects of physical, emotional, or sexual abuse will not be conducted in this study.

conditions display an increased likelihood for deviancy. Margolin (2005) reports that 70% of abused youth do not follow the intergenerational cycle and become abusive adults or even report official delinquency. Similarly, Smith and Thornberry (1995) conclude that the majority of abused youth do not later offend. Furthermore, no substantial differences are found in the Widom (1989) study where 26% of the abused group versus 21.1% of the non-abused had a criminal record.

Social Learning Theory: Differential Association

Several theoretical frameworks are used to explain both the juvenile delinquency and adult criminality concepts. Social Learning theory, more specifically Differential Association, is used as the theoretical basis for understanding the link between child abuse, juvenile delinquency, and adult criminality. Nevertheless, no single theory can adequately address and/or explain the child abuse phenomenon (Egeland, 1991).

The early childhood period is characteristic of many fundamental changes and learning where youth experience good and/or bad behavioral influences. The Social Learning supposition falls under the broader category of behavioral theory, which states that learning experiences shape behavior. Social Learning theory holds that an individual's delinquent or criminal tendency is fostered within their learning environments such as the school or the home. Contrary to the Cesare Lombroso line of reasoning, that people inherit criminal traits, social learning theorists believe that all behaviors are learned.

Learning theory places great emphasis on the paucity of good parenting skills possessed by the parent that ultimately results in bad practices by the child. Under the learning theory perspective child abuse occurs because of a parent(s) or primary

caregiver's inability to discipline the child in an appropriate manner or by using a method that is not harmful.

The application of Social Learning theory follows the reasoning that behavior is acquired through associations. Therefore, those acts learned in abusive environments shape an individual's subsequent behaviors. Specifically, it explains why an abused child displays the violence learned inside the home, by leading a delinquent or criminal lifestyle, for the youth is socialized in that particular antisocial manner. Ultimately, the youth learns abusive behaviors that manifest themselves in the form of delinquent acts instead of prosocial interactions and socializations.

Table 1: Sutherland's Principles of Differential Association

1. Criminal behavior is learnt.
2. Criminal behavior is learnt in interaction with others in a process of communication.
3. The principal part of the learning of criminal behavior occurs within intimate personal groups.
4. When criminal behavior is learned, the learning includes (a) techniques of committing the crime, which are sometimes very complicated, sometimes very simple, and (b) the specific direction of motives, drives, rationalizations, and attitudes.
5. The specific direction of motives and drives is learned from definitions of the legal codes as favorable or unfavorable.
6. A person becomes delinquent because of an excess of definitions favorable to violations of law over definitions unfavorable to violations of law.
7. Differential associations may vary in frequency, duration, priority, and intensity.
8. The process of learning criminal behavior by association with criminal and anticriminal patterns involves all the mechanisms that are involved in any other learning.
9. While criminal behavior is an expression of general needs and values, it is not explained by those general needs and values since noncriminal behavior is an expression of the same needs and values.

Source: Edwin Sutherland, *Principles of Criminology* 4th Edition. (Chicago: J.B. Lippincott, 1947), pp. 6-7 as cited in Siegel et al., 2003: 121.

Edwin Sutherland's theory of Differential Association states that delinquent or criminal behavior is learned through associations. The theory does not assert that it is the association with criminal versus noncriminal individuals that produces nonconforming lifestyles. Instead it is the interactions with individuals who are tolerant of or who condone violations of the law, such as delinquent peers or siblings, versus those

individuals who do not (Barlow, 1990: 75; Albanese, 2001: 120; Schmallegger, 2003: 116). That is, delinquency or criminality results because ideas that justify crime outweigh those that prohibit criminal behavior. Therefore, if a child is exposed to more prodelinquent than prosocial behaviors the result is an increased involvement in or possibility for delinquency and criminality. However, if a youth's prosocial definitions outweigh antisocial ones then the probability for both delinquency and criminality decreases.

Sutherland's theory has several basic principles that are outlined in Table 1 (page, 34). The theory is criticized for its very general definitions, its exclusion of other important variables such as personality traits and psychological variables, and the lack of an explanation for why individuals respond differently to the same situation (Barlow, 1990: 76; Siegel, 2003: 223). However, despite several criticisms of Sutherland's theory its importance to the field of studying delinquent and criminal behaviors is well established.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

Both empirical and theoretical evidence suggests that child victims of abuse are at an increased likelihood for deviancy and further behavioral problems in adulthood. The study is intended to reiterate and evaluate the association between childhood victimization, juvenile delinquency, and subsequent adult criminality.

The study will examine 1) if a relationship exists between the type of abuse and juvenile delinquency, 2) if a relationship exists between the type of abuse and adult criminality, and 3) if the relationship between child abuse, juvenile delinquency, and adult criminality is affected by characteristics such as race, gender, age, final placement, drug or alcohol use, the perpetrator's relationship to the victim, and socioeconomic status.

The definition of child abuse is often plagued with difficulties where studies use diverse conceptual and operational definitions to measure and describe the same maltreatment (Egeland, 1991: 47; Mullen et al., 1996). For example, proper differentiation must be made between abuse versus physical discipline or an accidental versus an intentional incident (Jewell, 1999: 3). As such,

“Child maltreatment should be conceptualized and operationalized in a way that reflects a comprehensive understanding of this form of socially opprobrious behavior” (Brown, 1984: 260).

Nevertheless, theoretical clarity is often times absent from the conceptualization of childhood abuse. Childhood victimization (measured by physical, sexual, or emotional abuse) is broadly defined as occurrences of ill-treatment toward a child by a parent,

primary caregiver, or any other individual. Demographic data and information is collected regarding officially reported delinquent behaviors and adult criminal involvement. Information is obtained from both official sources of juvenile data and police records.

Sample

The database used is, “Childhood Victimization and Delinquency, Adult Criminality, and Violent Criminal Behavior in a Large Urban County in the Northwest United States, 1980-1997.” Research participants include a matched control group and a sample of abused and/or neglected youth. The abused and/or neglected sample was made dependents by the Superior Court of a large urban county in the Northwestern region of the United States during the years 1980 through 1997.

Participants included in the study are those ages birth through 11 years during the January 1, 1980 to December 31, 1984 period that had a dependency petition filed with the Court. Dependency petitions are filed because an interested party¹⁴ alleges abuse and/or neglect against the juvenile’s parent or primary caregiver. A filed dependency petition marks the courts initial involvement with the youth. Following a dependency petition the juvenile is under the jurisdiction of the court because of the alleged abuse and/or neglect. Juvenile dependency records are obtained from the county courthouse.

The initial sample of abused and/or neglected youth consists of 2,262 filed dependency petitions. A final sample of 877 abused and/or neglected youth are included

¹⁴ Any individual can file a dependency petition with the juvenile court. An interested party includes, but is not limited to, the youth’s grandparent or non-custodial parent as well as Child Protective Services. However, any individual that is concerned with the welfare of the child is regarded as an interested party.

in the database.¹⁵ Birth records are then collected from the Department of Health, for the period January 1, 1969 through December 31, 1984, to obtain a control group matched on gender, age, approximated socioeconomic status, and ethnicity.

With a matched pool of participants, child abuse and neglect registries are then examined to exclude those youths in the control group with a history of abuse and/or neglect. The final sample of matched controls consists of 877 participants matched on the characteristics of age, gender, ethnicity, and approximated socioeconomic status. The final sample included in the database comprises of a matched one-to-one control group of 877 cases and 877 abused and/or neglected subjects.

In this study the researcher was interested only in instances of physical, sexual, and emotional abuse not cases of neglect. Cases are filtered to exclude subjects with an instance of neglect only (284) and those with no incident of abuse (877). A final sample of 593 abused youth is included in the analysis.

Procedure

The Maltreatment Classification Coding Scheme,¹⁶ (MCS) originally developed by Barnett, Manly, and Cicchetti, is modified and recoded to collect information on the type of abuse and/or neglect reported that preceded the dependency petition filed with the court (1993). English and Widom (2003) modified that classification scheme in order to illustrate the particular types and severity levels of child maltreatment present in the

¹⁵ An initial sample of 2,262 dependency petitions was obtained. 187 cases were then excluded from the sample of abused and/or neglected children due to reasons such as, the child's death, the unavailability of the child's dependency record or the child's relocation out of the study area. A further 2,075 children were excluded from the study because their dependency record could not be located, the child resided outside of the county of interest, or the child was not born in the state of interest.

¹⁶ The Maltreatment Coding Scheme included in the Appendix section is the modified version developed by English and Widom (2003).

sample because the Barnett et al classification scheme had no subtypes or measures of severity for abuse. The measure for the severity of maltreatment ranges from low to high.

For both the MCS and the modified version child maltreatment types include: moral, legal, or educational neglect, emotional abuse, neglect, sexual abuse, and physical abuse.¹⁷ However, the modified version further categorizes the type of abuse into subtypes. For example, in the Barnett et al (1993) classification scheme physical abuse has no subtypes. However, in the modified version there are nine subtypes for physical abuse based on the severity of the maltreatment.¹⁸

Data is provided for both juvenile and adult arrests and encounters with the law. Juvenile arrest data is obtained through court records for both the matched control and the abused and/or neglected groups. For all matched controls and the abused and/or neglected subjects adult criminal arrest records are collected from local, county, state, and federal law enforcement records.¹⁹ Records are collected for the period January 1, 1980 through December 31, 1997.

Both descriptive and inferential statistics are used in the analysis of data. The general distribution and skewness of the data is examined through descriptive statistics. Frequencies are run with the measures of central tendency as the primary descriptives. That is, the mean, median, or mode, whichever is the most appropriate measure based on the level of data analyzed.

¹⁷ Only reports and measures of physical, sexual, and emotional abuse are used in the analysis of maltreatment for juveniles. Neglect constitutes the most prominent type of child abuse but it is not included in the analysis.

¹⁸ The Maltreatment Coding Scheme will be discussed in greater detail under the respective headings of child abuse.

¹⁹ All routine traffic offenses were excluded from the count of officially recorded offenses for all study participants.

Relationships are tested using the logistic regression technique. A series of multivariate analyses are first conducted to explore the associations between childhood abuse, juvenile delinquency, and adult criminality. Multiple logistic regression is employed as the appropriate technique for examining the effects of the predictor variables on both the dichotomous outcome variables: delinquency and criminality. Significance levels, percentages, and odds ratios are also reported. Odds ratios are used because it provides an estimate of the likelihood of a subject having a specific dependent variable (delinquency or criminality) among those who exhibit a particular characteristic (sexual, physical, or emotional abuse) relative to those who do not possess that trait.

