
Chapter 2

Juvenile victims

In the past several years, shocking cases of homicides at schools have focused a great deal of attention on the safety of students. Americans are understandably concerned about their children becoming victims of crime while at school. Tragic incidents such as these, however, often belie the actual frequency and nature of school victimizations. In actuality, juveniles are safer at school than out of school. The fact that much juvenile victimization is hidden from public view—abusers are not identified, crimes are not reported, and offenders are not arrested—has created an inaccurate public perception of juvenile victimization.

This chapter presents what is known about the prevalence and incidence of juvenile victimizations. It answers important questions to assist policymakers, practitioners, researchers, and concerned citizens in developing policies and programs to ensure the safety and well-being of children. How often are juveniles the victims of crime? How many are murdered each year? How often are firearms involved? Who are their of-

fenders? How many youth commit suicide? How many children are victims of crime at school? What are the characteristics of school crime? When are juveniles most likely to become victims of crime? What is known about missing and runaway youth? How many children are abused and neglected annually? What are the trends in child maltreatment?

Data sources include the Bureau of Justice Statistics' National Crime Victimization Survey and the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Supplementary Homicide Reporting Program and its National Incident-Based Reporting System. School victimization data are drawn from both the National Center for Education Statistics and the Bureau of Justice Statistics. Child maltreatment is reported by the National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect. Data from the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention's National Incidence Studies of Missing, Abducted, Runaway, and Thrownaway Children are presented, as well as suicide information from the National Center for Health Statistics.

Between 1980 and 1997, nearly 38,000 juveniles were murdered in the U.S.

The FBI maintains detailed records on murders in the U.S.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation's (FBI's) Uniform Crime Reporting Program asks local law enforcement agencies to provide detailed information on all homicides. These Supplementary Homicide Reports (SHR) capture information on victim and offender demographics, the victim-offender relationship, the weapon used, and the circumstances surrounding the crime. The FBI estimates that 91% of all homicides committed in the U.S. between 1980 and 1997 were reported to the FBI.

The number of murders in 1997 was the lowest since 1971

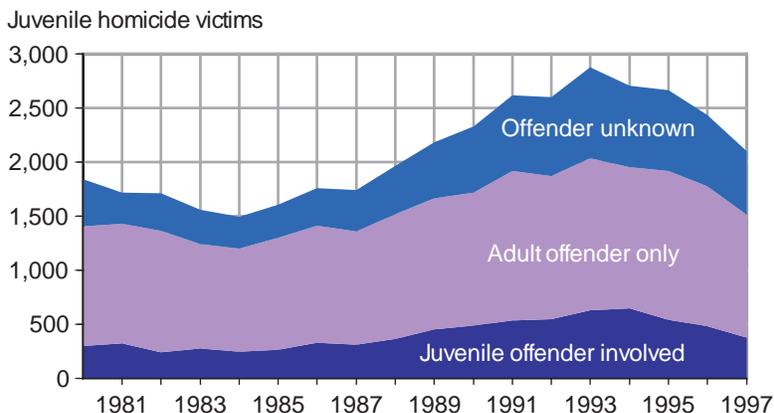
Estimates from the SHR data show that murders peaked in 1991 with 24,700 victims, or a rate of nearly 10 murders for every 100,000 persons living in the U.S. While the number of murders was high, rates similar to the 1991 rate were experienced in other years since 1970 (e.g., 1974, 1979, 1980, 1981).

Between 1991 and 1997, the number of murders dropped 26%, to 18,200, or about 7 murders for every 100,000 persons living in the U.S. The number of murders had not been this low since 1971, and the murder rate had not been this low since 1968.

Murders of juveniles remain high

In the U.S., one of the leading causes of death for juveniles is homicide. In 1997, the National Center for Health Statistics listed homicide as the fourth leading cause of death for children ages 1 to 4, third for youth ages 5 to 14, and second for persons ages 15 to 24.

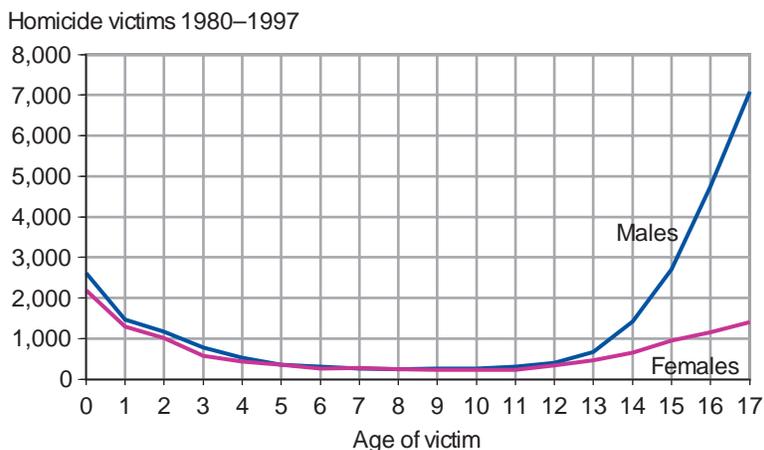
Homicides of juveniles peaked in 1993 and by 1997 had fallen to their lowest level in the decade



- The FBI's data had no information on the offenders in 25% of juvenile homicides between 1980 and 1997, largely because police did not identify the offenders.
- From 1980 through 1997, juvenile offenders were involved in one of every four juvenile homicides where the offenders were identified.

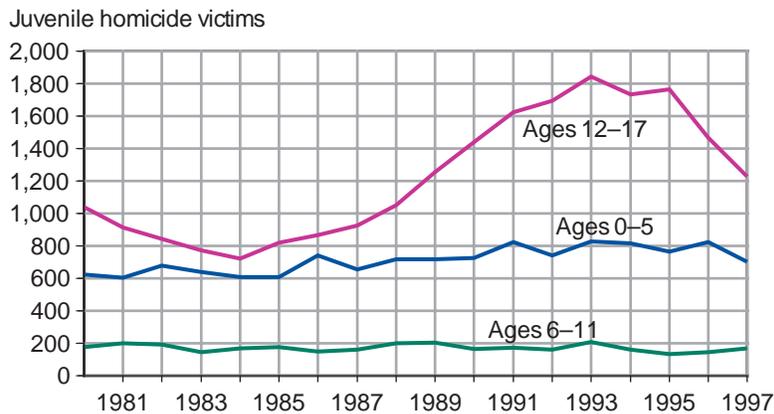
Source: Authors' analyses of the FBI's *Supplementary Homicide Reports* for the years 1980–1997 [machine-readable data files].

Until their teenage years, boys and girls are equally likely to be murdered



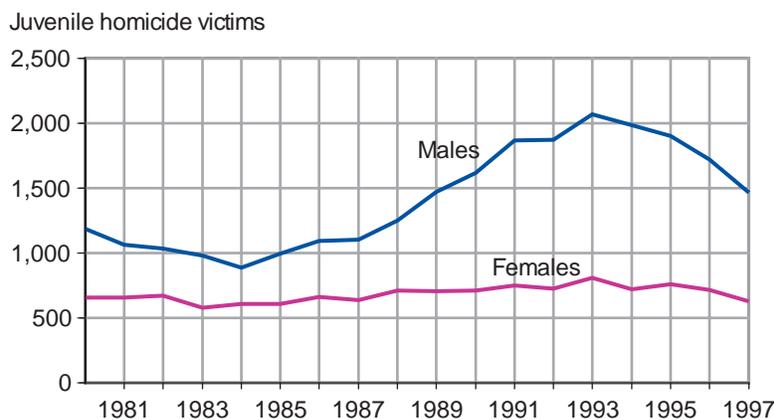
Source: Authors' analyses of the FBI's *Supplementary Homicide Reports* for the years 1980–1997 [machine-readable data files].

The large increase in overall juvenile homicides between 1986 and 1993 and subsequent decline were nearly all due to changes in the homicide of older juveniles



Source: Authors' analyses of the FBI's *Supplementary Homicide Reports* for the years 1980–1997 [machine-readable data files].

In the 1980's, males accounted for 62% of juvenile homicide victims; in the 1990's, this proportion has averaged 71%



- Between 1980 and 1997, the annual number of juvenile females murdered has not differed substantially from the average of 700 per year.

Source: Authors' analyses of the FBI's *Supplementary Homicide Reports* for the years 1980–1997 [machine-readable data files].

The number of juveniles murdered peaked in 1993 at 2,900, about 4 murders for every 100,000 persons under age 18 living in the U.S. By 1997, this figure had dropped to 2,100, or about 3 murders per 100,000 juveniles. Unlike the pattern of all murders, however, the number of juvenile murders in 1997 was still substantially above the levels of the mid-1980's, when about 1,600 juveniles were murdered annually.

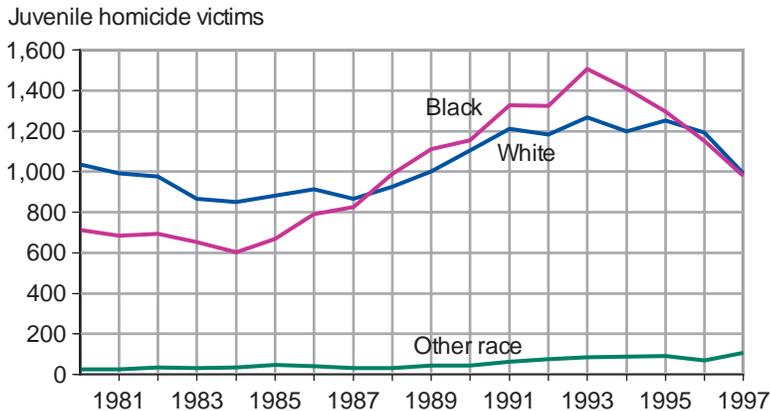
In 1997, about six juveniles were murdered daily

Of all persons murdered in 1997, 11% were under the age of 18. Of these 2,100 juvenile murder victims in 1997:

- 33% were under age 6 and 50% were ages 15 through 17.
- 30% were female.
- 47% were black.
- 56% were killed with a firearm.
- 40% (among those whose murderers were identified) were killed by family members, 45% by acquaintances, and 15% by strangers.

The murders of younger and older juveniles had different characteristics. Compared with youth under age 12, older juvenile victims in 1997 were more likely to be male (81% vs. 55%) and black (53% vs. 39%). Family members killed a greater proportion of younger than older juvenile victims (70% vs. 10%). Offenders with firearms killed a larger proportion of older than younger juveniles (83% vs. 16%).

Though blacks accounted for only 15% of the juvenile population, more black juveniles than white juveniles were murdered between 1988 and 1995



- In the early 1980's, the juvenile homicide rate for black youth was four times the white rate. In 1993, the black rate peaked at nearly seven times the white rate. With a greater decline in homicides of blacks than whites between 1993 and 1997, the disparity between the rates for blacks and whites declined to a ratio of 5 to 1.
- Between 1980 and 1997, where the race of the offender was known, 92% of juveniles were murdered by persons of their own race. The percentage of same-race killings was greater for blacks (94%) than whites (91%) and declined as the age of the victim increased: 0–5 (96%), 6–11 (93%), 12–14 (91%), and 15–17 (89%).

Source: Authors' analyses of the FBI's *Supplementary Homicide Reports* for the years 1980–1997 [machine-readable data files].

Between 1980 and 1997, most murdered children younger than age 6 were killed by a family member, while most older juveniles were killed by an acquaintance or a stranger

Offender relationship to victim	Age of victim				Victim ages 0–17	
	0–17	0–5	6–11	12–17	Males	Females
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Parent	22	54	31	3	18	32
Other family member	5	6	12	4	4	7
Acquaintance	36	25	25	44	38	32
Stranger	11	3	12	16	13	8
Unknown	25	13	20	34	27	21

- Female victims were nearly twice as likely as male victims to have been killed by a family member.

Note: Detail may not total 100% because of rounding.

Source: Authors' analyses of the FBI's *Supplementary Homicide Reports* for the years 1980–1997 [machine-readable data files].

The rise in murders of juveniles between 1984 and 1993 was all firearm related, as was the subsequent decline

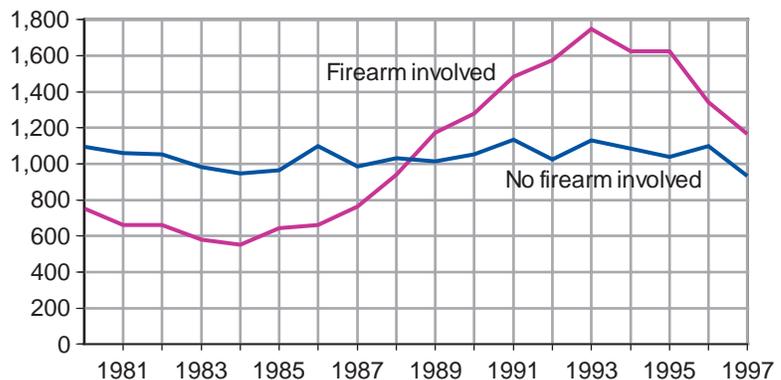
The increase in juvenile homicides is tied to firearm use by nonfamily offenders

A study of the 65% increase in juvenile homicides in the 7-year period from 1987 to 1993 shows that increases did not occur proportionately in all types of homicides. Over this period, homicides by family members held constant, while homicides by acquaintances increased substantially. The increase was disproportionate for black victims, with the growth in the number of black victims twice that of white victims. Most significantly, nearly all of the growth in juvenile homicides was in the number of older juveniles killed with firearms.