Independent Variables

Gender

In the logistic regression models females are coded 0 and males 1. The differences in gender for the abused sample are explored for juvenile delinquency and adult criminality. The expected relationship is that males are both more likely to have a juvenile delinquent as well as an adult criminal charge.

Race

Race serves as an identifier variable. It characterizes ethnicity into three categories, White, Black, and Other. The racial category Other consists of those subjects who identify as Native Americans, American Asians, or American Pacific Islanders. Racial differences are examined for both adult criminality and juvenile delinquency. The expected relationship is that Whites are less likely to exhibit both delinquent and criminal behaviors. In the logistic regression models race is recoded into a dichotomous measure with 0 (Whites) and 1 (Non-Whites).

Child's Final Placement

This variable captures the residential placement of the abused child after the dissolution of the dependency petition filed with the Court. A child made dependent by the court could be placed with the biological parent(s), a group home, adopted parent(s), foster care, or some other residential placement. The relationship between final placement and subsequent delinquency as well as criminality is examined. The expected relationship is that those youth placed outside the home are at an increased likelihood for both delinquent and criminal activities.

Perpetrator's Relationship to the Victim

This variable represents whether the perpetrator was a family member, a non-family member, or a stranger. The expected relationship is that most perpetrators are family members and not strangers to the victim. That relationship is hypothesized because youths spend most of their time in the home environment. The variable was recoded into a dichotomous measure for use in the logistic regression models where family perpetrators (0) were compared to non-family perpetrators (1).

Socioeconomic Status

Socioeconomic status (SES) data are obtained from the Census Bureau of the United States. Socioeconomic status is measured using census variables grouped according to the five broad categories: (a) the percent of single female headed households, (b) the median family income, (c) the percentage of individuals in the household over 25 years with a high school diploma, (d) the percent on welfare, and (e) the percent that lived below the poverty level. Socioeconomic status includes the youth's census tract of residence at birth. For this study the interval level variable mean family

income is used as a proxy for SES. The expected relationship is that those from a lower SES are more likely to engage in delinquent and criminal behavior. It is also expected that a positive relationship exists between a low SES and the occurrence of child abuse.

Age

This variable represents the number of years living.

Alcohol or Drug use

A dichotomous variable is used to measure the use of drugs or alcohol. The variable does not measure the frequency, duration, or severity of drug or alcohol use. The variable is simply a measure of whether or not a subject has used or has not used drugs or alcohol. The variable is coded 0 (no drug or alcohol use) and 1 (drugs or alcohol use).

Physical abuse

Physical abuse includes any act that leads to the purposeful bodily disfigurement of the youth involved (Siegel, 2003: 206). Physical abuse is a dichotomous variable based on official records of child abuse only. The variable is coded 0 (no reported incident of physical abuse) and 1 (one or more physical abuse incident).

The modified Maltreatment Classification Scheme (MCS) is used to measure instances of physical abuse among the youth sampled. Nine subtypes are identified to describe physical abuse. Those subtypes are based on the location of the maltreatment on the child's body. Locations included the head, torso, buttocks, and limbs. Other measures of physical maltreatment include, punching, choking, burning, violent handling, shaking and the nondescript. The type of physical abuse is categorized into severity levels one (no marks indicated) through six (permanent disability or death). For a detailed list of the subtypes for physical abuse see appendices I & II.

Sexual abuse

Childhood sexual abuse is defined as the unwanted occurrences of and the exploitation of youth through the acts of rape, incest, or molestation (Siegel et al., 2003, 206). Instances of sexual abuse also include fondling the child, the child's exposure to indecent sexual material, and/or sodomy. The measure of sexual abuse includes both non-contact and contact instances of maltreatment.

The modified version of the MCS was also used to measure instances of sexual abuse. Sexual abuse is measured by a dichotomous variable based on official records only. The variable is coded as 0 (no sexual abuse) and 1 (a sexual abuse incident). The measure of sexual abuse includes five severity levels ranging from instances where the caregiver exposes the child to explicit sexual stimuli (severity level 1) to forced intercourse with the child (severity level 5). For a detailed list of sexual abuse subtypes and severity levels see appendices I & II.

Emotional abuse

Emotional abuse includes instances where the child is constantly criticized and their emotional needs are rejected or ignored by a parent(s) or primary caregiver. It also involves the inability of the parent/primary caregiver to provide for the child. Emotional abuse is a dichotomous variable measured based on officially reported incidents only. The variable is coded 0 (no emotional abuse) and 1 (one or more instance of emotional abuse).

The modified MCS is used to measure the type and severity of emotional maltreatment. Emotional maltreatment is typified by 27 codes and clustered into five categories of severity. It is operationalized by the number of types of alleged emotional

abuse incidents reported. Using the modified MCS the types of emotional abuse include the absence of age appropriate socializations for the child, calling the child derogatory names, binding the child's hands and feet for moderate time periods and the use of confinement and isolation, and threats of suicide or abandonment in the child's presence. Severity levels range from the caregiver expects inappropriate levels of responsibility from the child (severity level 11) to instances where the caregiver confines the child for extended periods that exceed eight hours (severity level 55). For a detailed list of severity levels and subtypes for emotional abuse see appendix III.

Dependent Variables

Juvenile Delinquency

As noted by Whitehead and Lab (2006) the definition of juvenile delinquency changes based on its purpose, that is, whether it be criminal law, status offenses, or social or criminological.²⁰ In the context of this paper, both the criminal law and status offense definitions are applicable. Therefore, juvenile delinquency is defined as any behavior that if committed by an adult would be characterized as a crime. The term juvenile delinquency is used only because of the age of the offender. That is, delinquency is merely a substitute for criminality where the only distinction between the two types of behavior is age. Additionally, delinquency is also defined as any offense for which only a juvenile can be charged such as curfew violations, running away, or truancy.

The juvenile delinquency variable measures the occurrences of delinquent behavior by the youth that come to the attention of the juvenile justice system. An official

²⁰ The social or criminological definition is the view of juvenile delinquency which takes into consideration both the legal and status offense definitions of delinquent behavior. That perspective does not view juvenile delinquency as a dichotomy. Since the researcher is limited to a dichotomy for juvenile delinquency the social or criminological perspective is not applicable.

measure of delinquency is used in the analysis. Arrest data includes criminal histories, excluding traffic offenses, for subjects at four levels of law enforcement: local, county, state, and federal. Some juvenile charges include: a crime against property, drug/alcohol offense and fireworks violation. That variable measures only the occurrence of juvenile delinquency and not the type, duration, or severity of acts committed. The dichotomous delinquency variable is coded 0 (no juvenile charge) and 1 that represents (one or more juvenile charge) before the age of 18.

Adult Criminality

An adult criminal charge is defined as any offense that is committed by an individual above the age of 18 for which the individual is arrested. Adult criminality is measured by the occurrences of officially reported criminal offenses at the local, county, state, and federal levels. Adult charges include but are not limited to gambling, homicide, assault, weapons violation, prostitution, and drug or alcohol offense. The dichotomous variable adult criminality is coded 0 (no adult charge) and 1 (adult charge).

Limitations of the Study

There are several noted limitations of the present study. The study will not determine or evaluate the effect(s) of each type of abuse on youth. The main purpose of the study is to determine if a relationship existed between the type of abuse and a delinquent or criminal charge. Due to very general and dichotomous measures of abuse caution must be used when making inferences about the nature of the relationships. That is, the analysis does not consider the frequency, duration, or severity of the type of abuse. For instance, the nature of the relationship between physical abuse and juvenile delinquency might differ if those factors were included in the analysis. The specific

nature of the relationship between each type of abuse and delinquency as well as criminality is beyond the scope of the study.

Additionally, in the analysis, all types of abuse are measured singly limiting the explanatory power of maltreatment to both juvenile delinquency and adult criminality. Therefore, a different relationship might exist between the occurrence of both sexual and emotional abuse to juvenile delinquency versus an instance of physical and emotional abuse. That limitation is important because the research literature clearly establishes that most abuse occurs in unison and not isolation.

The scope of the study is also limited because relevant variables are omitted from the analysis such as parental mental health and substance abuse. The literature shows that there is an apparent link between a parent's mental health and child abuse. Mullen et al (1996) conclude that a parent's poor mental health²¹ increases a child's risk factors for abuse. In their analysis, both a father's as well as a mother's poor mental health increased the odds of both physical and emotional abuse. Similarly, Flowers (1999: 153) states that child abuse often times is viewed as an indication of parental substance abuse. If included in the analysis the nature of the relationships between child abuse and juvenile delinquency as well as adult criminality could be better explained.

The data collection procedure relies solely on official records for childhood abuse and both juvenile and adult arrest information. That heavy reliance on official data is problematic because not all instances of child abuse are reported, investigated, and further substantiated. Adding to the problem is the fact that the child victim might not have been made a dependent of the Court. Furthermore, not all delinquent or criminal behaviors come to the attention of government authorities. Individuals in the abused

²¹ In the Mullen et al (1996) study the measure of parent's mental health included drug or alcohol use.

group could have committed delinquent and/or criminal act(s) that did not come to the attention of the law. For instance, Huizinga and Elliott (1987) used longitudinal data from the National Youth Survey²² (NYS) to examine juvenile offender prevalence, incidence, and arrest rates by race. The analysis found that, through both self- and official reports, that 84% of juvenile offenders are not officially arrested or have a crime reported against them (Huizinga & Elliott, 1987). Therefore, not all incidents of juvenile delinquency or adult criminality led to formal recognition.

The study is also limited to general and dichotomous measures of both juvenile delinquency and adult criminality which do not take into consideration severity, frequency, or duration. A very cautious interpretation must be taken when making inferences from the study because of the lack of controlling for those variables in the analysis (Kendall-Tackett et al., 1993). The measure of both juvenile delinquency and adult criminality is limited because they quantify only one deviant incident. If the frequency, severity, and/or duration are included in the analysis it is expected that the relationship between juvenile delinquency and child abuse would change substantially. The same is expected for drug or alcohol use. Additionally, a relationship could be reported if a measure of violent crime is used instead. The literature has not focused on the impact of drug or alcohol use relative to a juvenile delinquent charge but instead as it relates to violent crime (Flowers, 1999: 36).

²² Using a probability sampling technique the NYS sampled youths aged 11 through 17 years old in the United States during the year 1976.

CHAPTER 4

DATA ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

Descriptive Statistics

The initial sample of abused and/or neglected study participants consisted of 877 subjects. A further 284 participants were excluded from the analysis because of a report of child neglect. Of the total sample of abused and/or neglected subjects 67.6% reported an experience of sexual abuse or one or more instances of physical or emotional abuse. Therefore, the final count of the sample of abused participants included in the present study was 593. All respondents had a juvenile dependency petition filed with the Superior Court during the period January 1, 1980 through December 31, 1984.

The age range to be included in the sample during the data collection period was from birth through 11 years old. For those abused subjects age on March 1, 1999 was recorded. The median age recorded was 23. The mean age recorded was 23.60 with a standard deviation of 2.80. The minimum value for age was 19 and the maximum was 30. Therefore, the sample ranged from late adolescents to early adulthood. Females comprised 56.2% of the sample while males accounted for the remaining 43.8%. With respect to race, 77.0% of the respondents were White, 21.1% Black, and 1.9% comprised the Other category.

Of the abused subjects 10.7% were placed outside of the home²³ following the dependency petition filed with the Court whereas 89.3% remained within the home environment. The subjects' natural parent(s), that is, 74.2%, committed the majority of abuses recorded against study participants. Other perpetrators of abuse included: a step, foster, or adoptive parent (12.1%), a parent's non- or live in partner (6.8%), or a

²³ Placement outside of the home includes kin care.

grandparent, sibling, or other non- or household member (6.8%). That finding goes to further dispel the myth that most occurrences of child abuse occur outside of the victim's home environment. Instead, most often someone that the child is familiar with carries out the abuse.

Only 11.3% of the sample of abused youth had any reported involvement with drugs or alcohol whereas the remaining 88.7% did not. That low percent representing a juvenile's involvement with illegal substances is possibly due to the fact that information on drug or alcohol use was collected by official means only. Therefore, the possibility exists that the variable was underreported.

Mean family income was widely dispersed. Income was used a proxy for socioeconomic status with a range from \$10, 845 to \$60, 299 {std = 6378.7, mean (\$24, 128.53), and median (\$24, 455)}. The premise was that those from a low SES (income level) have an increased likelihood of both juvenile delinquent and adult criminal behavior(s). Several outlier values for this variable caused the mean income level to be greater than the modal recorded. That is, modal categories, \$15, 180 and \$18, 688, recorded were below the stated mean and median.

Child abuse was measured by the incidents of physical, sexual, or emotional maltreatment. A combined measure of maltreatment was not used in the analysis. Of the sample 42.2% reported one or more occurrence of physical abuse. However, the majority of the sample (57.8%) did not report an incident of physical abuse. Approximately a half of the sample (49.1%) had experienced one or more instance of emotional abuse whereas the remaining 50.9% did not. The frequency distribution for the final measure of maltreatment, sexual abuse, revealed that 35.6% of the respondents had a sexually

inappropriate encounter while the remaining 64.4% did not (see Tables 2, 2a and 2b, pages 50 and 51).

Table 2: Frequency distribution of independent measures

	Characteristics of the Sample	
	f	%
Age		
19	18	3.0
20	77	13.0
21	82	13.8
22	67	11.3
23	65	11.0
24	51	8.6
25	66	11.1
26	53	8.9
27	57	9.6
28	26	4.4
29	30	5.1
30	1	.2
Gender		
Male (1)	260	43.8
Female (0)	333	56.2
Race		
White (0)	435	77.0
Black (1)	119	21.1
Other (2)	11	1.9
Drug/Alcohol involvement		
No (0)	526	88.7
Yes (1)	67	11.3
Final Placement		
In home (1)	484	89.3
Out-of-home (2)	58	10.7
Perpetrators relationship to the victim		
Natural parent(s) (1)	434	74.2
Step/foster/adoptive parent (2)	71	12.1
Parent's non/live in partner (3)	40	6.8
Grandparent/sibling/other non/household member (4)	40	6.8
Physical Abuse		
No (0)	343	57.8
One or more (1)	250	42.2
Emotional Abuse		
No (0)	302	50.9
One or more (1)	291	49.1
Sexual Abuse		
No (0)	382	64.4
Yes (1)	211	35.6

Table 2a: Descriptive Statistics for independent measures

Measure	Range	Median	Mean	SD
Age	19 – 30	23	23.60	2.80
Mean family income	10, 845 – 60, 299	24, 455	24, 128.5	6378.7

Table 2b: Descriptive Statistics for independent measures

Measure	Range	Median	Mode	SD
Gender	0-1	0	0	<u>.49</u>
Race	0-2	0	0	<u>.48</u>
Drug/alcohol involvement	0-1	0	0	<u>.32</u>
Final Placement	0-1	1	1	<u>.31</u>
Perpetrator's relationship to the victim	1-4	1	1	<u>.89</u>
Physical Abuse	0-1	0	0	<u>.49</u>
Sexual Abuse	0-1	0	0	<u>.48</u>
Emotional Abuse	0-1	0	0	<u>.50</u>

The majority of the sample of abused youth did not have an officially recorded juvenile delinquent or adult criminal charge, 82.0% and 59.7% respectively. Only 18.0% of the abused group had a juvenile charge whereas 40.3% recorded an adult charge (see Tables 3 and 3a, pages 51 and 52).

Table 3: Frequency distribution of dependent measures

	Characteristics of the Sample	
	n	%
Juvenile Delinquency		
No delinquent charge (0)	486	82.0
Delinquent charge (1)	107	18.0
Adult Criminality		
No criminal charge (0)	354	59.7
Criminal charge (1)	239	40.3

Table 3a: Descriptive Statistics for dependent measures

Measure	Range	Median	Mode	SD
Juvenile Delinquency	0 – 1	0	0	.38
Adult Criminality	0 – 1	0	0	.49

Bivariate Analysis (Juvenile Delinquency)

A significant correlation was found between age and delinquent involvement. There was an inverse correlation between age and a delinquent charge with a Pearson's r value of $-.095$ ($n = 593$, $p < .021$). That is, as age increases involvement in delinquency also decreases (see Table 4, page 52).

Table 4: Pearson's Correlation Coefficients for Juvenile Delinquency

(N = 593)		
Variable	Correlation Coefficient	Sig
Age	$-.095^*$.021
Mean Family Income	$-.028$.502

* Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed).

A significant relationship ($\phi = .310$, $p < .000$) was reported between gender and subsequent involvement in delinquent behavior(s). A significant lambda (λ) value of .155 was observed. Therefore, the prediction error with regards to delinquency decreases by 15.5% if the subject's gender is known. In the sample, 68.5% of all males and 92.5% of all females had no recorded delinquent offense. The remaining 7.5% of all females and 31.5% of all males had an official delinquent charge. That is, 63.4% of those with no recorded delinquent charge were female and the remaining 36.6% were male. For participants with a delinquent offense 23.4% were females whereas 76.6% were males (see Table 4a, page 53).

The relationship between race and a juvenile delinquent charge was significant with a Cramer's V value of .197 ($n = 593$, $p < .000$). For those with a delinquent charge, 62.4% were Whites and 37.6% were Blacks. Those in the Others category recorded no juvenile offense. Similarly, only 14.5% of all Whites and 31.9% of all Blacks sampled had committed a juvenile delinquent offense. Therefore, in terms of proportionality a greater percentage of Blacks had a delinquent charge (see Table 4a, page 53).

Table 4a: Crosstabulation of juvenile delinquency and independent measures

	f	Juvenile Delinquency		f	%
		Yes	No		
		%			%
Gender					
Male	82	76.6	178	36.6*	
Female	25	23.4	308	63.4	
Race					
White	63	62.4	372	80.2*	
Black	38	37.6	81	17.5	
Other			11	2.4	
Drug/Alcohol involvement					
No	91	85.0	435	87.5	
Yes	16	15.0	51	10.5	
Final Placement					
In home	78	83.9	406	90.4	
Out of home	15	16.1	43	9.6	
Perpetrator's relationship to the victim					
Natural parents	86	81.1	348	72.7	
Step/foster/adoptive	8	7.5	63	13.2	
Parent's non/live in partner	5	4.7	35	7.3	
Grandparent/sibling/other	7	6.6	33	7.3	
Non/household member					
Physical Abuse					
No	56	52.3	287	59.1	
Yes	51	47.	199	40.9	
Emotional Abuse					
No	40	37.4	262	63.9*	
Yes	67	62.6	224	46.1	
Sexual Abuse					
No	86	80.4	296	60.9*	
Yes	21	19.6	190	39.1	

* Significant at $p < .05$

There was a significant relationship between sexual abuse and a delinquent charge (Cramer's $V = .156$, $p < .000$). Only 19.6% of participants with an instance of sexual abuse had a recorded delinquent charge while the remaining 80.4% who experienced sexual abuse were not delinquent. Of the sample 39.1% had a sexually abusive incident but no delinquent charge whereas 60.9% had a joint distribution of no abuse or juvenile delinquency. Only 3.5% (21) of the total sample had a joint distribution of delinquency and sexual abuse (see Table 4a, page 53).

A significant relationship was noted between emotional abuse and delinquency ($\phi = .127$, $p < .002$). For participants who recorded one or more instance(s) of emotional abuse 62.6% also had a delinquent charge. Conversely, 37.4% of the subjects with a delinquent offense recorded no emotionally abusive incident. The joint distribution of no delinquent offense and no emotional abuse was represented by 53.9% of the sample. A significant and symmetric lambda value of .068 ($p < .009$) was recorded. Therefore, if the experience of emotional abuse is known the error in predicting a juvenile delinquent charge decreases by 6.8% (see Table 4a, page 53).

Bivariate analysis did not reveal a significant relationship between a child's placement and subsequent delinquency (ϕ value = .080, $p < .063$). The majority (90.4%) of subjects in in-home placement had no delinquent offense. The remaining 9.6% placed outside the home had no delinquent charge. Conversely, 16.1% of participants who were placed in out-of-home care subsequently offended whereas 83.9% placed in home had a delinquent charge. Only 2.8% of the sample had a joint distribution of delinquency and out-of-home placement (see Table 4a, page 53).

An insignificant relationship existed between income and juvenile delinquency. A Pearson's r value of $-.028$ ($n = 593$, $p < .502$) was reported. Although insignificant there was an inverse association between mean income and a juvenile delinquent charge. Therefore, an increase in income leads to a decrease in the likelihood of delinquency though the relationship was statistically insignificant (see Table 4, page 52).