The decline in juvenile homicides between 1993 and 1997 brought the number to a level just 20% above that of 1987 (the last year in which juvenile homicides were within their historic range). Both the decline from 1993 to 1997 and the growth from 1987 to 1993 involved substantial changes in the number of murders by acquaintances and in the number of murders of older youth and black youth. The proportion of homicides committed with a firearm, which had increased dramatically between 1987 and 1993, however, did not decline between 1993 and 1997. Therefore, the major legacy of the growth in juvenile homicides from 1987 through 1993 is that it increased the proportion of juveniles killed by firearms.

The annual number of juveniles killed with a firearm increased substantially between 1987 and 1993, while other types of homicide remained constant

Juvenile homicide victims

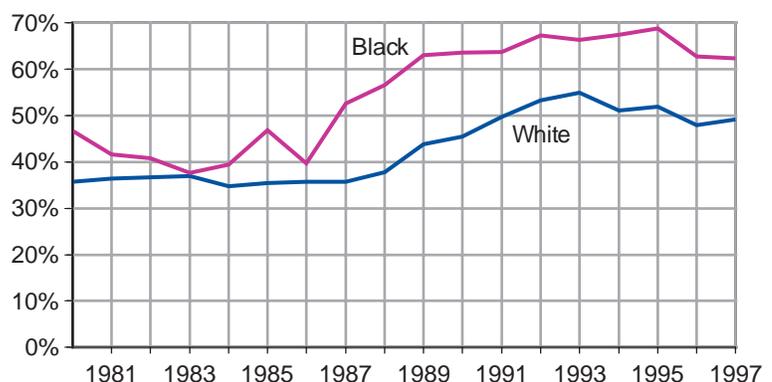


- In 1980, fewer than half (41%) of the juveniles murdered were killed with a firearm. The proportion of juvenile firearm homicides began to increase in 1987 and peaked (at 61%) in 1993. Since then, the proportion has declined somewhat, with 56% of juvenile homicides involving a firearm in 1997.

Source: Authors' analyses of the FBI's *Supplementary Homicide Reports* for the years 1980–1997 [machine-readable data files].

The use of firearms in juvenile homicides was common in the 1990's for both black victims and white victims

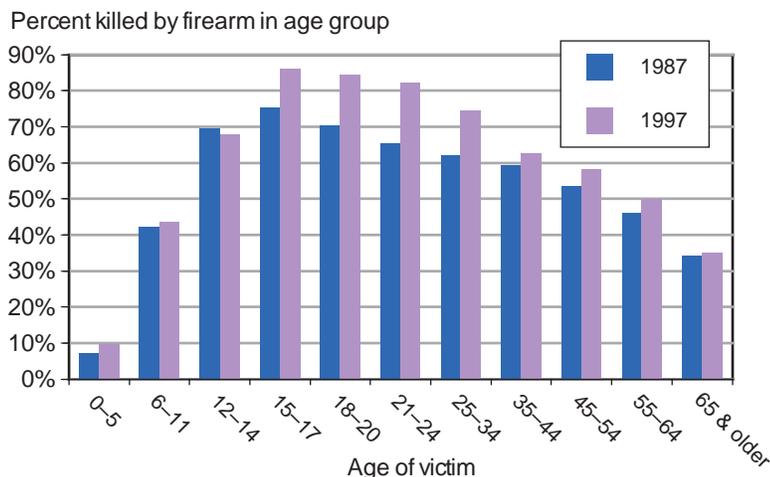
Firearm percent of juvenile homicide victims



- In the early 1980's, proportions of juvenile homicides involving a firearm were roughly equal for white victims and black victims.
- The proportion of black juvenile homicides involving a firearm increased substantially during a 3-year period in the late 1980's.

Source: Authors' analyses of the FBI's *Supplementary Homicide Reports* for the years 1980–1997 [machine-readable data files].

Homicides of juveniles ages 15 to 17 were more likely to involve a firearm than were homicides of adults



■ Over the 10-year period from 1987 to 1997, the proportion of homicides committed with a firearm increased in most victim age groups.

Source: Authors' analyses of the FBI's *Supplementary Homicide Reports* for the years 1980-1997 [machine-readable data files].

Between 1980 and 1997, 3 out of 4 murdered juveniles age 12 or older were killed with a firearm

Weapon	Age of victim				Victim ages 0-17	
	0-17	0-5	6-11	12-17	Males	Females
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Firearm	51	10	42	75	60	31
Knife/blunt object	14	11	19	15	13	17
Personal*	19	48	11	3	15	27
Other	16	30	28	7	12	25

■ Nearly half (48%) of all murdered children below age 6 were killed by offenders using only their hands, fists, or feet.

■ Male murder victims were nearly twice as likely as female victims to be killed with a firearm.

* Personal includes hands, fists, or feet.

Note: Detail may not total 100% because of rounding.

Source: Authors' analyses of the FBI's *Supplementary Homicide Reports* for the years 1980-1997 [machine-readable data files].

Since 1980, 1 in 4 murders of juveniles involved a juvenile offender

Nearly 38,000 juveniles were murdered between 1980 and 1997. A juvenile offender was involved in 26% of these crimes when an offender was identified. In murders of juveniles by juveniles, about 1 of every 6 also involved an adult offender. Between 1980 and 1997, the victim and the offender were the same race in 91% of murders of juveniles by juveniles.

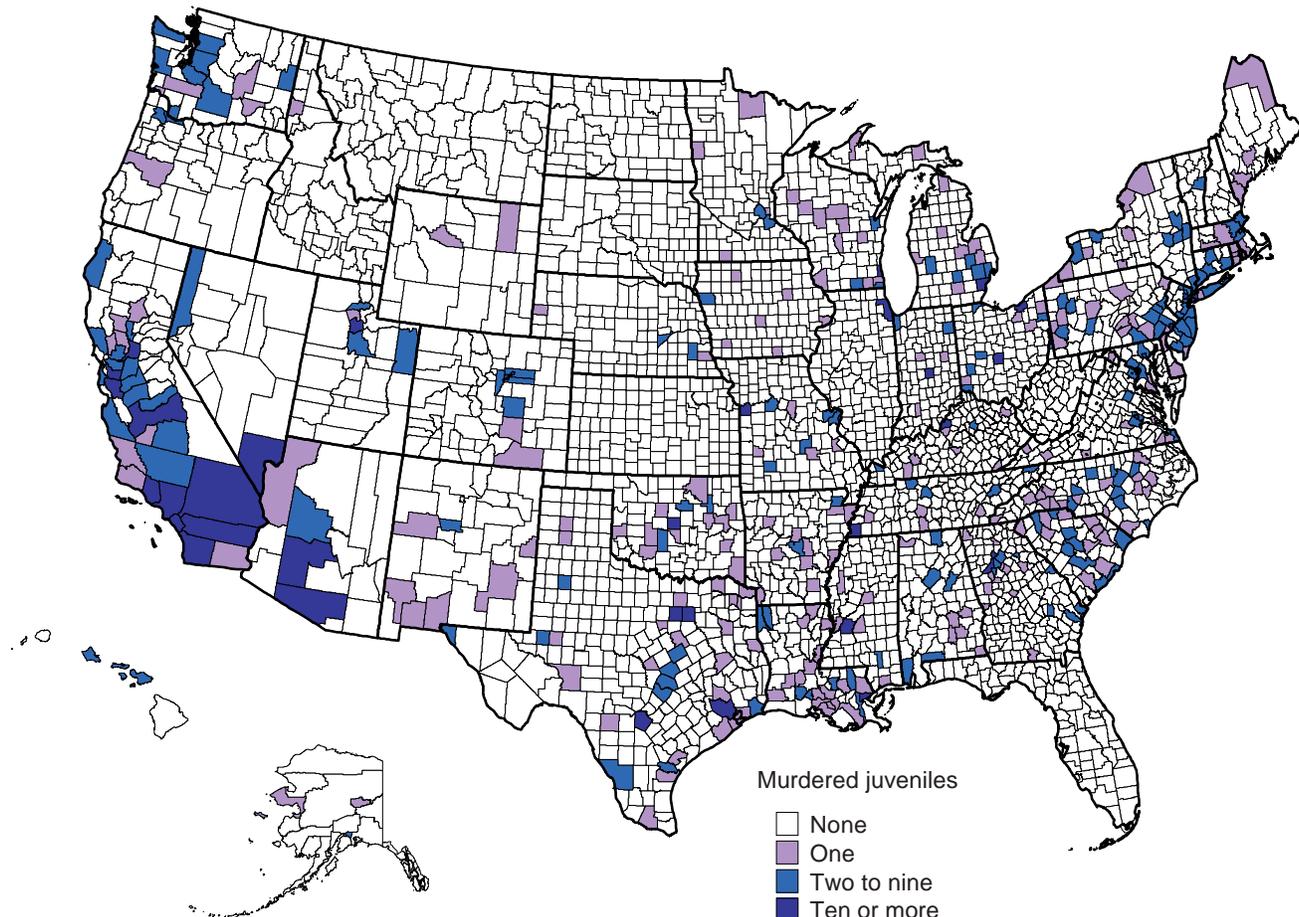
The proportion of juvenile murders that involved a juvenile offender increased from 21% in 1980 to 33% in 1994—the peak year for all murders by juveniles. In 1980, an estimated 400 juveniles were killed by other juveniles, growing to nearly 900 in 1994; by 1997, this figure had fallen to about 500, or about 1 of every 4 juveniles murdered that year.

When juveniles kill juveniles, the victims are generally acquaintances killed with a firearm

Of juveniles killed by other juveniles between 1980 and 1997, 13% were under age 6. In nearly half of these murders (47%), the juvenile offender was the parent of the victim. In another 18%, the juvenile offender was another family member. Firearms were rarely used when the victim was under age 6 (10%).

Of juveniles killed by other juveniles, 63% were age 15 or older. Fewer than 5% of these older juvenile victims were killed by family members; 76% were killed by acquaintances and 19% were killed by strangers. Between 1980 and 1997, 77% of these older juveniles were killed with a firearm.

1 in 4 reported murders of juveniles in 1997 occurred in just 5 of the Nation's more than 3,000 counties



Source: Authors' analysis of the FBI's *Supplementary Homicide Reports* for 1997 [machine-readable data files].

In 1997, the FBI's Supplementary Homicide Reporting (SHR) Program collected detailed information on 87% of all murder victims known to law enforcement. The map above presents an analysis of these data. Note that no data were reported for the States of Florida, Kansas, and New Hampshire. Many of the individual counties in other States underreported. Overall, information on about 300 of the estimated 2,100 juvenile homicides that occurred in

1997 was not reported to the FBI. Consequently, many juvenile homicides are not represented on the map.

Based on reported SHR data, 85% of the 3,141 counties in the U.S. had no juvenile murders in 1997. Another 8% of the counties had one juvenile homicide. Therefore, just 7% of U.S. counties experienced two or more juvenile homicides in 1997. In fact, nearly 1 in 4 juvenile homicides in

1997 occurred in five counties. The major cities in these five counties (beginning with the city in the county with the most murdered juveniles) are Los Angeles, Chicago, New York, Philadelphia, and Detroit. As these five counties contain less than 9% of the U.S. population, it is clear that juvenile homicide is concentrated in a small portion of the U.S. geographic area.

The landscape of murder shows peaks for young adults killed by young adults and for infants killed by adults

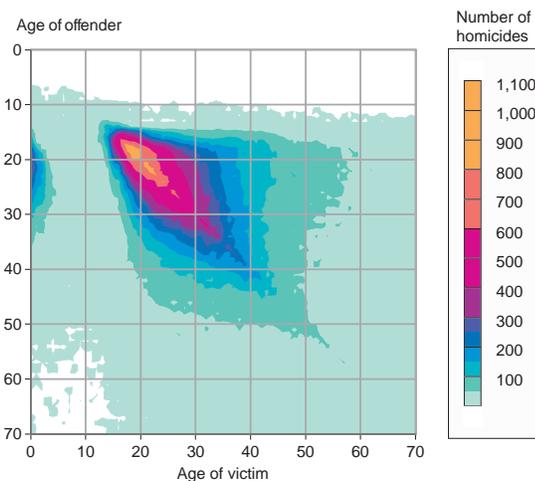
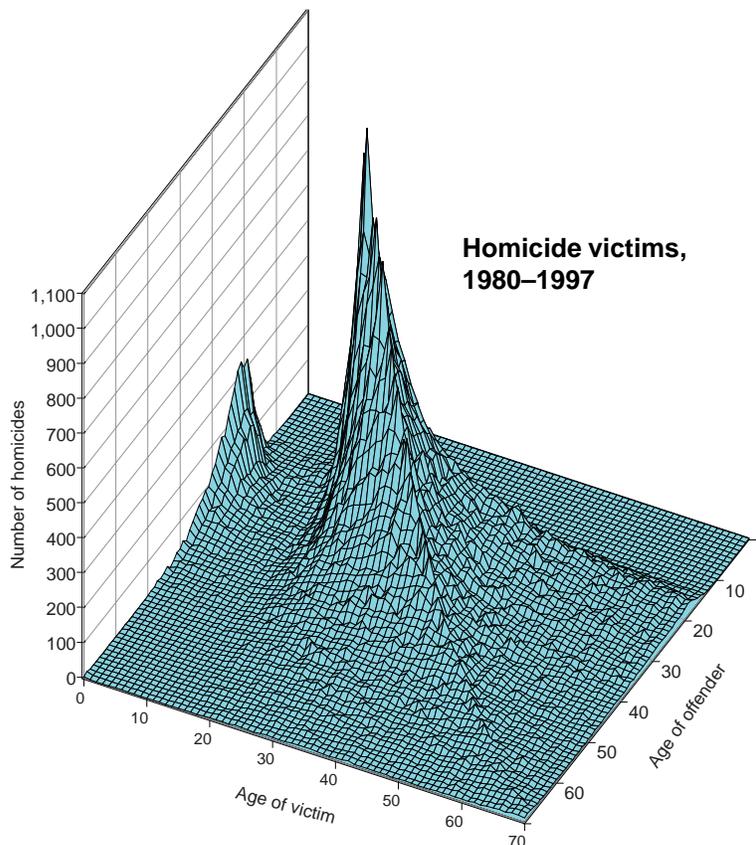
A new view of murder

Some relationships can be summarized in two-dimensional graphs; other relationships require a more complex picture. To provide a more comprehensive representation of murders, Michael Maltz proposed using 3-dimensional plots to show the relationship between the ages of victims and offenders. Such a plot is presented in the surface graph to the right.

The contours of its surface reveal some attributes of murder in the U.S. The **large central peak** shows that most offenders are between ages 18 and 34, as are their victims. The **smaller peak off to the left** shows that many very young children are killed by persons in their twenties and thirties—mostly incidents of infants being killed by their parents. There is an area between the two peaks in which very few murders occur (victim ages 4 to 12). The **diagonal ridge running from the top of the central peak to the lower right-hand corner** shows that adult offenders tend to kill victims in their own age group. The **ridge running along the line of 20-year-old offenders** shows that older juveniles and young adults kill victims in a wide age range.

One difficulty with the 3-dimensional representation is reading the coordinates of various features, due to the distortion caused by representing three dimensions in a 2-dimensional space. Another representation of the same murder data is a 2-dimensional plot that uses color to represent the number of murders in each victim-offender age pair.

Representing complex data visually can help a reader grasp the complex interrelationships often lost in more traditional data presentations.

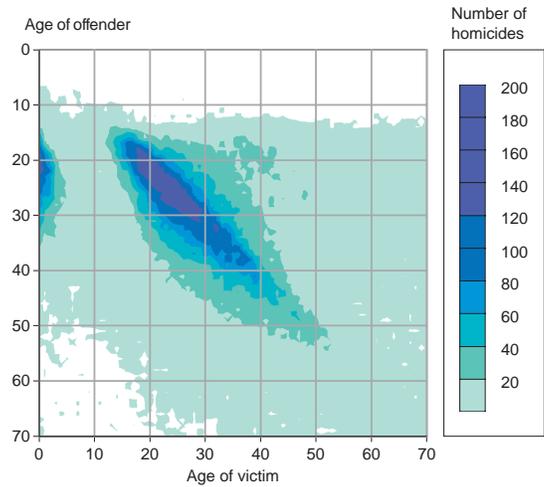
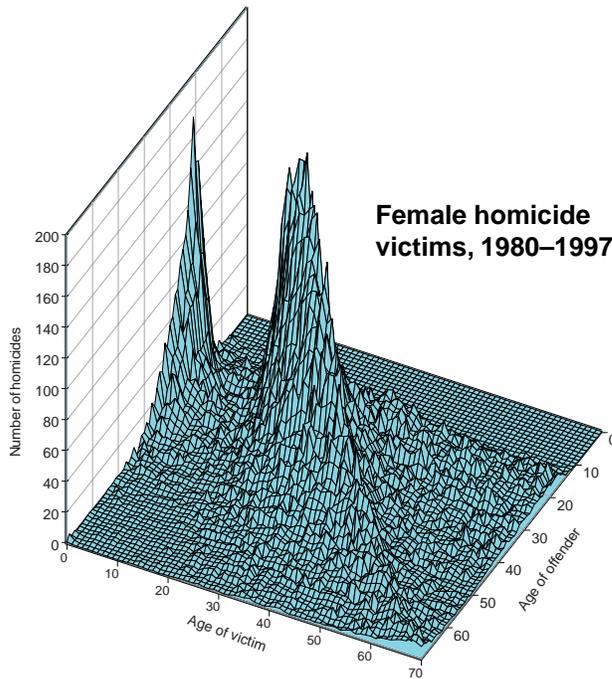


- At the point of greatest risk (the top of the highest peak), are 19- and 20-year-olds killing 19- and 20-year-olds.

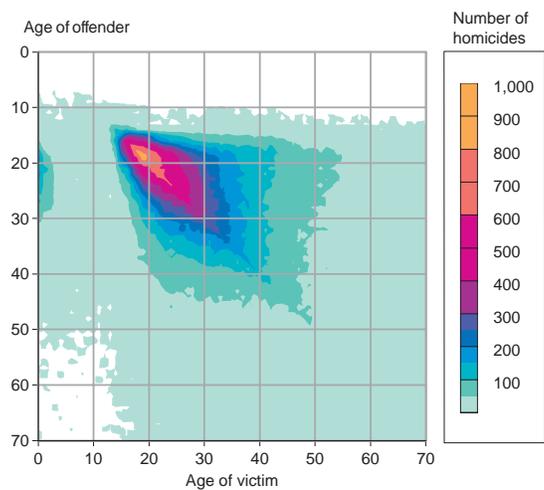
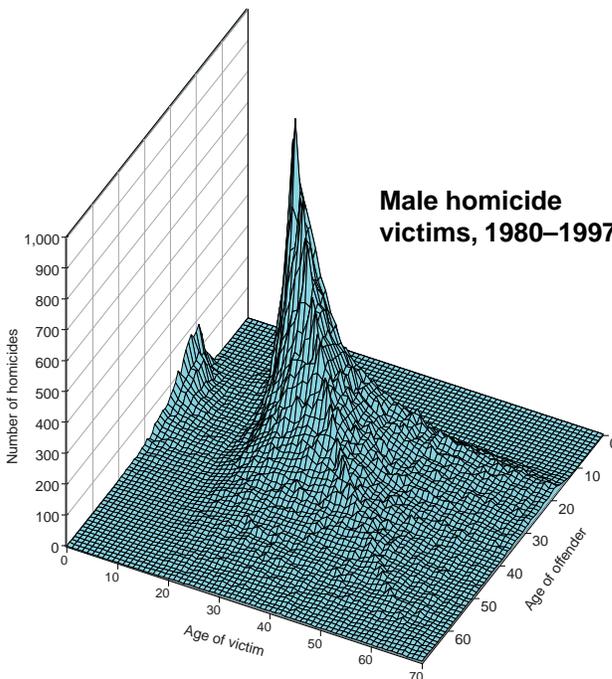
Note: The age of the oldest offender is used in multiple-offender homicides.

Source: Authors' analyses of the FBI's *Supplementary Homicide Reports* for the years 1980–1997 [machine-readable data files].

Females are at greatest risk of murder in their first year of life and in their young adult years



While the numbers of infant males and females murdered are similar, the risk of murder for males in young adulthood far surpasses that for young adult females



Note: The age of the oldest offender is used in multiple-offender homicides.

Source: Authors' analyses of the FBI's *Supplementary Homicide Reports* for the years 1980-1997 [machine-readable data files].

For every two youth (ages 0–19) murdered in 1996, one youth committed suicide

7% of all suicides in 1996 involved youth age 19 or younger

FBI data indicate that about 3,900 youth age 19 or younger were murdered in the U.S in 1996. The magnitude of this problem has captured the public's attention, but much less attention has been given to the fact that for every two youth murdered, one youth commits suicide.

The National Center for Health Statistics reported that 30,903 persons committed suicide in the U.S. in 1996. Of these, 7% (2,119) were youth age 19 or younger. Overall, suicides increased 9% between 1980 and 1996. For youth younger than age 15, the increase was 113%. Despite this large increase, these youngest suicide victims accounted for just 1% of all suicides in 1996.

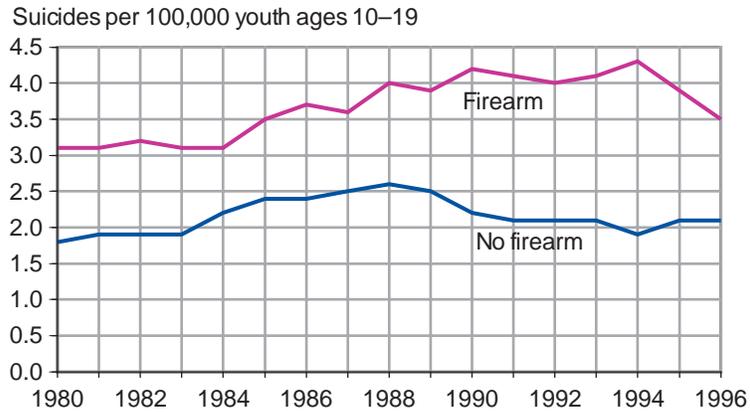
Young suicide victims are disproportionately male and white

Males accounted for 8 in 10 youth suicides; white youth also accounted for 8 in 10 suicides.

	Number of suicides		Suicides per 100,000 youth	
	Ages 10–14	Ages 15–19	Ages 10–14	Ages 15–19
Total	298	1,817	1.6	9.7
Male	222	1,496	2.3	15.6
Female	76	321	0.8	3.5
White	244	1,522	1.6	10.3
Male	179	1,249	2.3	16.3
Female	65	273	0.9	3.8
Nonwhite	54	295	1.4	7.7
Male	43	247	2.2	12.7
Female	11	48	*	2.6

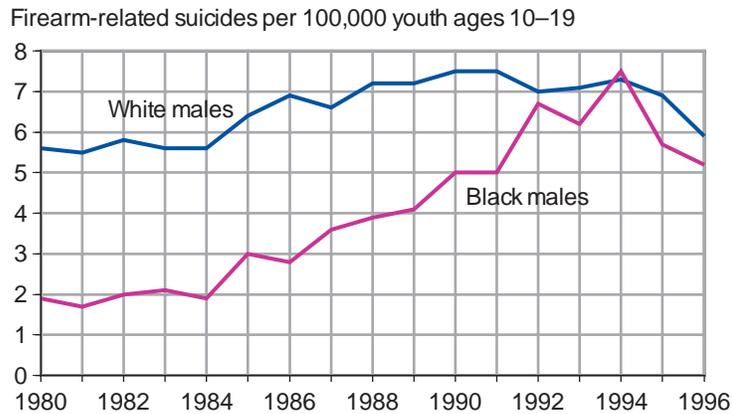
* Too few cases to obtain a reliable rate.

The rate of youth suicides involving a firearm increased 39% between 1980 and 1994, before declining 19% to the 1996 level



Source: Authors' analysis of the National Center for Health Statistics' 1979–1996 data from the compressed mortality file [unpublished data].

The firearm-related suicide rate for young black males peaked in 1994 at a level higher than the rate for young white males, before declining to the 1996 level



- Between 1994 and 1996, firearm-related suicide rates decreased 19% for young white males and 31% for young black males.
- In 1996, firearm-related suicide rates for young white males declined to mid-1980's levels, while the rate for young black males was more than twice the 1980 rate.
- Changes in firearm-related suicide rates for young black males were similar to homicide patterns for young black males between 1980 and 1996.

Source: Authors' analysis of the National Center for Health Statistics' 1979–1996 data from the compressed mortality file [unpublished data].

U.S. child homicide and suicide rates exceed rates for other industrialized countries

Rates of firearm-related homicides and suicides are high in the U.S.

A study conducted by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention compared the homicide and suicide rates for children under age 15 in the U.S. with the rates for several other industrialized countries. Each country reported data for 1 year between 1990 and 1995; U.S. data were reported for 1993. The number of homicides per 100,000 children under age 15 in the U.S. was five times the number in the other countries combined (2.57 vs. 0.51). The rate of child homicides involving a firearm, however, was 16 times greater in the U.S. than in the other countries combined (0.94 vs. 0.06).

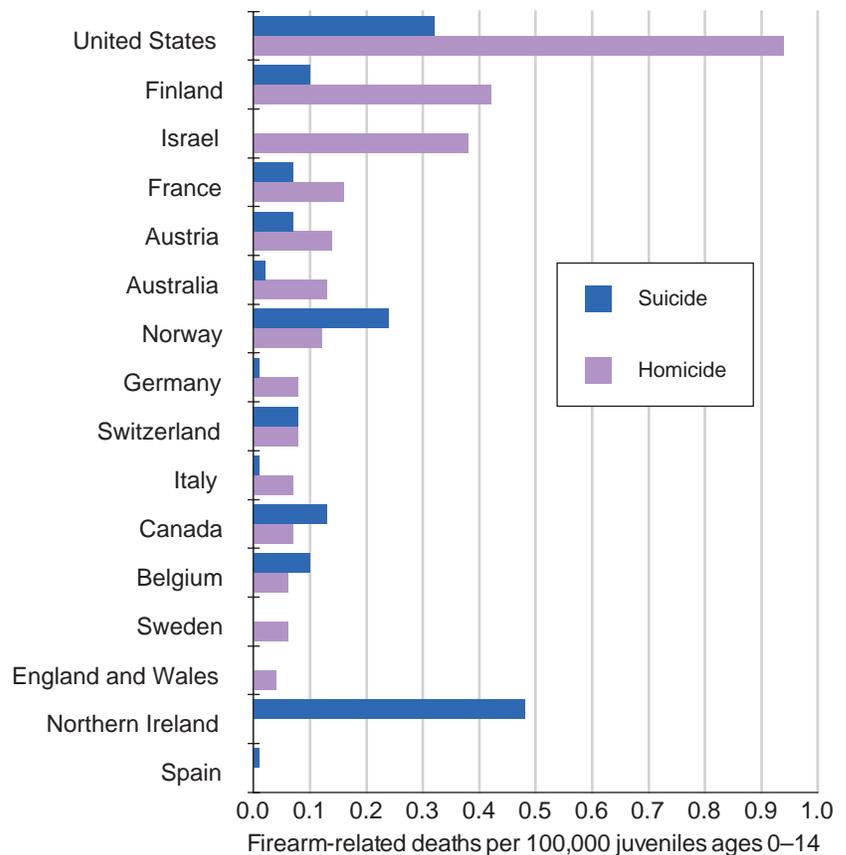
A similar pattern was seen in the suicide rates of children under age 15. Overall, the U.S. suicide rate was twice the rate for the other countries combined (0.55 vs. 0.27). For suicides involving firearms, however, the suicide rate in the U.S. was almost 11 times the rate for the other countries combined (0.32 vs. 0.03).