Bivariate analysis revealed an insignificant relationship between the perpetrator's relationship to the victim and a delinquent juvenile charge (Cramer's $V = .082$, $p < .267$). For those subjects with a delinquent offense 81.1% of the perpetrators of abuse was a natural parent(s). Other recorded percentages included: 7.5% by a step, foster, or adoptive parent, 4.7% by a parent's non- or live-in partner, and 6.6% by a grandparent, sibling, or other non- or household member (see Table 4a, page 53).

There was an insignificant relationship between drug or alcohol use and delinquency with a ϕ value of $.054$ ($p < .871$). Four-hundred and thirty-five (89.5%) study subjects had a joint distribution of no drug or alcohol use and no juvenile delinquent offense. The remaining 10.5% reported drug or alcohol use but no officially delinquent offense. For subjects with a juvenile delinquent charge 85.0% had no drug or alcohol use whereas the remaining 15.0% did. Only 2.7% (16) of abused youth had a joint distribution of delinquency and drug or alcohol use (see Table 4a, page 53).

A statistically insignificant relationship existed between physical abuse and juvenile delinquency ($\phi = .052$, $p < .203$). For those with no incident of physical abuse 59.1% recorded no delinquency. The remaining 40.9% had a joint distribution of no juvenile charge and one or more instance of physical abuse. A joint distribution of delinquency and physical abuse was recorded for 47.7% of the sample. Only 8.6% (51) of

the total sample experienced both a juvenile delinquent and at least one physical abuse event (see Table 4a, page 53).

In summary, there was a statistically significant relationship between gender, race, age, emotional abuse, and sexual abuse relative to a juvenile delinquent charge. On the other hand, a significant relationship was not noted between a child's placement, the perpetrator's relationship to the victim, drug or alcohol involvement, mean family income, or physical abuse.

Bivariate Analysis (Adult Criminality)

A significant correlation was found between age and an adult criminal charge. There was a direct relationship based on Pearson's r value .134 ($n = 593$, $p < .001$). That is, an increase in age also increases criminality, a finding contrary to a juvenile delinquent charge. A significant relationship existed between mean family income and adult criminality. Based on the Pearson's r value (-.133, $p < .001$) there was an inverse association between income and criminality. Therefore, an increase in income was statistically significant to a criminal charge (see Table 5, page 56).

Table 5: Pearson's Correlation Coefficients for Adult Criminality

(N = 593)		
Variable	Correlation Coefficient	Sig
Age	.134*	.001
Mean Family Income	-.133*	.001

* Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).

Bivariate analysis revealed a significant relationship between gender and criminality ($\phi = .334$, $p < .000$). For those with no recorded criminal charge 69.8% were females whereas the remaining 30.2% were male subjects. In terms of participants with an adult offense 36.0% were females whereas 64.0% were males. A significant

lambda value of .226 was recorded. Therefore, if a subject's gender was known the prediction error for criminality decreases by 22.6% (see Table 5a, page 57).

There was a significant relationship between a subject's race and a subsequent adult criminal charge ($\phi = .203$, $p < .000$). Of those with an adult charge 67.0% were Whites, 31.3% Blacks, and 1.8% Others. Additionally, 34.5% of all Whites, 58.8% of all Blacks, and 36.4% of all Others recorded an adult criminal charge. A lambda value of .059 ($p < .053$) was recorded but not significant (see Table 5a, page 57).

Table 5a: Crosstabulation of adult criminality and independent measures

	Criminality			
	f	Yes %	f	No %
Gender				
Male	153	64.0	107	30.2*
Female	86	36.0	247	69.8
Race				
White	150	67.0	285	83.6*
Black	70	31.3	49	14.4
Other	4	1.8	7	2.1
Drug/Alcohol involvement				
No	207	86.6	319	90.1
Yes	32	13.4	35	9.9
Final Placement				
In home	190	89.2	294	89.4
Out of home	23	10.8	35	10.6
Perpetrator's relationship to the victim				
Natural parents	188	79.7	246	70.5
Step/foster/adoptive	19	8.1	52	14.9
Parent's non/live in partner	14	5.9	26	7.4
Grandparent/sibling/other	15	6.4	25	7.2
Non/household member				
Physical Abuse				
No	122	51.0	221	62.4*
Yes	117	49.0	133	37.6
Emotional Abuse				
No	112	46.9	190	53.7
Yes	127	53.1	164	46.3
Sexual Abuse				
No	175	73.2	207	58.5*
Yes	64	26.8	147	41.5

* Significant at $p < .05$.

Bivariate analysis revealed an insignificant relationship ($\phi = .003, p < .953$) between final placement and subsequent criminality. Of those with an adult criminal charge 89.2% had been placed inside the home whereas 10.8% were in out-of-home placement. For those with no adult charge 10.6% were placed outside of the home whereas the remaining 89.4% remained in the home. Only 4.2% (23) of the sample had a joint distribution of adult criminality and out-of-home placement (see Table 5a, page 57).

For those with no adult charge 62.4% did not report an incident of physical abuse whereas 37.6% did. For those subjects with an adult criminal charge 51% had no incident(s) of physical abuse. A significant relationship was noted between criminality and abuse ($\phi = .113, p < .006$). For study participants with one or more instance of physical abuse 49% had a criminality charge. Only 19.7% (117) of the total sample had a criminal charge and at least one instance of physical abuse (see Table 5a, page 57).

A significant relationship exists between adult criminality and the experience of sexual abuse (Cramer's $V = .151, p < .000$). For those with no adult offense 41.5% reported sexual abuse whereas 58.5% did not. Conversely, for those study subjects with an adult charge 73.2% reported no sexual abuse. The remaining 26.8% reported a sexually abusive incident. Only 10.8% (64) of the total sample had a joint distribution of sexual abuse and adult criminality (see Table 5a, page 57).

An insignificant association exists between the perpetrator's relationship to the victim and adult criminality (Cramer's $V = .114, p < .054$). For those study subjects with a criminal charge 79.7% of the perpetrators of abuse was a natural parent(s). Other recorded percentages included: 8.1% by a step, foster, or adoptive parent, 5.9% by a

parent's non- or live-in partner, and 6.4% by a grandparent, sibling, or other non- or household member (see Table 5a, page 57).

An insignificant relationship existed between drug or alcohol use and adult criminality ($\phi = .054$, $p < .186$). Similar percentages were reported for the joint distribution of drug and alcohol use and adult criminality, as were those for delinquency and drug use. For those with no adult charge 90.1% had no prior drug involvement while the remaining 9.9% did have drug use. For subjects with an adult charge 86.6% recorded no drug use. On the other hand, the remaining 13.4% did have drug involvement. Only 5.4% of the total sample had a joint distribution of criminality and drug use. (see Table 5a, page 57)

Of the sample 53.1% had a joint distribution of criminality and one or more instance of emotional abuse. On the other hand, 46.9% had both a criminal charge and no instance of emotional abuse. For those with no criminal offense 53.7% had no emotional abuse. An insignificant relationship was noted between emotional abuse and criminality ($\phi = .067$, $p < .104$). A statistically insignificant relationship was also noted by the lambda value of .028 ($p < .332$). Of the total sample 21.4% recorded both an adult charge and one or more instance of emotional abuse (Table 5a, page 57).

Bivariate analysis revealed a significant relationship between age, income, gender, physical abuse, and sexual abuse to that of an adult criminal charge. However, an insignificant association was noted for a child's final placement, the perpetrator's relationship to the victim, drug or alcohol use, and one or more instance of emotional abuse.

Bivariate analyses were conducted to determine the association between the various independent variables and each dependent measure. Several significant

relationships were identified throughout the study for both juvenile delinquency and adult criminality. For both dependent measures age, gender, race, and sexual abuse were significant in the analysis. There was an inverse correlation between age and a juvenile delinquent charge whereas a direct relationship existed between age and an adult criminal charge. In terms of gender, males were more likely than females to have both a delinquent and a criminal charge. Similar percentages were reported for juvenile delinquency and adult criminality by race. In terms of proportionality Blacks had more instances of both delinquency and criminality. The majority of the sample that had been sexually abused did not have a delinquent or a criminal charge.

Insignificant relationships for delinquency as well as criminality were also noted for a child's final placement, the perpetrator's relationship to the victim, and drug or alcohol use. In terms of a child's final placement the majority of delinquent and criminal charges were committed by those abused youth placed in-home. For both delinquency and criminality natural parents represented the majority of child abusers. Only a small percentage of the sample had a delinquent or criminal charge relative to drug or alcohol use. At the bivariate level, emotional abuse was significant for a delinquent charge but insignificant for a criminal charge. Additionally, socioeconomic status and physical abuse were insignificant to a delinquent charge but significant to an adult criminal charge.

Regression Analysis

Two main regression models were specified in the analysis.²⁴ Model 1 measured the predictability of the various independent variables on juvenile delinquency and Model 2 for adult criminality.

²⁴ The main regression models for juvenile delinquency and adult criminality were specified by physical abuse because the assumption is that a stronger association exists between that type of abuse relative to

The main model for juvenile delinquency (Model 1) correctly classified 83.4% of the cases. There was a statistically significant relationship between the independent variables of age, race, and gender relative to a juvenile delinquent charge. The model shows that an increase in age resulted in a decline in the log odds of a delinquent charge by .907 ($p < .050$), holding all other variables constant. The log odds of a juvenile delinquent charge are positively related to race²⁵ and gender. That is, the log odds of a delinquent charge are higher for males than females based on the unstandardized ($B = 1.825$, $p < .000$) and standardized ($b = 6.202$, $p < .000$) betas.²⁶ Similarly, non-Whites were more likely to have a delinquent charge ($B = 1.090$, $b = 2.973$, $p < .000$).

The proxy used for SES shows no statistically significant relationship with delinquency based on the unstandardized ($B = .000$, $p < .671$) and standardized ($b = 1.000$, $p < .671$) beta values. That is, when mean family income increased by one unit the odds of delinquency was unchanged, holding all other variables constant. There was no statistically significant relationship between a child's placement, the perpetrator's relationship to the victim, and drug or alcohol use to delinquency. That is, as a perpetrator's relationship moved from a natural parent to a stranger the odds of delinquency decreased, holding all other variables constant. Similarly, one or more

both sexual and emotional maltreatment. The main models consisted of the independent measures: final placement, mean family income (SES), age, perpetrator's relationship to the victim, physical abuse, drug or alcohol use, gender, and race.