	Homicide rates*		Suicide rates*	
	U.S.	Foreign	U.S.	Foreign
Ages 0–4	4.10	0.95	0.00	0.00
Firearm	0.43	0.05	0.00	0.00
No firearm	3.67	0.05	0.00	0.00
Ages 5–14	1.75	0.30	0.84	0.40
Firearm	1.22	0.07	0.49	0.05
No firearm	0.53	0.24	0.35	0.35
Ages 0–14	2.57	0.51	0.55	0.27
Firearm	0.94	0.06	0.32	0.03
No firearm	1.63	0.45	0.23	0.24

*Rates are the number of homicides or suicides per 100,000 children in the age group.

Note: Data were provided by Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, England and Wales, Finland, France, Germany, Hong Kong, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Kuwait, Netherlands, New Zealand, Northern Ireland, Norway, Scotland, Singapore, Sweden, Spain, Switzerland, and Taiwan.

The U.S. firearm-related homicide rate for children is more than twice that of Finland, the country with the next highest rate



Note: If both suicide and homicide rates for a country were 0, that country is not displayed on the graph. Data were provided by Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, England and Wales, Finland, France, Germany, Hong Kong, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Kuwait, Netherlands, New Zealand, Northern Ireland, Norway, Scotland, Singapore, Sweden, Spain, Switzerland, and Taiwan.

Source: Authors' adaptation of Centers for Disease Control and Prevention's Rates of homicide, suicide, and firearm-related death among children—26 industrialized countries.

Homicides involving a firearm were about 10% of all homicides among younger children (ages 0–4) in the U.S in 1993. In contrast, about two-thirds of U.S. homicides among older children (5–14) involved a firearm. In other countries, firearm-related homicides were less than one-quarter of all homicides in either age group.

While nonfirearm-related suicide rates were the same among older children in the U.S and other countries (0.35), firearm-related suicide rates in the U.S. were 10 times greater than those in other countries (0.49 vs. 0.05).

Juveniles ages 12–17 are as likely to be victims of serious violence as are young adults ages 18–24

Juveniles and young adults have the greatest risk of victimization

The National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) asks individuals whether they have been the victim of a crime, and from their responses generates victimization rates for various demographic groups. These rates reflect the number of victimizations reported per equivalent-size population units (e.g., aggravated assault victimizations per 1,000 persons ages 12–17).

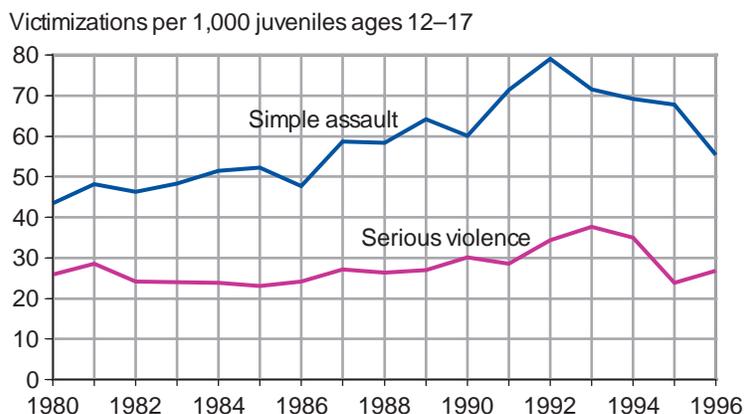
In 1995 and 1996, victimization rates for serious violent crimes (i.e., rape, robbery, aggravated assault) varied substantially across age groups. Senior citizens had much lower victimization rates than young adults ages 18–24. In fact, within the adult population, these young adults had the highest victimization rates for rape, robbery, and aggravated assault.

The serious violent crime victimization rates for juveniles were roughly equivalent to those for young adults, while the simple assault victimization rate for juveniles was triple that for young adults. Overall, juveniles were at greater risk of violent victimizations in 1995 and 1996 than even the most victimized age group of adults.

Juvenile victims are likely to know their offender

In 1996, juveniles ages 12–17 who were the victims of a serious violent crime knew their offenders in 64% of these victimizations: 18% of victimizations involved an acquaintance, 34% a friend, and 11% a relative. In the other 36% of victimizations, the offender was a stranger. The offender was more likely to be known to the juvenile victim in simple and

The serious violent victimization rate for juveniles ages 12–17 increased from 1985 to 1993 and then dropped substantially



- The peak year for the simple assault victimization rate was 1992; by 1996, the rate had declined to the lowest point in the decade.
- Victimization rates were consistently higher for male juveniles than female juveniles between 1980 and 1996. The average difference between male and female rates during this period was greater for serious violent crime than for simple assaults (139% vs. 74%).

Source: Authors' analysis of data for the years 1980–1996 from the Bureau of Justice Statistics' *National Crime Victimization Survey* [machine readable data files].

Juveniles were twice as likely as adults to be victims of serious violent crime and three times as likely to be victims of simple assault

Victimizations per 1,000 persons in age group, 1995 and 1996*

Crime type	All ages	Juvenile ages			Adult ages			
		Total	12–14	15–17	Total	18–24	25–34	35 & older
Serious violent	14	26	24	29	13	29	18	7
Rape	1	2	1	3	1	2	1	<1
Robbery	5	9	9	9	4	9	7	3
Aggravated assault	8	16	14	18	7	17	10	4
Simple assault	26	65	73	56	22	50	32	13
Property	131	149	151	146	129	189	163	106

- Younger juveniles ages 12–14 were more likely than older juveniles to be victims of a simple assault (73 per 1,000 vs. 56 per 1,000).
- The property crime victimization rate for juveniles was greater than the adult victimization rate.

* Two years of data were combined to increase the stability of rates.

Note: Detail may not add to total due to rounding.

Source: Authors' analysis of data for the years 1995 and 1996 from the Bureau of Justice Statistics' *National Crime Victimization Survey* [machine readable data files].

aggravated assaults (73% and 70%, respectively) than in robberies (45%).

Victim-offender relationship	Percent of victimizations		
	Robbery	Aggrav. assault	Simple assault
Total	100%	100%	100%
Stranger	55	30	27
Acquaintance	9	21	33
Friend	30	37	33
Relative	6	12	7

Most serious violent juvenile victimizations (60%) involved only a single offender. Multiple offenders were more likely in juvenile robberies (46%) and aggravated assaults (41%) than in simple assaults (22%). Juveniles were injured in 74% of serious violent victimizations. Juveniles were more likely to be injured as the result of a robbery (61%) or aggravated assault (80%) than a simple assault (45%).

Most victimizations of juveniles are not reported to police

In 1996, about half (48%) of the serious violent victimizations of juve-

niles were not reported to police or any other authority (e.g., teachers, school principals). Victims reported 33% of serious violent victimizations directly to police; victims reported 19% to some other authority, and about one-third of these incidents were subsequently reported to law enforcement. Therefore, law enforcement eventually learned of about 4 of every 10 serious violent juvenile victimizations, including about 25% of simple assaults, 40% of aggravated assaults, and 44% of robberies. Juvenile victims in 36% of robberies, 50% of aggravated assaults, and 52% of simple assaults never reported the incident to either police or other officials.

Reporting status	Percent of victimizations		
	Robbery	Aggrav. Assault	Simple Assault
Total	100%	100%	100%
To police	44	40	25
By victim	36	34	20
By other authorities	7	6	5
To nonpolice authorities	20	10	23
To no one	36	50	52

Much of what is known about the victimization of juveniles comes from NCVS

The Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) conducts the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS). With funds from BJS, the Bureau of the Census contacts a large nationally representative sample of households and asks their occupants to describe the personal crimes they have experienced.

The personal crimes described in this Report include serious violent crime (i.e., rape, robbery, and aggravated assault) and simple assault.

With all its strengths, NCVS has limitations in describing the extent of juvenile victimizations. NCVS does not capture information from, or about, victims below age 12. Designers of the survey believe that younger respondents are not able to provide the information requested. Therefore, juvenile victimizations reported by NCVS cover only those that involve older juveniles. In addition, as with any self-report survey, NCVS has limited ability to address the sensitive issues of intrafamily violence and child abuse.

Some official data sources (such as law enforcement and child protective service agencies) can provide a partial picture of crime against juveniles, but such data from such agencies are limited to those incidents made known to them.

In 1995 and 1996, victims were ages 12–17 in 1 in 5 serious violent crime victimizations

Crime type	Proportion of victimizations in 1995 and 1996			
	Total	Juveniles		Adults
		Ages 12–14	Ages 15–17	
Serious violent	20%	9%	11%	80%
Rape	22	6	16	78
Robbery	19	10	9	81
Aggravated assault	21	9	12	79
Simple assault	26	15	11	74
Property	12	6	6	88

Note: Two years of data (1995 and 1996) were combined to increase the stability of rates.

Source: Authors' analysis of data for the years 1995 and 1996 from the Bureau of Justice Statistics' *National Crime Victimization Survey* [machine readable data files].

In 1996, about half (48%) of serious violent juvenile victimizations occurred between noon and 6 p.m.

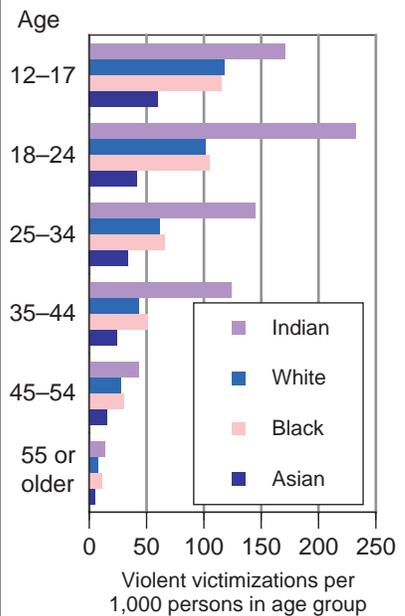
Victimization characteristics	Percent of juvenile victimizations			
	6 a.m.– Noon	Noon– 6 p.m.	6 p.m.– Midnight	Midnight 6 a.m.
Serious violence	10%	48%	34%	8%
Rape	9	32	21	38
Robbery	14	51	32	4
Aggravated assault	7	49	37	6
Male	9	51	34	5
Female	10	42	34	13
White	9	50	34	7
Black	11	50	33	7
City	12	47	33	9
Suburban	5	55	34	6
Rural	17	34	39	9
Simple assault	21%	59%	18%	2%
Male	22	58	18	2
Female	18	60	19	2
White	21	61	16	2
Black	20	43	35	2
City	24	54	20	2
Suburban	19	64	15	2
Rural	21	50	25	3

- More than one-third (38%) of rapes occurred between midnight and 6 a.m., a proportion higher than any other violent crime for that time period. As a result, the time patterns for serious violent victimizations overall differed slightly for males and females.
- Time patterns for serious violent victimizations were similar for white juveniles and black juveniles, with half of all these victimizations occurring between noon and 6 p.m. In contrast, a greater proportion of simple assaults of black juveniles occurred during the evening hours.
- Compared with cities and rural areas, suburban areas had the greatest proportion of violent juvenile victimizations occurring in the hours between noon and 6 p.m.

Note: Detail may not total 100% because of rounding.

Source: Authors' analysis of data for 1996 from the Bureau of Justice Statistics' *National Crime Victimization Survey* [machine readable data file].

Violent victimizations were more likely among American Indian juveniles than other racial groups



- Between 1992 and 1996, the average annual number of violent victimizations per 1,000 youth ages 12–17 was higher among American Indians (171) than whites (118), blacks (115), or Asians (60). In fact, within each age group, American Indians were more likely than were persons of other races to be the victims of violent crime.

Source: Authors' adaptation of the Bureau of Justice Statistics' *American Indians and crime*.

In one-third of all sexual assaults reported to law enforcement, the victim was younger than age 12

Incident-based data provide information on crimes against persons under age 12

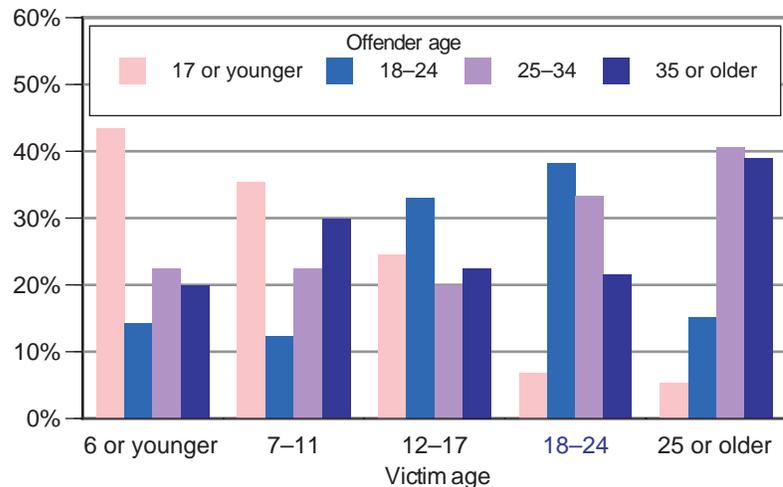
Because the National Crime Victimization Survey does not interview persons below the age of 12, little is known about crimes against these young juveniles. In recent years, however, a new information resource has developed that can shed light on this little-known portion of the crime problem. The FBI's National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS) collects detailed data on crimes reported to law enforcement, including the demographic characteristics of victims and offenders, the relationships of victims to their offenders, and the location of the crimes. NIBRS data for 1991 through 1996 included data from 12 States: Alabama, Colorado, Idaho, Illinois, Iowa, Massachusetts, Michigan, North Dakota, South Carolina, Utah, Virginia, and Vermont. While relatively few law enforcement agencies report NIBRS data, the data reported for 1991 through 1996 contain information on more than 1.1 million incidents of violence.

1 in 18 victims of a violent crime known to police is under age 12

NIBRS data indicate that between 1991 and 1996, young juveniles (persons under the age of 12) were the victim in 5.5% of all violent crime incidents reported to a law enforcement agency. Young juvenile victims were more common in some types of crimes than others: kidnaping (21%), sexual assault (32%), robbery (2%), aggravated assault (4%), and simple assault (4%). More than one-third (37%) of these young victims were younger than age 7. About half (47%) of these young victims were female.

Young juveniles are most likely to be sexually assaulted by persons under age 18—older juveniles by young adults

Percent of all sexual assault offenders



Source: Authors' analyses of the FBI's *National Incident-Based Reporting System* master files for the years 1991-1996 [machine-readable data files].

Age and relationship characteristics of sexual assault offenders vary with the age of the juvenile victim

Relationship to victim	Age of offender				
	Under 12	12-17	18-24	25-34	35 & older

In a typical 1,000 sexual assaults of children age 6 or younger

Family member	40	126	71	136	125
Acquaintance	93	159	61	77	84
Stranger	3	8	5	7	6

In a typical 1,000 sexual assaults of young juveniles ages 7-11

Family member	16	117	42	109	157
Acquaintance	46	148	68	100	148
Stranger	4	11	7	10	15

In a typical 1,000 sexual assaults of juveniles ages 12-17

Family member	1	26	31	56	121
Acquaintance	5	196	270	122	101
Stranger	0	15	23	19	14

- Older juvenile acquaintances and family members age 25 and older were the most common offenders in sexual assaults against very young children.
- About half of offenders who sexually assaulted juveniles ages 7-11 were older juvenile acquaintances and family members/acquaintances age 35 and older.
- Nearly half of all offenders who sexually assaulted juveniles ages 12-17 were acquaintances between ages 12 and 24.

Source: Authors' analyses of the FBI's *National Incident-Based Reporting System* master files for the years 1991-1996 [machine-readable data files].

1 in 3 victims of sexual assault is under age 12

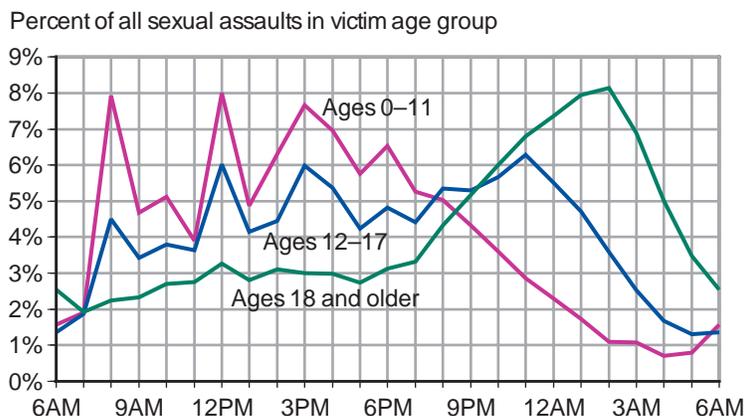
The NIBRS data are an important source of information on the sexual assaults of young children, a crime that is hard to assess through victim surveys. These data point to large differences between the younger and older victims of sexual assault. For example, while just 4% of adult sexual assault victims were male, as were 8% of victims ages 12 to 17, 26% of sexual assault victims under age 12 were male. Younger sexual assault victims were also far more likely to have juvenile offenders.

Victim age group	Percent of sexual assault victimizations with a juvenile offender
Age 6 and younger	43%
Ages 7–11	34
Ages 12–17	24
Ages 18–24	7
Age 25 and older	5

Crime locations also differed by victim age. For adult victims, 57% of sexual assaults occurred in a residence or home, compared with 71% of the sexual assaults against older juveniles and 84% of the sexual assaults of children under age 12.

The relationship of victim to offender also differed by victim age. In sexual assaults of adults, the offender was a stranger in 25% of incidents, a family member in 12%, and an acquaintance in 63%. In contrast, for victims under age 12, the offender was a family member in 47% of incidents, an acquaintance in 49%, and a stranger in just 4%.

Sexual assaults of juveniles peak at 8 a.m., noon, and 3 p.m.; assaults of older juveniles also peak in the late evening hours



Source: Authors' analyses of the FBI's *National Incident-Based Reporting System* master files for the years 1991–1996 [machine-readable data files].

The location of a sexual assault of a juvenile is related to the type of offender involved

Location	Offender's relationship to victim		
	Family member	Acquaintance	Stranger
In a typical 1,000 sexual assaults of children age 6 or younger			
Residence	458	398	19
Nonresidence	36	77	13
In a typical 1,000 sexual assaults of young juveniles ages 7–11			
Residence	405	402	22
Nonresidence	33	109	29
In a typical 1,000 sexual assaults of juveniles ages 12–17			
Residence	214	474	29
Nonresidence	19	214	49

- Strangers are least likely to be the offenders in sexual assaults of very young juveniles, regardless of where the crime occurs.
- For very young victims of sexual assault, when the crime occurs in a residence, the most likely offender is a family member.
- Family members are as likely as acquaintances to be the offender in sexual assaults of juveniles ages 7–11 when the assault occurs in a residence.
- Sexual assaults of juveniles ages 12–17, regardless of where they occur, are most likely to be committed by an acquaintance.

Source: Authors' analyses of the FBI's *National Incident-Based Reporting System* master files for the years 1991–1996 [machine-readable data files].

Students are safer at school than away from school, and school crime declined from 1993 through 1996

School crime has not increased in recent years

A comparison of data from the School Crime Supplement (SCS) to the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) for 1989 and 1995 reveals almost no difference between the 2 years in the overall level of criminal victimization in schools.

Type of victimization	Percent of students reporting victimization	
	1989	1995
Any	15%	15%
Violent	3	4
Property	12	12

Note: Any victimization includes violent and property. Students reporting multiple victimizations are only counted once under "Any."

Violent victimization, however, rose somewhat. Much of this change was due to an increase in the percentage of female students reporting violent victimizations: from 2% in 1989 to 3.3% in 1995.

School crime victims tend to be younger and male

Type of victimization	Victimizations per 1,000 students in 1996	
	Ages 12–14	Ages 15–18
Total	161	102
Violent	67	34
Serious	10	9
Theft	94	68
	Male	Female
Total	144	111
Violent	64	32
Serious	13	6
Theft	80	79

Note: Serious violent crimes include sexual assault, robbery, and aggravated assault. Violent crimes includes serious violent crimes plus simple assault.

Responses to the 1996 NCVS show that younger students (ages 12–14)

were more often the victims of school crime than were older students (ages 15–18), and males more often than females. In both instances, the differences between the groups were much sharper when violent rather than nonviolent crime was involved. In fact, while males were the victims of thefts about as often as females, males were twice as likely as females to be victims of violence.

The risk of serious violence is greater for urban students than for those in other areas

According to the 1996 NCVS, students living in urban areas were more vulnerable to serious violent crime than their suburban and rural counterparts. This was true both at school (including on the way to or from school) and away from school. For theft, however, student vulnerability in urban, suburban, and rural areas was similar.

Type of victimization	Victimizations per 1,000 students in 1996		
	Urban	Suburban	Rural
At school			
Total	131	138	101
Violent	55	54	29
Serious	16	9	4
Theft	77	84	72
Away from school			
Total	138	114	99
Violent	69	52	43
Serious	38	23	17
Theft	68	62	57

Note: Serious violent crimes include sexual assault, robbery, and aggravated assault. Violent crimes include serious violent crimes plus simple assault.

The 1995 SCS survey found that the proportion of students who were victims of violence was greater in public schools (4.4%) than in private schools (2.3%).

In-school violent death is extraordinarily rare

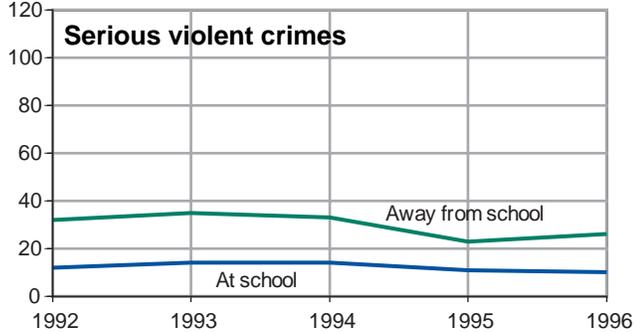
Although in recent years a great deal of attention has understandably been focused on several horrific cases of multiple homicides in schools—including some five separate incidents during the 1997–98 school year—it is still fair to say that school-associated violent death almost never happens. Making statistical generalizations about such extraordinarily rare occurrences can be difficult. So, for example, in a nationwide survey of the administrators of 1,234 public elementary, middle, and high schools regarding in-school crime during the 1996–97 academic year, *no incidents* of in-school murder were reported. That does not mean that none occurred in that year—only that the sample size, while perfectly adequate for most other purposes, was too small to yield reliable estimates regarding such rare events.

A 1996 study published in the *Journal of the American Medical Association* collected information about in-school homicides during the 1992–93 and 1993–94 school years from newspaper clipping services, media database searches, interviews with local officials, and other such methods, and concluded that a total of 63 students were murdered in school during that period. In addition, there were 13 in-school suicides involving students and 29 other violent deaths involving nonstudents.

By way of rough comparison, during the 1992 and 1993 calendar years, 7,294 young people ages 5 through 19 were murdered *away from school*.

Students are more apt to suffer serious violence away from school than at or on the way to school

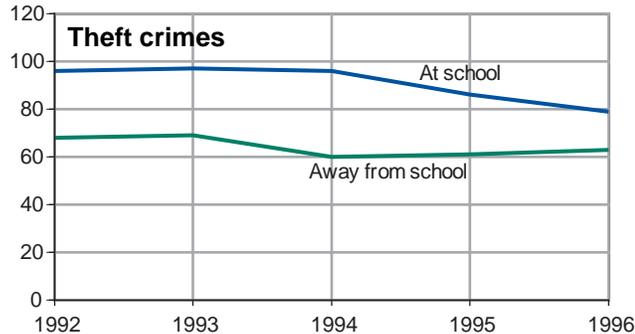
Victimizations per 1,000 students ages 12–18



- In 1996, students ages 12–18 were victims of an estimated 255,000 nonfatal serious violent crime incidents (such as sexual assault, robbery, and aggravated assault) at school.
- Away from school that same year, students were victims of an estimated 671,000 such incidents.

Theft is by far the most common school crime

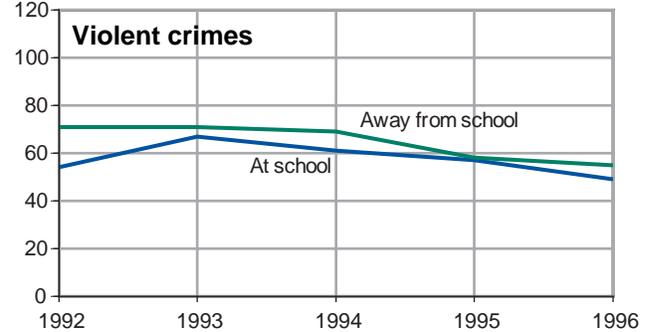
Victimizations per 1,000 students ages 12–18



- Students ages 12–18 were victims of an estimated 2.1 million in-school thefts in 1996—62% of all crimes at school.
- Students ages 12–18 were victims of an estimated 1.6 million thefts away from school in 1996—53% of all crimes against students away from school.

Violent victimization rates were similar for students at school and away from school

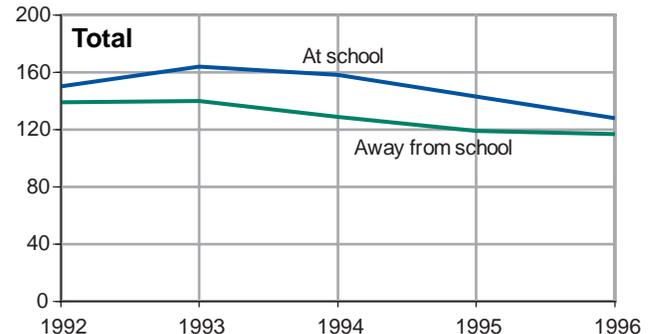
Victimizations per 1,000 students ages 12–18



- In 1996, students ages 12–18 were victims of an estimated 1.3 million nonfatal violent crimes (serious violent crime plus simple assault) at school.
- Away from school that same year, students ages 12–18 were victims of an estimated 1.4 million violent crimes.
- When simple assaults are included in the analysis, the difference between victimization rates at and away from school decreases.

The rate of victimization of students at school declined more than the away-from-school rate

Victimizations per 1,000 students ages 12–18



- The overall rate at which students were victimized at school dropped 21% from 1993 through 1996, compared with a 16% drop for the rate at which they were victimized away from school.
- Overall in 1996, students were victims of 3.3 million crimes at school and 3.1 million away from school.

Source: Authors' adaptation of National Center for Education Statistics and Bureau of Justice Statistics' *Indicators of school crime and safety, 1998*.