²⁵ Whites are used as the reference group in all specified regression models.

²⁶ Standardized beta measures how well each independent variables predicts the dependent variable when all other independent variables are held constant. Standardized beta (b) represents the odds ratio (likelihood) of an outcome occurring relative to the reference category. Values are standardized with a mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1. An odds ratio value greater than 1.00 indicates an increase in the likelihood of the event. Odds ratios less than 1.00 indicate a decreased likelihood of the event occurring. Standardized betas are used when they are multiple independent variables measured in different units. It allows for the comparison of effects. Unstandardized beta (B) is also used for making a prediction but the independent variables are kept in their original units. For example, the variable age is measured in years therefore the unstandardized coefficient is also in years.

incident of physical abuse and drug or alcohol use both decreased the log odds of delinquent involvement whereas out-of-home placement increased the odds (see Table 6, page 62). In the main model for juvenile delinquency gender had the greatest explanatory power because of a larger Wald statistic (38.624).

Table 6: Logistic Regression Analysis on Juvenile Delinquency - Model 1

Main Juvenile Delinquency Model – Model 1			(N = 593)		
	B	SE	Wald	b	Sig
Constant	-.296				
Final Placement	.415	.386	1.157	1.514	.282
Mean Family Income	.000	.000	.180	1.000	.671
Age	-.097	.050	3.845	.907	.050*
Perpetrator's relationship to the victim	-.176	.327	.291	.838	.590
Physical Abuse	-.449	.260	2.973	.638	.085
Drug or Alcohol involvement	-.452	.362	1.558	.636	.212
Gender	1.825	.294	38.624	6.202	.000*
Race	1.090	.308	12.479	2.973	.000*

* Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed).

The main model for adult criminality (Model 2) correctly classified 69.4% of the cases. The model produced similar results to that of a delinquent charge. There was a statistically significant and positive relationship between age, gender, and race with an adult criminal charge. The model shows that an increase in age indicates an increase in the log odds of criminality, holding all other variables constant, based on unstandardized ($B = .135$, $p < .000$) and standardized ($b = 1.145$, $p < .000$) betas. Furthermore, the log odds of an adult criminal charge are higher for males ($B = 1.565$, $b = 4.784$, $p < .000$) and non-Whites ($B = .8766$, $b = 2.401$, $p < .000$).

No statistically significant relationship was noted between socioeconomic status and adult criminality based on the unstandardized ($B = .000$, $p < .060$) and standardized ($b = 1.000$, $p < .060$) beta values. A child's placement, drug use, and the perpetrator's relationship to the victim also had no significant relationship with an adult criminal

charge. Drug or alcohol use as well as out-of-home placement were associated with a decrease whereas non-parental abuse increased the log odds of criminality. Furthermore, one or more incident of physical abuse resulted in a decrease in the odds of adult criminality, holding all other variables constant. However, those findings had no statistical significance. In the model, gender had the greatest explanatory power with a recorded Wald value of 53.510 (see Table 7, page 63).

Table 7: Logistic Regression Analysis on Adult Criminality – Model 2

Main Adult Criminality Model – Model 2			(N = 593)		
	B	SE	Wald	b	Sig
Constant	-3.298				
Final Placement	-.064	.335	.036	.938	.849
Mean Family Income	.000	.000	3.541	1.000	.060
Age	.135	.038	12.325	1.145	.000*
Perpetrator's relationship to the victim	.036	.235	.023	1.036	.880
Physical Abuse	-.382	.204	3.498	.683	.061
Drug or Alcohol involvement	-.321	.304	1.116	.725	.291
Gender	1.565	.214	53.510	4.784	.000*
Race	.876	.257	11.609	2.401	.001*

* Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed).

Four additional regression models were utilized in the subgroup analysis for both juvenile delinquency and adult criminality. Model 3 specified the effect of sexual abuse on a juvenile delinquent charge and Model 4 its effect on an adult criminal charge. Model 5 assessed the relationship between emotional abuse and juvenile delinquency. Model 6 looked at the relationship between emotional abuse and adult criminality.

The independent variables: age ($B = -.101$, $b = .904$, $p < .043$), race ($B = 1.033$, $b = 2.808$, $p < .001$), and gender ($B = 1.768$, $b = 5.861$, $p < .000$) remained significant in the analysis of juvenile delinquency when sexual abuse was added. In Model 3, an increase in age indicated a decrease in the log odds of juvenile delinquency, holding all

other variables constant. Also, being male or non-White increased the odds of a delinquent charge.

In Model 3, no change was reported in the significance of the other independent variables. Though of no statistical importance, final placement and perpetrator's relationship to the victim both recorded a positive relationship to delinquent involvement. Out-of-home placement and non-parental abuse indicated an increase in the log odds of a juvenile delinquent charge. Socioeconomic status ($B = .000$, $b = 1.000$, $p < .621$) indicated that with an increase in the independent variable by one unit the log odds of a juvenile delinquent charge was unchanged, holding all other variables constant. Sexual abuse had no statistically significant relationship to a delinquent charge based on beta values ($B = .516$, $b = 1.675$, $p < .127$). Though no statistically significant association was noted the presence of sexual abuse indicates an increase in the log odds of juvenile delinquency, holding all other variables constant. The greatest explanatory power again rested with gender with a Wald statistic of 35.289 (see Table 8, page 64).

Table 8: Logistic Regression Analysis on Juvenile Delinquency – Model 3

Sexual Abuse Model – Model 3			(N = 593)		
	B	SE	Wald	b	Sig
Constant	-.895				
Race	1.033	.312	10.973	2.808	.001*
Final Placement	.340	.386	.777	1.406	.378
Mean Family Income	.000	.000	.245	1.000	.621
Age	-.101	.050	4.087	.904	.043*
Perpetrator's relationship to the victim	.011	.334	.001	1.011	.974
Sexual Abuse	.516	.338	2.326	1.675	.127
Drug or Alcohol involvement	-.403	.363	1.228	.669	.268
Gender	1.768	.298	35.289	5.861	.000*

* Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed).

Model 4 assessed the relationship specified by sexual abuse on an adult criminal charge. The overall test of the model correctly predicted 70.2% of the cases of adult

criminality. Three statistically significant relationships were found in that model. A statistically significant and positive relationship existed between race, age, and gender to criminality. The model shows that non-Whites and males had a greater likelihood of criminality than Whites and females. Additionally, an increase in age by one unit indicated an increase in the log odds of a criminal charge, holding all other variables constant.

SES ($B = .000$, $b = 1.000$, $p < .089$) had no significant effect on an adult criminal charge. There was no significant relationship between a child's placement, the perpetrator's relationship to the victim, and drug or alcohol use to an adult criminal charge. Sexual abuse had no significant effect on an adult criminal charge. Although the relationship was insignificant the data suggests that out-of-home placement, an incident of sexual abuse or drug use decreased the log odds of criminality. On the other hand, non-parental abuse increased the odds of adult criminal behavior, holding all other variables constant (see Table 9, page 65).

Table 9: Logistic Regression Analysis on Adult Criminality – Model 4

Sexual Abuse Model – Model 4			(N = 593)		
	B	SE	Wald	b	Sig
Constant	-3.482				
Race	.914	.261	12.291	2.494	.000*
Final Placement	-.104	.334	.098	.901	.755
Mean Family Income	.000	.000	2.896	1.000	.089
Age	.132	.038	11.831	1.141	.001*
Perpetrator's relationship to the victim	.039	.243	.026	1.040	.873
Sexual Abuse	-.066	.236	.079	.936	.778
Drug or Alcohol involvement	-.340	.305	1.240	.712	.265
Gender	1.625	.221	53.869	5.079	.000*

* Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed).

Model 5 assessed the impact of emotional abuse on a juvenile delinquent charge. The model correctly classified 82.5% of the cases of juvenile delinquency. The

independent variables age, gender, and race remained significant in the analysis of emotional abuse. An inverse and significant relationship exists between age and juvenile delinquency. Therefore, an increase in age indicated a decrease in the log odds of a delinquent charge, holding all other variables constant ($B = -.099$, $b = .906$, $p < .048$). A positive and significant relationship was noted between race and delinquency as well as gender and delinquency. The log odds of a delinquent charge are greater for males ($B = 1.817$, $b = 6.152$, $p < .000$) and non-Whites ($B = 1.051$, $b = 2.860$, $p < .001$).

Based on the unstandardized ($B = .000$, $p < .559$) and standardized ($b = 1.000$, $p < .559$) beta values SES had no effect on a delinquent charge, holding all other variables constant. Therefore, with an increase in income by one unit the log odds of a delinquent charge remain unchanged. A positive but statistically insignificant relationship existed between final placement and delinquency ($B = .343$, $b = 1.410$, $p < .373$). A negative and insignificant relationship was noted for perpetrator's relationship, drug or alcohol use, and emotional abuse. Though insignificant, emotional abuse decreased the log odds of a delinquent charge, holding all other variables constant (see Table 10, page 66).

Table 10: Logistic Regression Analysis on Juvenile Delinquency – Model 5

Emotional Abuse Model – Model 5			(N = 593)		
	B	SE	Wald	b	Sig
Constant	-.482				
Race	1.051	.312	11.364	2.860	.001*
Final Placement	.343	.385	.794	1.410	.373
Mean Family Income	.000	.000	.342	1.000	.559
Age	-.099	.050	3.915	.906	.048*
Perpetrator's relationship to the victim	-.022	.333	.004	.978	.947
Drug or Alcohol involvement	-.386	.365	1.118	.680	.290
Gender	1.817	.294	38.198	6.152	.000*
Emotional Abuse	-.361	.273	1.755	.697	.185

* Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed).

Model 6 specified the relationship between emotional abuse to that of adult criminality. The model correctly classified 69.8% of the adult criminality cases. Similar to the analysis of juvenile delinquency, that of criminality shows that the independent variables (age, gender, and race) remained significant in the analysis. All three variables had a positive relationship with an adult criminal charge. An increase in age by one unit resulted in an increase in the log odds of criminal behavior ($B = .132$, $b = 1.141$, $p < .001$), holding all other variables constant. Based on the beta values ($B = 1.619$, $b = 5.049$, $p < .000$) in Model 6 males were at an increased likelihood for criminal behavior than females. Also, non-Whites had a significantly greater log odd of adult criminality than Whites ($B = .910$, $b = 2.485$, $p < .000$).