The most serious in-school crimes are concentrated in a small number of schools

Serious violent crime appears to be prevalent in only a minority of the Nation's public schools. According to the survey of public elementary, middle, and high school administrators regarding in-school crime during the 1996–97 school year, most middle and high schools (55% and 51%, respectively) reported at least one incident of unarmed assault or fighting to the police during the year. Reports of theft (55% and 44%) and vandalism (52% and 47%) were also quite common. Reports of more serious violent crimes were less common. Only 13% of high schools and 12% of middle schools contacted police about incidents of attacks or fighting involving weapons. School reports to police regarding robbery (8% and 5%) and rape or sexual battery (also 8% and 5%) were even more rare. Overall, 21% of the high schools and 19% of the middle schools reported at least one serious violent crime.

The percentage of schools (including elementary schools) reporting at least one serious violent crime to police was much higher in cities (17%) than in rural areas (8%) or small towns (5%). Likewise, a much higher percentage of large schools (those with at least 1,000 students) reported such crimes (33%) than medium-sized (9%) or small schools (4%).

Most public schools did not consider it necessary to take special security measures to prevent crime. Of the schools surveyed, 84% had no formal security measures in place during the 1996–97 school year, beyond simply controlling access to school grounds; an additional 3% did not even control access. In the remaining 13% of schools, some combination of law enforcement presence and/or metal detectors was in use.

Teachers are among the victims of school crime

An analysis of NCVS responses gathered from public and private school teachers during the years 1992 through 1996 indicates that teachers were victims of an average of 123,800 violent in-school crimes during each of those years (or 30 for every 1,000 teachers). About 18,000 (or 4 for every 1,000 teachers) were victims of serious violent crimes, including robbery, aggravated assault, and rape or sexual assault. In addition, on average teachers were victims of 192,400 thefts per year (or 46 for every 1,000 teachers).

Teacher victimization in general was considerably more common in urban schools (an annual average of 96 incidents per 1,000 teachers) than in suburban schools (57 per 1,000) or rural schools (55 per 1,000). Middle school and junior high school teachers were much more likely to be victims of simple assault and other violent crimes than were their counterparts at the senior high school and elementary school levels. Senior high school teachers, on the other hand, were more often victims of theft.

Juveniles are at the highest risk of being victims of violence at the end of the school day

Victim reports and police incident data both show daytime juvenile victimization peaks

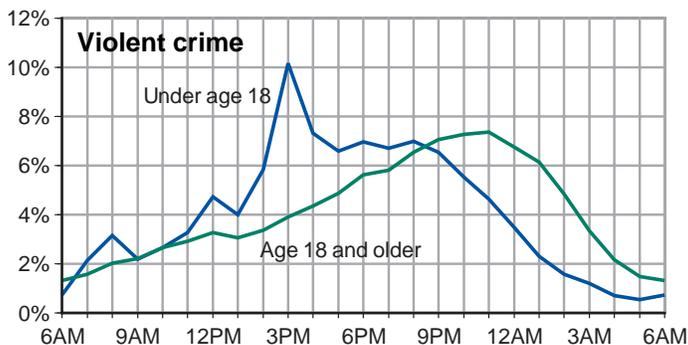
In recent years, analyses of the FBI National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS) data have highlighted the fact that juveniles are at highest risk of being the victim of a violent crime in the 4 hours following the end of the school day (roughly 2 p.m. to 6 p.m.). This pattern is based on reports of crimes to law enforcement. It is possible that the actual pattern of crime against juveniles differs from the police data, because much of juvenile crime is never reported to law enforcement.

To investigate this possibility, data from the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) were analyzed to determine the time periods in which a nationally representative sample of youth ages 12–17 said they had been victimized in 1996, regardless of whether the crime had been reported to law enforcement. NCVS asks the victims to indicate in which of a day's four 6-hour blocks their victimization occurred. For comparison, NIBRS data were then analyzed for victims of the same ages.

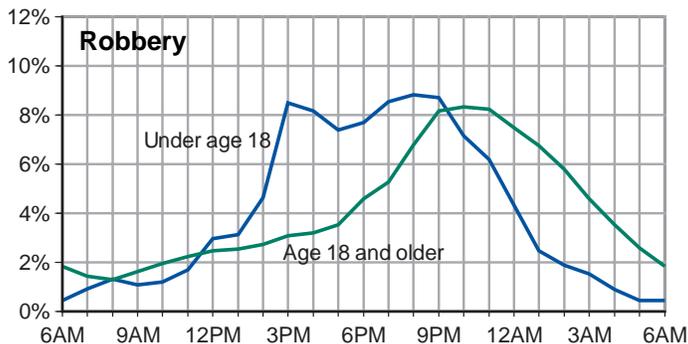
The results show that juvenile victims report even more crime occurring between noon and 6 p.m. (which includes the afterschool period) than indicated by NIBRS data. For example, NCVS victims indicate that half (51%) of all robberies occur between noon and 6 p.m., while the police data show that only 32% of juvenile robberies reported to them occurred during this period. Similarly, NCVS data show a greater proportion of aggravated assaults (49% vs. 34%) and simple assaults (59% vs. 38%) occurring between noon and 6 p.m.

The violent victimization of juveniles is greatest between 3 p.m. and 9 p.m., while adult victimizations are most common between 9 p.m. and midnight

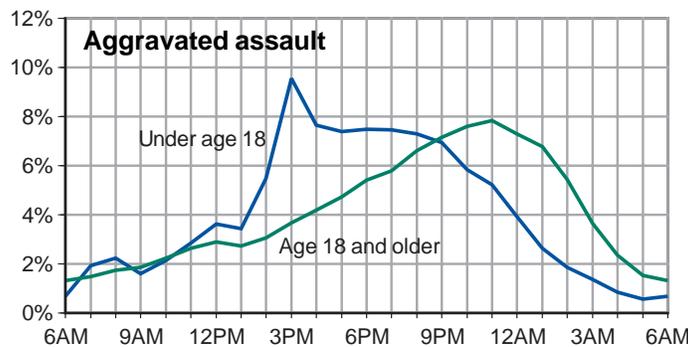
Percent of all violent victimizations in age group



Percent of all robbery victimizations in age group



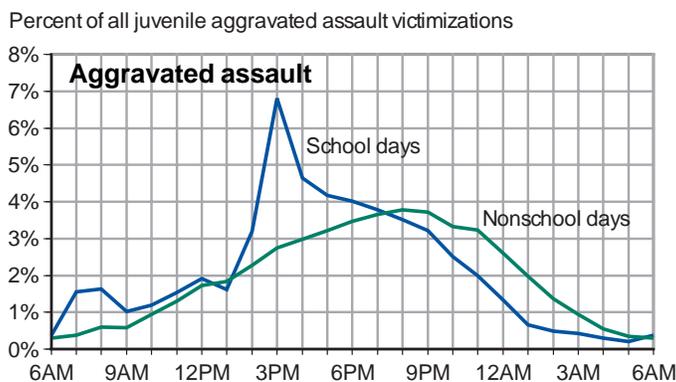
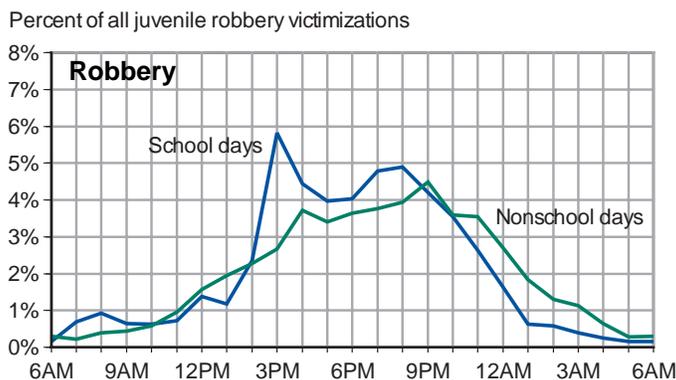
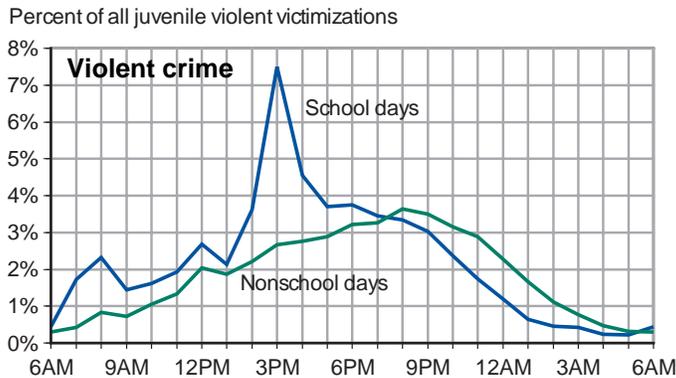
Percent of all aggravated assault victimizations in age group



Note: Violent victimizations include the crimes of murder, violent sexual assault, robbery, aggravated assault, and simple assault. Data are from 12 States (Alabama, Colorado, Idaho, Illinois, Iowa, Massachusetts, Michigan, North Dakota, South Carolina, Utah, Vermont, and Virginia).

Source: Authors' analyses of the FBI's *National Incident-Based Reporting System* master files for the years 1991–1996 [machine readable data files].

1 in 5 of all violent crimes with juvenile victims occurs between 3 p.m. and 7 p.m. on school days



Note: Violent victimizations include the crimes of murder, violent sexual assault, robbery, aggravated assault, and simple assault. Data are from 12 States (Alabama, Colorado, Idaho, Illinois, Iowa, Massachusetts, Michigan, North Dakota, South Carolina, Utah, Vermont, and Virginia).

Source: Authors' analyses of the FBI's *National Incident-Based Reporting System master files* for the years 1991–1996 [machine readable data files].

Offense	Percent of all crimes against juveniles	
	Victim reports	Police records
Robbery		
6 a.m.–noon	14%	7%
Noon–6 p.m.	51	32
6 p.m.–midnight	32	49
Midnight–6 a.m.	4	13
Aggravated assault		
6 a.m.–noon	7	11
Noon–6 p.m.	49	34
6 p.m.–midnight	37	42
Midnight–6 a.m.	6	13
Simple assault		
6 a.m.–noon	21	14
Noon–6 p.m.	59	38
6 p.m.–midnight	18	39
Midnight–6 a.m.	2	9

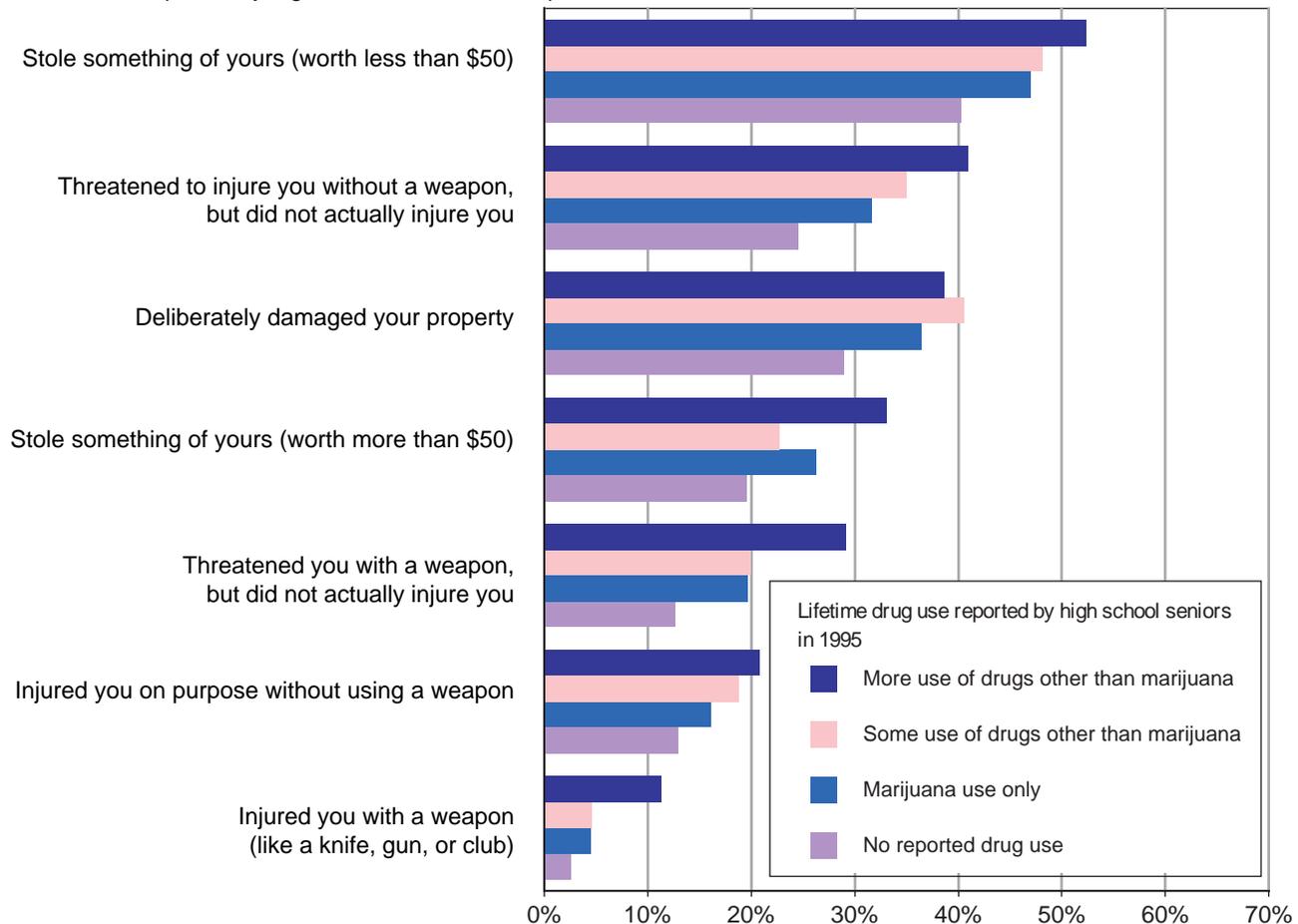
It is reasonable that victim reports indicate greater proportions of victimization occurring during hours that include the afterschool period than do the law enforcement data. As NCVS data indicate, juveniles did not tell adults about a substantial portion of their victimizations, and when they did tell an adult, they often reported to authorities other than law enforcement (e.g., school officials). These authorities may handle the matter themselves or refer the matter to law enforcement.

Because crimes in and around school are likely to be reported initially to school officials who may not report them to police, such crimes may be less likely to be reported to law enforcement than crimes occurring at other times of the day. Consequently, law enforcement data may actually underestimate the proportion of crime that occurs in the afterschool hours.

High school seniors who used drugs were more likely than those who did not to be the victims of violence

Substantial proportions of high school seniors reported being victimized—victimization was more common for those who used drugs

Victimizations reported by high school seniors in the past 12 months:



- In 1995, 50% of seniors reported no drug use, 21% reported using only marijuana (or hashish), 11% said they had used drugs other than marijuana (LSD/psychedelics, cocaine, amphetamines, tranquilizers, methaqualone, barbiturates) but had never used any one class of them more than twice and had never used heroin, 14% said they had used drugs other than marijuana three or more times and had never used heroin, and 2% said they had used heroin at least once.
- More than 10% of seniors who said they had never used illicit drugs reported that in the past year someone had threatened them with a weapon. Among those who had used marijuana only, the figure was 18%; for those in the “some use” category, the figure was 20%; for those in the “more use” category, it was nearly 30%.
- Of seniors who said they had used drugs other than marijuana three or more times, 11% reported that they had been injured with a weapon; the proportion for those in the “some use” and “marijuana only” categories was 5%; among those who were not drug users, the proportion was 3%.

Note: Detailed data for those reporting heroin use are not presented because there were too few cases.

Source: Authors' adaptation of Johnston, Bachman, and O'Malley's *Monitoring the future, questionnaire responses from the Nation's high school seniors, 1995*.

The likelihood of victims reporting crime to police varies by victim age and the nature of the incident

Juveniles are less likely to report violent crimes than adults are

Finkelhor and Ormrod's analysis of the National Crime Victimization Survey for 1995 and 1996 studied the variations in the proportion of crime victims reporting to police or other authorities (e.g., guards, school principals). The study revealed that adults were more likely than juveniles to report both completed and attempted violent crime to some authority regardless of the:

- Location of the incident.
- Presence of a weapon.
- Degree of injury.
- Age of the perpetrator.
- Relationship between the victim and perpetrator.

Their analysis also revealed that adults and juveniles generally report completed theft offenses to some authority in equal proportions. Juveniles, however, were more likely than adults to report thefts that took place in school and thefts of less valuable items (i.e., items worth less than \$250).

Juveniles are more likely to report some crimes than others

Certain factors increase the likelihood that juveniles will report a crime to some official:

- Violent crimes were more likely to be reported when the incident took place at school rather than away from school (49% vs. 41%), resulted in injury rather than did not result in injury (57% vs. 40%), or involved an adult rather than a juvenile perpetrator (51% vs. 42%).
- The relationship between the victim and perpetrator or the

presence of a weapon did not influence the probability of a violent incident being reported.

- Theft offenses were more likely to be reported by juveniles when the incident took place at school than away from school (51% vs. 22%) or involved a stranger rather than someone known to the victim (42% vs. 20%). In addition, thefts of items worth more than \$250 were more likely to be reported than thefts of items worth less than \$250 (49% vs. 38%).
- The proportion of theft offenses reported did not vary by the victim's sex or by whether the perpetrator was an adult or juvenile.

The proportion of violent crimes reported by juveniles to the police increased with victim age

Overall, the proportion of violent crimes reported to any authority ranged between 42% and 48% for each age group between 12 and 17, but the authority to whom the incident was reported varied with the victim's age.

Victim's age	Percent of violent crime reported to	
	Police	Others
12	20%	28%
13	22	23
14	26	17
15	31	13
16	33	9
17	38	6

The youngest victims of violence (youth ages 12 and 13) were more likely to report to authorities other than the police. By age 14, a greater proportion of violent crimes were reported to the police (26%) than to other officials (17%). The increasing use of police and the corresponding reduction in use of other authorities continued through age 17.

Regardless of age, juveniles are more likely to report thefts to authorities other than police

Reporting of theft offenses peaked at 44% for 14-year-old victims and declined to 31% for 17-year-old victims. While thefts are more likely to be reported to officials other than police, the proportion reported to the police increased with age, from 7% for 12-year-olds to 14% for youth age 17.

Victim's age	Percent of theft reported to	
	Police	Others
12	7%	36%
13	8	35
14	12	32
15	11	30
16	10	23
17	14	17

Caretakers know the whereabouts of many “missing” children—the problem is recovering them

Who are runaways, and what happens when they are away?

In a 1988 national incidence study, parents or guardians of runaways who were gone overnight provided information about the runaways and their experiences while gone.

Most runaways were teenage girls (58%); most were 16 or 17 years old (68%). Most came from families that were or had been broken; only 28% lived with both (natural or adoptive) parents.

Most runaways initially stayed with someone they knew (66%) or did so at some time during the episode (94%). Some had spent time in unfamiliar or dangerous situations: 29% spent at least part of the episode without a familiar and secure place to stay, and 11% spent at least one night without a place to sleep. Many runaways returned home within a day or two, but about half (52%) were gone for 3 days or more, and 25% were gone for a week or more. For about half of the runaways, the caretaker knew the child’s whereabouts more than half of the time the child was away from home.

Many runaways had run away before, with 34% having run away at least once before in the past 12 months. Some traveled a long distance; approximately 16% went more than 50 miles from home during the episode, and about 10% went more than 100 miles.

Who are throwaways, and what happens when they are away?

About half of throwaway children were runaways whose parents or guardians made no effort to recover them, and about half were directly

Some categories of “missing” children are more numerous than others

The term “missing children” has been used for many years to describe children involved in very different kinds of events, making it difficult to estimate the magnitude of these phenomena or to formulate appropriate public responses. A 1988 national incidence study sought to measure the “missing child problem” by examining several distinct problems.

Broadly defined:

Parental/family abduction

354,100 children per year

A family member took a child or failed to return a child at the end of an agreed-upon visit in violation of a custody agreement/decreed, with the child away at least overnight.

Stranger/nonfamily abduction

3,200–4,600 children per year

Coerced and unauthorized *taking* of a child, or *detention*, or *luring* for purposes of committing another crime.

Runaway

450,700 children per year

A child who left home without permission and stayed away at least overnight or who was already away and refused to return home.

Throwaway

127,100 children per year

A child who was told to leave home, or whose caretaker refused to let come home when away, or whose caretaker made no effort to recover the child when the child ran away, or who was abandoned.

Otherwise missing

438,200 children per year

Children missing for varying periods depending on age, disability, and whether the absence was due to injury.

Defined as serious:

163,200 children per year

A family member took the child out of State or attempted to conceal/ prevent contact with the child, or abductor intended to keep child or permanently change custodial privileges.

200–300 children per year

A nonfamily abduction where the abductor was a stranger and the child was gone overnight, or taken 50 miles or more, or ransomed, or killed, or the perpetrator showed intent to keep the child permanently.

133,500 children per year

A runaway who during a runaway episode was without a secure and familiar place to stay.

59,200 children per year

A throwaway who during some part of the episode was without a secure and familiar place to stay.

139,100 children per year

An otherwise missing child case where police were called.

Source: Authors' adaptation of Finkelhor, Hotaling, and Sedlack's *Missing, abducted, runaway, and throwaway children in America. First report: Numbers and characteristics, national incidence studies.*

forced to leave home. Parents of throwaway children reported that most (84%) were 16 years old or older. The vast majority stayed with friends at least part of the time while they were away (88%), although 13% spent at least one night without a place to sleep. A majority (68%) returned home within 2 weeks. For about three-quarters of throwaway children, the caretaker knew the child's whereabouts more than half of the time the child was away from home.

Who are abducted children, and what happens when they are taken?

Parents of children abducted by a family member reported that most of these children were young: 33% were 2 to 5 years old, and 28% were 6 to 9 years old. Most were returned within a week: 62% were returned in 6 days or less, and 28% were returned in 24 hours or less. For just over half of children abducted by a family member, the caretaker knew

the child's whereabouts more than half of the time the child was away from home.

Many family abductions appeared to fall into the "serious" category, with the abducting parent:

- Preventing the child from contacting the caretaking parent (41%).
- Concealing the child (33%).
- Threatening or demanding something of the caretaking parent (17%).
- Taking the child out of State (9%).

Nonfamily abductions were studied in the records of a national sample of police departments. In these cases, three-quarters of the children were teenage girls, and half were 12 years old or older. Most of the victims were not missing for long: most were gone for less than 1 day; an estimated 12% to 21% were gone for less than 1 hour. Nearly all of the victims were forcibly moved during the episode: most were taken from

the street; 85% of the cases involved force (75% with a weapon). Researchers estimated that, of the 200–300 nonfamily abductions that fell into the "serious" category (stereotypical kidnappings), about 100 resulted in homicides.

Who are other missing children, and what happens when they are missing?

Most lost or otherwise missing children tended to fall into one of two age groups: 4 years old or younger (47%) or 16 to 17 years old (34%). Of those incidences where the reason was known, most (57%) were missing for "benign" reasons (such as the child's forgetting the time or misunderstandings between parents and children about when the latter would return or where they would be). The next largest group (28%) involved children who had been injured while they were away from home. Nearly all of these children had returned within 24 hours.

The number of children abused, neglected, or endangered almost doubled from 1986 to 1993

In 1993, nearly 3 million children were maltreated or endangered

The third National Incidence Study of Child Abuse and Neglect (NIS-3) reported information on children harmed or believed to be harmed by maltreatment in 1993. Child maltreatment includes physical, sexual, and emotional abuse, and physical, emotional, and educational neglect by a caretaker. Victims of maltreatment may die as the result of abuse or neglect or may experience serious or moderate harm. A child may also be in danger of harm as the result of maltreatment, or harm may be inferred when maltreatment is sufficiently severe.

NIS-3 included maltreatment reported to researchers not only by child protective service agencies, but by other investigatory agencies (e.g., police, courts, public health departments) and community institutions (e.g., hospitals, schools, daycare centers, and social service agencies). It did not include cases known only to family members or neighbors.

Most maltreated children were neglected in 1993

NIS-3 counts each incident of abuse or neglect that occurs. A single child may experience many types of abuse or neglect. In 1993, 70% of maltreated children were victims of neglect, and 43% were victims of abuse. More specifically:

- 47% were physically neglected.
- Almost equal proportions of maltreated children were physically abused (22%), emotionally neglected (21%), and emotionally abused (19%).
- 11% were sexually abused; 14% were educationally neglected.

More than half of all victims (55%) experienced serious or moderate harm as a result of maltreatment in 1993

Type of harm	Percent of victims
All	100.0%
Fatal	0.1
Serious	20.2
Moderate	35.0
Inferred	8.0
Endangered	36.7

Types of maltreatment were related to the characteristics of the child

The incidence of maltreatment varied by sex and age but not by race or ethnicity:

- The incidence of sexual abuse was almost three times greater among females than males in 1993. In contrast, emotional neglect was more common among males than females.
- The incidence of maltreatment increased more among males than among females between 1986 and 1993 (102% vs. 68%).
- Between 1986 and 1993, the incidence of maltreatment grew among all children except those ages 15–17.
- Moderate injuries were more frequent among older than younger children. Age differences were not found for other levels of injury.
- The incidence of endangerment was greater for younger children (ages 0–11) than older children (ages 15–17) in 1993.
- Children ages 0–2 and 15–17 had the lowest incidence of maltreatment in 1993.

There are several different types of child maltreatment

Child maltreatment occurs when a caretaker (a parent or parent substitute, such as a daycare provider) is responsible for, or permits, the abuse or neglect of a child. The maltreatment can result in actual physical or emotional harm, or it can place the child in danger of physical or emotional harm. The following types of maltreatment were included in NIS-3:

Physical abuse includes physical acts that caused or could have caused physical injury to the child.

Sexual abuse is involvement of the child in sexual activity to provide sexual gratification or financial benefit to the perpetrator, including contacts for sexual purposes, prostitution, pornography, or other sexually exploitative activities.

Emotional abuse is defined as acts (including verbal or emotional assault) or omissions that caused or could have caused conduct, cognitive, affective, or other mental disorders.

Physical neglect includes abandonment, expulsion from the home, failure to seek remedial health care or delay in seeking care, inadequate supervision, disregard for hazards in the home, or inadequate food, clothing, or shelter.

Emotional neglect includes inadequate nurturance or affection, permitting maladaptive behavior, and other inattention to emotional/developmental needs.

Educational neglect includes permitting chronic truancy or other inattention to educational needs.

More maltreatment was reported among lower-income families

Children from families with an annual income of less than \$15,000 had substantially more maltreatment of all types in 1993 than children from families in other income groups. The abuse rate in these lowest-income families was two times the rate in other families, and the neglect rate was more than three times higher. Children in lowest-income families had higher injury rates in every injury category except fatalities.