Several insignificant relationships were produced in Model 6. A positive yet statistically insignificant relationship was produced for final placement, perpetrator's relationship to the victim, and emotional abuse. Out-of-home placement decreased the log odds of criminal behavior ($B = -.103$, $b = .902$, $p < .095$). Non-parental abuse was found to increase the odds of an adult criminal charge. The data also suggests that a one unit change in emotional abuse, that is, having one or more incident also increased the log odds of criminal behavior ($B = .073$, $b = 1.076$, $p < .120$). Based on the unstandardized ($B = .000$, $p < .083$) and standardized ($b = 1.000$, $p < .083$) beta values the data suggests that SES had no effect on a criminal charge holding all other variables constant. Therefore, with an increase in mean family income by one unit criminality remained unchanged (see Table 11, page 68).

Table 11: Logistic Regression Analysis on Adult Criminality – Model 6

Emotional Abuse Model – Model 6			(N = 593)		
	B	SE	Wald	b	Sig
Constant	-3.546				
Race	.910	.258	12.443	2.485	.000*
Final Placement	-.103	.334	.095	.902	.758
Mean Family Income	.000	.000	3.005	1.000	.083
Age	.132	.038	11.873	1.141	.001*
Perpetrator's relationship to the victim	.040	.239	.029	1.041	.866
Drug or Alcohol involvement	-.347	.307	1.277	.707	.258
Gender	1.619	.215	56.568	5.049	.000*
Emotional Abuse	.073	.212	.120	1.076	.729

* Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed).

The two final regression models consisted of those variables that were found to be significant throughout the analysis. In both Model 7 and Model 8 the independent variables included are age, race, and gender.

In Model 7 the overall test of the model correctly classified 80.9% of the cases of a juvenile delinquent charge. In Model 7 (see Table 12, page 62) an increase in age indicated a decrease in the log odds of a juvenile delinquent charge, holding all other variables constant. Males were also found to have an increased likelihood of a delinquent offense. Contrary to prior regression models, in Model 7 Non-Whites had a decreased log odds of delinquency ($B = -.999$, $b = .368$, $p < .000$), holding all other variables constant.

Table 12: Logistic Regression Analysis on Juvenile Delinquency – Model 7

Significant Effects Model – Model 7			(N = 593)		
	B	SE	Wald	b	Sig
Constant	.386				
Age	-.096	.044	4.645	.909	.031*
Gender	1.805	.262	47.500	6.078	.000*
Race	-.999	.257	15.145	.368	.000*

* Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed).

In Model 8, the overall test of the model correctly classified 69.9% of the cases of an adult charge. In Model 8 an increase in age indicated an increase in the log odds of criminal behavior, holding all other variables constant. Males were had an increased likelihood of adult criminal behavior in comparison to females. Contrary to prior regression models, in Model 8 non-Whites had a decreased likelihood for adult criminality (see Table 13, page 63).

Table 13: Logistic Regression Analysis on Adult Criminality – Model 8

Significant Effects Model – Model 8					(N = 593)
	B	SE	Wald	b	Sig
Constant	-3.643				
Age	.138	.035	15.308	1.148	.000*
Gender	1.590	.196	65.988	4.900	.000*
Race	-1.026	.223	21.103	.359	.000*

* Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed).

The variables race, age, and gender were significant in all the regression models. In the absence of abuse types from the analysis the significant effects regression models showed that Whites had a greater likelihood for both a juvenile delinquent and an adult criminal charge. That finding is inconsistent with the literature which clearly establishes that minority groups are more delinquent and criminal (Paschall et al., 1998; Piquero et al., 2002). However, in all other regression models specified by abuse types non-Whites had increased log odds for both delinquent and criminal behavior.

Throughout the analysis, an increase in age by one unit indicated a decrease in the log odds of juvenile delinquency. On the other hand, an increase in age resulted in an increase in the odds of an adult criminal charge. The latter study finding is inconsistent with the research literature. Males were consistently found to have an increased likelihood for delinquent as well as criminal behavior throughout the regression analyses.

All other independent variables remained insignificant throughout the analysis. For all regression models socioeconomic status was unrelated to both a delinquent and criminal charge. In both of the main models (physical abuse) and the sexual abuse models out-of-home placement increased the log odds of delinquency and decreased the likelihood of a criminal charge. On the other hand, in relation to the emotional abuse models out-of-home placements increased both the odds of delinquency and criminality.

Drug or alcohol use consistently indicated a decreased likelihood of both a delinquent and criminality charge. Non-parental abuse was consistently associated with an increased likelihood of criminality in all models. For both physical and emotional maltreatment non-parental abuse decreased the odds of delinquency. For sexual abuse stranger abuse increased the likelihood of an adult criminal charge. Physical and emotional abuse decreased the likelihood of a juvenile delinquent charge whereas sexual abuse increased the odds. Both physical and sexual abuse decreased the likelihood of criminality where emotional abuse increased the log odds.

Table 15 provides a summary of whether or not the stated hypotheses were supported throughout the analysis.

Table 15: Summary of Tested Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1: Supported
There is a relationship between gender and juvenile delinquency.
Hypothesis 2: Supported
There is a relationship between gender and adult criminality.
Hypothesis 3: Supported
There is a relationship between race and juvenile delinquency.
Hypothesis 4: Supported
There is a relationship between race and adult criminality.
Hypothesis 5: Supported
There is a relationship between age and juvenile delinquency.

Table 15 (cont'd)

Hypothesis 6: Supported

There is a relationship between age and adult criminality.

Hypothesis 7: Not Supported

There is a relationship between SES and juvenile delinquency.

Hypothesis 8: Not Supported

There is a relationship between SES and adult criminality.

Hypothesis 9: Not Supported

There is a relationship between physical abuse and juvenile delinquency.

Hypothesis 10: Not Supported

There is a relationship between physical abuse and adult criminality.

Hypothesis 11: Not Supported

There is a relationship between emotional abuse and juvenile delinquency.

Hypothesis 12: Not Supported

There is a relationship between emotional abuse and adult criminality.

Hypothesis 13: Not Supported

There is a relationship between sexual abuse and juvenile delinquency.

Hypothesis 14: Not Supported

There is a relationship between sexual abuse and adult criminality.

Hypothesis 15: Not Supported

There is a relationship between final placement and juvenile delinquency.

Hypothesis 16: Not Supported

There is a relationship between final placement and adult criminality.

Hypothesis 17: Not Supported

There is a relationship between drug or alcohol use and juvenile delinquency.

Hypothesis 18: Not Supported

There is a relationship between drug or alcohol use and adult criminality.

Hypothesis 19: Not Supported

There is a relationship between the perpetrator's relationship to the victim and juvenile delinquency.

Hypothesis 20: Not Supported

There is a relationship between the perpetrator's relationship to the victim and adult criminality.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Findings and Discussion

The purpose of the study was to examine the relationship between childhood abuse relative to juvenile delinquent and adult criminal behaviors. The study objectives were to 1) establish if a relationship existed between the type of abuse whether physical, emotional, or sexual and delinquent behavior, 2) to determine if a relationship existed between abuse type and adult criminal behavior, 3) to establish what characteristics of age, gender, race, placement, SES, and alcohol or drug use related to juvenile delinquency or adult criminality.

The theoretical framework applied in the study was Edwin Sutherland's Differential Association perspective. That ideology, guided by the belief that behaviors are learned, followed the general premise that delinquent and/or criminal behaviors were acquired through a youths' associations or exposure to abuse. That is, behaviors are learned through social acts that are observed in the home environment.

The database used was, "Childhood Victimization and Delinquency, Adult Criminality, and Violent Criminal Behavior in a Large Urban County in the Northwest United States, 1980-1997." Participants included a matched control group and a sample of abused and/or neglected youth made dependents by the Superior Court. For this study, the researcher was interested in only instances of physical, sexual, or emotional abuse not cases of neglect. Cases were filtered to exclude subjects with an instance of neglect only (284) and those with no incident of abuse (877). A final sample of 593 abused youth was included in the analysis.

Univariate, bivariate, and multivariate techniques were used in the data analysis procedures. Frequency runs were used to describe the data characteristics. Chi-square analyses as well as correlations were used to examine bivariate relationships and associations between the independent and dependent variables. Multivariate logistic regression techniques were used to examine juvenile delinquency and adult criminality as a function of the various independent variables.

Hypothesis one stated that there is a relationship between gender and juvenile delinquency. That hypothesis was supported in all regression models as well as bivariate analyses which showed a statistically significant relationship between gender and delinquent behavior. All statistical results demonstrated that males were significantly more delinquent than females. That study finding is consistent with the literature, which states that males are more delinquent than females (Siegel, 2003: 68).

For example, the Kilpatrick and Saunders (2000) study illustrated that the causal pathway for juvenile delinquent behavior differs as a function of gender. In that analysis, the prevalence of prior delinquency was greater for males than females. Males were more likely than females to commit a delinquent act, 17.7% versus 6.7% in that order (Kilpatrick & Saunders, 2000).

The second hypothesis stated that there is a relationship between gender and adult criminal behavior. That hypothesis was also supported by the data findings. Similar to the findings for a juvenile delinquent charge, bivariate and multivariate data analysis proved that a statistically significant relationship existed between gender and adult criminality. Males were again proven to be more criminal than females a finding that is consistent with the literature (Siegel, 2003: 68; Piquero et al., 2005). In the Widom (1989) research

study, males reported a greater frequency of adult criminality than females, 38.1% versus 13% respectively. Overall, females were less likely than males to have an adult arrest (Widom, 1989).

Hypothesis three stated that there is a relationship between race and a juvenile delinquent charge. That hypothesis was supported in the study. A significant association was found between race and juvenile delinquency at both the bivariate and multivariate levels. The data suggested that non-Whites had a greater likelihood than Whites to be delinquent. That finding is consistent with the literature that non-Whites are more likely to be delinquent than Whites (Paschall et al., 1998; Piquero et al., 2002). However, the significant effects regression model of juvenile delinquency produced contradictory findings. In that model Whites were at increased odds for juvenile delinquent behavior.

Several studies have assessed the relationship between race and juvenile delinquency. The research literature states that Whites are less likely than those of minority status, specifically Blacks and Hispanics, to be juvenile offenders, 18.5 versus 9.9% respectively (Paschall et al., 1998; Piquero et al., 2000; Kilpatrick & Saunders, 2000).

Hypothesis four stated that there is a relationship between race and an adult criminal charge. That hypothesis was supported. The data suggests that a significant relationship existed between race and criminal behavior where Non-Whites had an increased likelihood of adult criminality (Widom, 1989). However, the significant effects regression model of adult criminality was contradictory to the research literature. The likelihood of system involvement is greater for minority youth than for Whites (Williams et al., 2001). Additionally, for those abused and/or neglected youth Blacks (39%) were

more likely than Whites (24.4%) to have a subsequent adult criminal record (Widom, 1989).

Hypothesis five stated that there is a relationship between age and a juvenile delinquent charge. That hypothesis was consistently supported throughout the analysis. At both the bivariate and multivariate levels an inverse and significant relationship was noted between age and a juvenile delinquent charge. That finding is consistent with the research literature, which states that delinquent involvement decreases with age because people age-out of such behaviors (Siegel et al., 2003: 67). Developmental criminology is guided by the premise that people age-out of delinquent as well as criminal behavior. That is, with an increase in age the likelihood for involvement in such behaviors decreases.

Hypothesis six stated that there is a relationship between age and adult criminality. That hypothesis was supported in the analysis where a statistically significant relationship was noted between age and an adult criminal charge. However, the direct relationship found between age and adult criminality is inconsistent with the research literature. The literature states that an increase in age is associated with a decrease in adult criminal involvement (Siegel et al., 2003: 67). However, in the present analysis, an increase in age indicated an increase in the likelihood of adult criminality.

Hypothesis seven stated that there is a relationship between a subjects' socioeconomic status and a juvenile delinquent charge. The hypothesis was not supported in the analysis. The study, at the multivariate level, did not support the hypothesis but consistently stated that the relationship between an increase in SES and juvenile delinquency was unchanged. However, at the bivariate level an insignificant and inverse

relationship was noted between SES and a juvenile delinquent charge. The latter finding is consistent with the research literature which states that poverty and a low SES are directly correlated with juvenile delinquency (Wells & Rankin, 1991).

Hypothesis eight stated that there is a relationship between SES and adult criminality. That hypothesis was supported at the bivariate level where an insignificant and inverse association was found. However, at the multivariate level, no relationship was established between SES and an adult criminal charge. That finding is inconsistent with the research literature which states that a lower SES is associated with the increased odds of criminal involvement (Hawkins et al., 2000).

Hypothesis nine stated that there is a relationship between physical abuse and a juvenile delinquent charge. That hypothesis was not supported in the study. The relationship between physical abuse and a juvenile delinquent charge was insignificant in the bivariate analysis. At the multivariate level, physical abuse was associated with a decrease in the log odds of a juvenile delinquent charge. However, that finding was statistically insignificant. The study finding was also inconsistent with the literature which states that those who experience physical abuse tend to display more aggressive and delinquent behaviors (Stewart et al., 2002)

Hypothesis ten stated that there is a relationship between physical abuse and adult criminality. That hypothesis was not supported in the analysis. At the bivariate level there was a significant relationship between an adult charge and one or more instance of physical abuse. However, in the multivariate analysis physical abuse was insignificant. Although insignificant, physical abuse decreased the likelihood of an adult criminal charge. That finding is inconsistent with the literature which states that physical abuse is

directly associated with crime (Widom, 1989; Smith & Thornberry, 1995; Caetano et al., 2003).

Hypothesis eleven stated that there is a relationship between emotional abuse and juvenile delinquency. In the present study that hypothesis was not supported. At the bivariate level, there was a significant relationship between emotional abuse and a juvenile delinquent charge. In the multivariate analysis, though insignificant, emotional abuse was associated with decreased log odds of juvenile delinquency. That finding is inconsistent with the research literature which states that emotional abuse is positively correlated with juvenile delinquency (Brown, 1984). Additionally, the harmful effects of emotional abuse have only recently been studied separately from other abuse types (Spertes et al., 2003).

Hypothesis twelve stated that there is a relationship between emotional abuse and an adult criminal charge. That hypothesis was not supported. At both the bivariate and multivariate levels no statistically significant relationship was found. Emotional abuse was insignificantly correlated with the increased likelihood of adult criminality. That finding is consistent with the literature that emotional abuse is linked to adult behavioral problems (Spertes et al., 2003).

Hypothesis thirteen states that there is a relationship between sexual abuse and a juvenile delinquent charge. That hypothesis was not supported in the analysis. At the bivariate level a significant relationship was found between sexual abuse and a juvenile delinquent charge. At the multivariate level, an insignificant relationship existed where the log odds of juvenile delinquency increased with the experience of sexual abuse. The latter finding is consistent with the literature.

Hypothesis fourteen stated that there is a relationship between sexual abuse and an adult criminal charge. That hypothesis was not supported in the analysis. At the bivariate level there was a significant relationship between sexual abuse and an adult criminal charge. In the multivariate analysis only an insignificant relationship was found. The experience of sexual abuse was associated with the decreased likelihood of adult criminality. That finding is inconsistent with the literature which states that youth sexually abused in childhood have both the increased likelihood of revictimization as well as the involvement in criminal behaviors (Krahé et al., 1999).

Hypothesis fifteen stated that there is a relationship between a child's final placement and a juvenile delinquent charge. That hypothesis was not supported in the study. At both the bivariate and multivariate levels no significant relationship was found. Though insignificant, out-of-home placements increased the log odds of juvenile delinquency. That finding is consistent with the literature (Wall, 2005).

Hypothesis sixteen stated that there is a relationship between a child's final placement and an adult criminal charge. That hypothesis was not supported in the analysis. At both the bivariate and multivariate levels no significant relationship was found. Though insignificant, out-of-home placements increased the log odds of adult criminality. That finding is inconsistent with the research literature (Wall, 2005). The relationship between placement and delinquency as well as criminality is moderated by other factors such as the type and duration of placement as well as the age of the child when first placed (Frame, 2002).

Hypothesis seventeen stated that there is a relationship between drug and/or alcohol use and a juvenile delinquent charge. That hypothesis was not supported. At both

the bivariate and multivariate levels an insignificant relationship was found. Though insignificant, drug use was associated with the decreased odds of juvenile delinquency. That finding that is inconsistent with the literature which states that drug/alcohol use is directly related to delinquent behavior (Flowers, 1999: 3).

Hypothesis eighteen stated that there is a relationship between drug use and an adult criminal charge. That hypothesis was not supported. At both the bivariate and multivariate levels an insignificant relationship was found. Though insignificant, drug use was associated with decreased odds of adult criminality. That finding is inconsistent with the literature (Flowers, 1999: 7).

Hypothesis nineteen stated that there is a relationship between the perpetrator's relationship to the victim and juvenile delinquency. That hypothesis was not supported in the analysis. At both the bivariate and multivariate levels an insignificant relationship was found between perpetrator's relationship to the victim and a juvenile delinquent charge. At the multivariate level abuse by a stranger decreased the log odds of juvenile delinquency. However, that relationship was statistically insignificant. The research does not consistently state that abuse by a parent versus that by a stranger increases delinquent involvement. Although abuse by a family member is believed to be more harmful to the child victim than that by a stranger it does not discount its relation to juvenile delinquency (Browne & Finkelhor, 1986; Kendall-Tackett et al., 1993).

Hypothesis twenty stated that there is a relationship between the perpetrator's relationship to the victim and an adult criminal charge. That hypothesis was not supported. At both the bivariate and multivariate levels only an insignificant relationship was noted. At the multivariate level abuse by a stranger increased the log odds of adult

criminal behavior. The research states with no consistency that abuse by a parent is more indicative of adult criminality than that by a stranger.

Conclusion

The causal link between child abuse and subsequent involvement in deviant behavior(s) is well established throughout the research literature (Loeber et al., 2001). However, the research consistently states that not all abused youth eventually engage in delinquent and/or criminal behaviors (Widom, 1989). Nevertheless, it is necessary to understand how the developmental pathway differs for an abused youth and another who has not experienced child maltreatment. Juvenile delinquency is clearly noted as one of the possibly long-term consequences of child maltreatment (Widom, 1989). Similarly, the link has been established between child abuse and future adult criminality. Therefore, it is necessary to gain an accurate understanding of the victim-to-offender pathway in order to explore a youths' movement along that developmental sequence (Hamilton et al., 2002).

Several research hypotheses were consistently supported throughout the data analysis. A relationship was found between gender, race, and age relative to a juvenile delinquent as well as an adult criminal charge. Those relationships were expected because the literature has established that those demographic variables are related to the likelihood of both juvenile delinquency and adult criminality independently of childhood abuse. The directions of those relationships were also consistent with the research literature. That is, the literature consistently states that males, Non-Whites, and younger individuals have a greater likelihood of both juvenile delinquent and adult criminal behavior(s).

On the other hand, several of the research hypotheses were not supported by the data. No consistent relationship was found between SES, physical, sexual or emotional abuse, child's final placement, drug or alcohol use, and the perpetrator's relationship to the victim relative to juvenile delinquency and adult criminality.

The hypotheses that SES was related to juvenile delinquency and adult criminality were not supported in the present research study. Research has used several measures to scale SES; the measure used in this study was mean family income. However, mean family income was used only as a proxy for SES and as such might not have been the most appropriate measure. In the present analysis, the relationship between SES and both juvenile delinquency and adult criminality remained unchanged.

None of the three abuse types, used in the study, were consistently found to be related to juvenile delinquency or adult criminality. That finding of no relationship between abuse type and each dependent measure can be attributed to the dichotomous measure of child abuse used. Additionally, the measures of abuse types used did not account for the severity or duration of the incident. Both physical and emotional abuse considered frequency whereas the measure of sexual abuse did not. It is expected that a relationship would exist between child abuse and juvenile delinquency as well as adult criminality if those factors were accounted for in the analysis. For example, the length of time of the abuse impacts the likelihood of deviant or criminal behavior. Therefore, it is a logical assumption that a single occurrence of abuse differs in relation to its impact on future behavior than abuse which occurs with a greater frequency.

A child's final placement after the dissolution of a dependency petition filed with the Court showed no relationship to either juvenile delinquency or adult criminality. One

possible explanation for the lack of a relationship is that out-of-home placement was not subdivided into categories. For instance, the expectation is that those youth placed in group home placements would have an increased likelihood for both juvenile delinquent and adult criminal behavior(s) as compared with those in other out-of-home placements. Similarly, no relationship existed between drug or alcohol use and juvenile delinquency or adult criminality. The measure of drug or alcohol involvement used did not consider the frequency of use. It is expected that chronic substance abuse has a greater impact on juvenile delinquent or adult criminal behavior than one time drug use. However, the data was limited to a dichotomy that simply recorded whether a youth had ever used drugs and/or alcohol and not the extent of use. The perpetrator's relationship to the victim was also unrelated to either a juvenile delinquent or an adult criminal charge. That association was unfounded possibly because a dichotomy was used to measure the perpetrator's relationship. The unsupported hypotheses can all be attributed to the fact that all measures of data were from official sources only.

The present research aides with future studies in one major facet. The study findings in relation to race, age, and gender add validation to prior research. It solidifies the consistent findings that Non-Whites, younger youth, and males have an increased likelihood for both juvenile delinquency and adult criminality. However, based on the limitations of the research data future studies must make accommodations for more specific and accurate measures. That is, subtypes of abuse must be used when assessing the relationship with both juvenile delinquency and adult criminality. For example, studies must assess not only the relationship between subtypes of abuse but also further divisions of those categories. Additionally, it is beneficial for future research to more

accurately gauge SES. Other measures of SES can include whether the youth lives below the poverty line, the reliance on welfare, or the educational gain of the parent(s). Lastly, to circumvent the shortcomings of official sources self-reported data can be used to compliment official data.

The response to the problem of childhood abuse and its relationship to juvenile delinquency and adult criminality involves acquiring a profile of the most likely victim. With an established profile, at initial contact with the juvenile justice system, the abused child can be recognized and treated. Based on the study findings, the most complete profile must be characterized using the elements of race, age, and gender as it relates to a juvenile delinquent charge. That is, non-Whites, younger youth, and males are the most likely to become involved in juvenile delinquent activities. Therefore, any adequate response to the problem must prioritize based on those factors. The same profile is also applicable to adult criminal involvement.

Despite the importance and validity of the current study findings they are not groundbreaking because prior studies have researched the relationship between child abuse and juvenile delinquent as well as adult criminal involvement. However, the research study does highlight the specific relationship when abuse types are studied in isolation. That is, it assessed the relationship between each abuse type and juvenile delinquency as well as adult criminality. Although, the research literature states that most incidents of abuse do not occur in unison (Hamilton et al., 2002) that does not discount the need for or validity of the present study. However, a possible explanation for the insignificant association between child abuse types and both of the dependent measures was the fact that abuse types were studied singly.

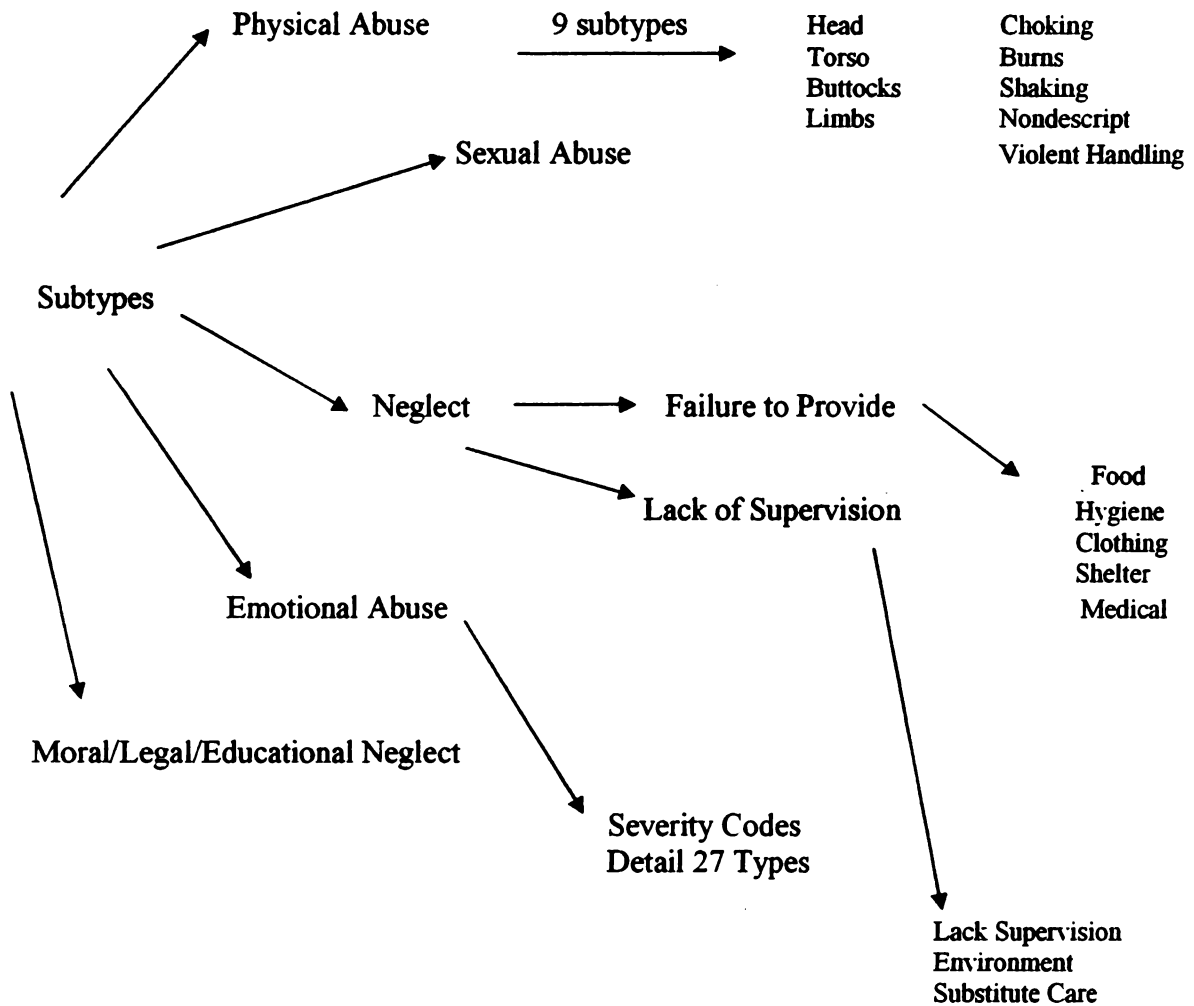
The issue of child abuse must be addressed because generic programs are insufficient to address the needs of that special population. That is, no general program model can be used for all youths, that is, whether they have been categorized as mentally retarded, behavioral challenged, abused or neglected, delinquent, and/or another. Specialized programs must be in place to respond to the psychological difficulties associated with child victimization. That necessitates the application of more front-end programs and policies to combat the psychological and physical challenges that child abuse adds to the problem of offending behavior. Additionally, it aides in the process of allowing the youth to move beyond the abuse and to develop socially so that they can be successfully reintegrated into their community and society while building or rebuilding trust and confidence in their social surroundings and situations.

Special care must be given to youths that fall under the child abuse category. Importantly though, abused juveniles should not be left feeling helpless and scarred because of the ill-treatment received. It is important that the direct care staff within the juvenile justice system not view the victims of abuse as scarred and helpless or allow that feeling to transfer to the youth. On the other hand, every attempt must be made to avoid or prevent the stigma associated with child abuse (Browne & Finkelhor, 1986). Therefore, the juvenile justice system, because youth might progress from there to the adult criminal system, must be equipped to identify and deal with the intricacies of child abuse.

Appendices

Appendix I

Maltreatment Coding Scheme*



***Modified Barnett, Manly, Cicchetti (1993) Coding Scheme**

Appendix II

Maltreatment Coding Scheme*

Severity Coding for:

Severity is coded on a scale of 1 (low) through 5 or 6 (high)

Physical Abuse to the Head/Face/Neck

Severity 1 = No marks indicated

Severity 2 = Minor marks

Severity 3 = Numerous or non-minor marks

Severity 4 = Emergency Room or medical treatment

Severity 5 = Hospitalization for more than 24 hours

Severity 6 = Permanent Disability or Death

Sexual Abuse

Severity 1 = Caretaker exposes child to explicit sexual stimuli or activities

Severity 2 = Caretaker makes direct requests for sexual contact with child

Severity 3 = Caretaker engages child in mutual sexual touching

Severity 4 = Caretaker attempts to (or actually) penetrate(s) child

Severity 5 = Caretaker has forced intercourse with child

* Modified Barnett, Manly, Cicchetti Coding Scheme 1993

Appendix III

Maltreatment Coding Scheme* Severity for Emotional Maltreatment

(Severity for emotional maltreatment is coded using 27 different codes. These codes are clustered in groups or levels of severity.)

Severity 11 = Caregiver expects inappropriate level of responsibility
Severity 12 = Caregiver undermines the child's relationships
Severity 13 = Caregiver belittles or ridicules child
Severity 14 = Caregiver ignores child's bids for attention
Severity 15 = Caregiver uses fear or intimidation as a method of discipline

Severity 21 = Caregiver does not permit age appropriate socialization
Severity 22 = Caregiver places child in a role-reversal
Severity 23 = Caregiver thwarts child's sense of maturity and responsibility
Severity 24 = Caregiver rejects or is inattentive to child's need for affection
Severity 25 = Caregiver allows child to be exposed to caregiver's extreme but non violent marital conflict

Severity 31 = Caregiver blames child for marital problems
Severity 32 = Caregiver has inappropriate or excessive expectations for the child
Severity 33 = Caregiver makes serious threats to injure the child
Severity 34 = Caregiver calls child derogatory names
Severity 35 = Caregiver binds child's hands and feet for moderate periods of time
Severity 36 = Caregiver exposes child to extreme, unpredictable, or inappropriate behavior
Severity 37 = Caregiver demonstrates a pattern of negativity or hostility toward the child

Severity 41 = Caregiver threatens suicide or abandonment in front of child
Severity 42 = Caregiver blames the child for suicide or death of another family member
Severity 44 = Caregiver confines and isolates the child (between 5 and 8 hours)
Severity 45 = Caregiver binds child or places child in confinement for less than 2 hours

Severity 51 = Caregiver makes a suicidal attempt in front of child
Severity 52 = Caregiver makes a homicidal attempt or realistic threat of homicide against the child without actual physical harm to child
Severity 53 = Caregiver abandons child for 24 hours or more
Severity 54 = Caregiver uses extremely restrictive methods to bind a child or places child in confinement for 2 or ore hours
Severity 55 = Caregiver confines child for extended periods (more than 8 hours)

* Modified Barnett, Manly, Cicchetti (1993) Coding Scheme

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