Children of single parents were at higher risk of maltreatment

The overall risk of maltreatment in 1993 was twice as great for children living with single parents as for children living with both parents. Compared with children living with both parents, children living with single parents were twice as likely to be neglected and were marginally more likely to be abused. Children living with a single parent of either sex experienced a higher incidence of physical and educational neglect than those living with both parents and were marginally more likely to experience emotional neglect. Children from single-parent homes were at greater risk of injury and of being endangered by maltreatment than those living with both parents.

Maltreatment was related to family size

- Children living in larger families (with four or more children) were physically neglected almost three times more often than those living in one-child families and more than twice as often as those living in families with two or three children.
- Serious injuries were equally likely in families of all sizes.
- Moderate injury was more frequently experienced by maltreated children in larger families than those in families with either two or three children. Children in these largest families also experienced higher rates of endangerment.

The majority of maltreated children were victimized by their birth parents

Birth parents were responsible for the largest proportion of maltreatment victimizations in 1993 (78%), followed by other categories of parents (14%) and other perpetrators (9%). Children victimized by their birth parents were twice as likely to experience neglect as abuse. More specifically, among children victimized by their birth parents:

- The most common forms of maltreatment involved educational neglect (29%), physical neglect (27%), and physical abuse (23%).
- 16% were victims of emotional neglect, 14% were victims of emotional abuse, and 5% were victims of sexual abuse.

Emotional abuse and neglect increased more than other forms of maltreatment between 1986 and 1993

Maltreatment type	Number of victims of maltreatment		
	1986	1993	Percent change
Total	1,424,400	2,815,600	98%
Abuse	590,800	1,221,800	107
Physical	311,500	614,100	97
Sexual	133,600	300,200	125
Emotional	188,100	532,200	183
Neglect	917,200	1,961,300	114
Physical	507,700	1,335,100	163
Emotional	203,000	584,100	188
Educational	284,800	397,300	40*

*Indicates that increase did not reach statistical significance.

Note: Victims were counted more than once when more than one type of abuse or neglect had occurred.

Source: Authors' adaptation of the National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect's *The third National Incidence Study of Child Abuse and Neglect (NIS-3)*.

In contrast to children victimized by their birth parents, those maltreated by other categories of parents were almost twice as likely to be abused as to be neglected. For example:

- Physical abuse was the most common form of maltreatment (37%).
- One-quarter of these children were victims of sexual abuse.
- One-fifth were victims of educational neglect.
- The least common forms of maltreatment involved physical neglect (9%) and emotional abuse (13%).

Fatal or serious injury was more likely for children maltreated by birth parents than by others

	Severity of injury			Total
	Fatal or serious	Moderate	Inferred	
All	36%	53%	11%	100%
Birth parents	41	54	5	100
Other parents	20	61	19	100
Others	24	30	46	100

Most maltreatment cases were identified by schools

Because of the large volume of children attending schools, more maltreated children were identified by schools in 1993 than by all other community agencies and institutions combined:

Schools	54%
Police/sheriff	10
Hospitals	6
Social services	6
Daycare centers	5
Mental health	3
Juvenile probation	2
Public health	2
All others	12

1 in 3 alleged maltreatment cases was investigated by child protective service agencies

Child protective service agencies investigated 33% of the cases known to community agencies and institutions in 1993. The remaining cases either were not reported to child protective service agencies or were reported but not investigated. The highest investigation rates occurred among cases identified by police

and sheriff departments (52%), hospitals (46%), and mental health agencies (42%). In contrast, the lowest investigation rates occurred among cases identified by daycare centers (3%) and public health agencies (4%).

Investigations were more likely in cases involving abuse than neglect

Cases in which children were alleged to be physically or sexually abused were investigated by child protective services more frequently than other maltreated children.

Maltreatment type	Percent of reports investigated
Abuse	39%
Physical	45
Sexual	44
Emotional	28
Neglect	28
Physical	35
Emotional	22
Educational	7

Most abuse and neglect cases enter the child welfare system through child protective service agencies

What are child protective services?

The term “child protective services” generally refers to services provided by an agency authorized to act on behalf of a child when parents are unable or unwilling to do so. In all States, these agencies are mandated by law to conduct assessments or investigations of reports of child abuse and neglect and to offer rehabilitative services to families where maltreatment has occurred or is likely to occur.

While the primary responsibility for responding to reports of child maltreatment rests with State and local child protective service agencies, prevention and treatment of abuse and neglect can involve professionals from many disciplines and organizations. Although variations exist among jurisdictions, community response to child maltreatment typically includes the following sequence of events:

Identification. Individuals likely to identify abuse are often those in a position to observe families and children on an ongoing basis. This may include educators, law enforcement personnel, social service personnel, medical professionals, probation officers, daycare workers, mental health professionals, and the clergy, in addition to family members, friends, and neighbors.

Reporting. Some individuals, such as medical and mental health professionals, educators, child care providers, social service providers, law enforcement personnel, and clergy, are often required by law to report suspicions of abuse and neglect. Some States require reporting by any person having knowledge of abuse or neglect.

Child protective service or law enforcement agencies usually receive the initial report of alleged abuse or neglect, which may include the identity of the child, information about the nature and extent of maltreatment, and information about the parent or other person responsible for the child (caretaker). The initial report may also contain information identifying the individual causing the alleged maltreatment (perpetrator), the setting in which maltreatment occurred, and the person making the report.

Intake and investigation. Protective service staff are responsible for determining whether the report constitutes an allegation of abuse or neglect and how urgently a response is needed. The initial investigation involves gathering and analyzing information from and about the child and family. Protective service agencies may work with law enforcement and other agencies during this period. Caseworkers generally respond to reports of abuse and neglect within 2 to 3 days. A more immediate response may be required if it is determined that a child is at imminent risk of injury or impairment.

If the intake worker determines that the referral does not constitute an allegation of abuse or neglect, the case may be closed. If there is substantial risk of serious physical or emotional harm, severe neglect, or lack of supervision, a child may be removed from the home under provisions of State law. Most States require that a court hearing be held shortly after the removal to approve temporary custody by the child protective service agency. In some States, removal from the home requires a court order.

Following the initial investigation, the protective service agency generally concludes one of the following: (1) sufficient evidence exists to support or substantiate the allegation of maltreatment or risk of maltreatment; (2) sufficient evidence does not exist to support maltreatment; or (3) maltreatment or the risk of maltreatment is indicated, although sufficient evidence to conclude or substantiate the allegation does not exist. Should sufficient evidence not exist to support an allegation of maltreatment, additional services may still be provided if it is believed there is risk of abuse or neglect in the future.

Assessment. Protective service staff attempt to identify the factors that contributed to the maltreatment and to address the most critical treatment needs.

Case planning. Case plans are developed by protective services, other treatment providers, and the family in an attempt to alter the conditions and/or behaviors resulting in child abuse or neglect.

Treatment. Protective service and other treatment providers implement a treatment plan for the family.

Evaluation of family progress. After the treatment plan has been implemented, protective services and other treatment providers evaluate and measure changes in family behavior and the conditions that led to child abuse or neglect, assess changes in the risk of maltreatment, and determine when services are no longer necessary. Case managers often coordinate the information from several service providers when assessing the case's progress.

Case Closure. While some cases are closed because the family resists intervention efforts and the child is considered to be at low risk of harm, others are closed when it has been determined that the risk of abuse or neglect has been eliminated or sufficiently reduced to a point where the family can protect the child from maltreatment without further intervention.

If it is determined that the family will not be able to protect the child, the child may be removed from the home and placed in foster care. If the child cannot be returned home to a protective environment within a reasonable timeframe, parental rights may be terminated so that permanent alternatives for the child can be found.

One option available to child protective services is referral to juvenile court

Substantiated reports of abuse and neglect do not necessarily lead to court involvement if the family is willing to participate in the child protective agency's treatment plan.

The agency may, however, file a complaint in juvenile court if the child is to be removed from the home without parental consent or if the parents are otherwise uncooperative.

Adjudicatory hearings primarily focus on the validity of the allegations, while dispositional hearings address the case plan (e.g., placement, supervision, and services to be delivered). Typical dispositional options include treatment and services provided by protective agencies, temporary custody granted to the State child protective agency, foster care, termination of parental rights, permanent custody granted to the State child protective agency, and legal custody given to a relative or other person. Both adjudicatory and dispositional hearings are held within a timeframe specified by State statute.

Although not all abuse and neglect cases become involved with the court, the juvenile court is playing an increasingly significant role in determining case outcomes. The Federal Adoption Assistance and Child

Welfare Act of 1980 (Public Law 96-272) required greater judicial oversight of the child protective service agency's performance. This legislation was passed in an attempt to keep children from being needlessly placed in foster care or left in foster care indefinitely. The goal of this legislation was to enable the child to have a permanent living arrangement (e.g., return to family, adoption, or placement with other relatives) as soon as possible.

Courts often review decisions to remove children from home during emergencies, oversee agency efforts to prevent placements and reunite families, approve agency case plans designed to rehabilitate families, periodically review cases, and decide whether to terminate parental rights in cases involving children unable to return home. Courts review case plans of all court-involved cases prior to implementation and maintain ongoing involvement until the child is either returned home or placed in a permanent, adoptive home.

Child protective service agencies received reports on more than 3 million maltreated children in 1996

A national data system monitors the caseloads of child protective services

The National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect (NCCAN) annually collects child maltreatment data from child protective service agencies. The National Child Abuse and Neglect Data System (NCANDS) employs both a summary and a case-level approach to data collection. Summary data provide national information on a number of key indicators of child abuse and neglect cases in 1996. Case-level data provide descriptive information on cases referred to child protective service agencies during the same year.

About 1.6 million child abuse and neglect investigations were conducted in 1996

Child protective service agencies conducted investigations on 80% of the estimated 2 million reports of child abuse and neglect in 1996. In 35% of these investigations, the allegation was either substantiated (i.e., the allegation of maltreatment or risk of maltreatment was supported or founded) or indicated (i.e., the allegation could not be substantiated, but there was reason to suspect the child was maltreated or was at risk of maltreatment). More than half (58%) of all investigations were not substantiated or indicated. The remaining 7% were closed without a finding or resulted in another disposition. Detailed data from 11 States indicated that reports from professionals were more likely than those from nonprofessionals to be substantiated or indicated (51% vs. 35%).

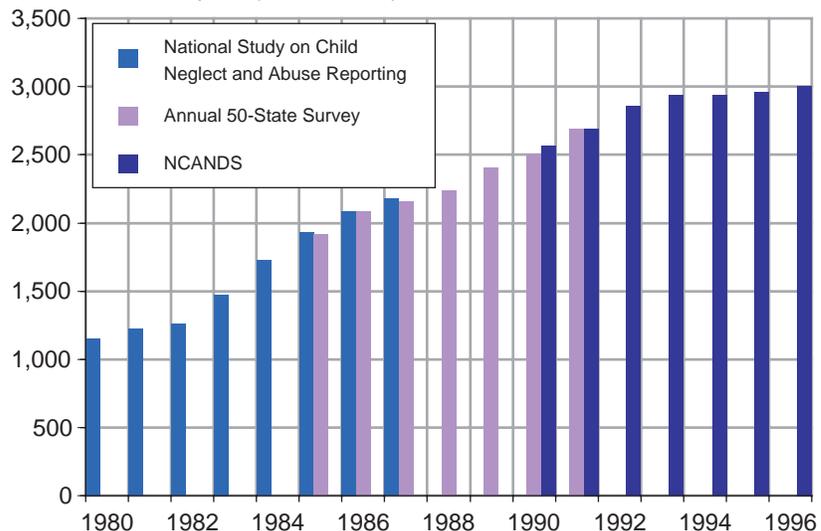
Most perpetrators were related to the victim

The 1996 national summary data on substantiated or indicated maltreatment found the following:

- 52% of victims were female.
- 55% of victims were white, 28% were black, 12% were Hispanic, and 5% were other races.
- 19% of victims were age 2 or younger, 52% were age 7 or younger, and 7% were age 16 or older.
- 80% of perpetrators were parents of the victim.
- An estimated 1,077 children died as the result of maltreatment in 1996.
- About 16% of victims in substantiated or indicated cases were removed from their homes.

Maltreatment reports may involve more than one child—in 1996 over 3 million children were the subjects in 2 million reports

Number of child reports (in thousands)



- Reports of alleged maltreatment increased 161% between 1980 and 1996. The increasing trend in child maltreatment reports is believed to be the result, at least in part, of a greater willingness to report suspected incidents. Greater public awareness both of child maltreatment as a social problem and of the resources available to respond to it are factors that contribute to increased reporting.

Note: Child reports are counts of children who are the subject of reports. Counts are duplicated when an individual child is the subject of more than one report during a year.

Sources: Authors' analyses of U.S. Department of Health and Human Services' *Child maltreatment: Reports from the States to the National Child Abuse and Neglect Data System* for the years 1992–1996 and the National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect's *National Child Abuse and Neglect Data System: Working paper 2, 1991 summary data component*.

Professionals were the most common source of reports of abuse and neglect in 1996

Source of referral	Percent of total
Professionals	52%
Educators	16
Social service	12
Law enforcement	13
Medical	11
Family and community	25%
Friends/neighbors	9
Relatives—not parents	10
Parents	6
Other sources	23%
Anonymous	12
Victims	1
Other*	10

*Includes child care providers, perpetrators, and sources not otherwise identified.

Source: Authors' adaptation of U.S. Department of Health and Human Services' *Child maltreatment 1996: Reports from the States to the National Child Abuse and Neglect Data System*.

Case-level data from States provide a profile of victims

Detailed information from States reporting case-level data on victims of substantiated or indicated maltreatment in 1996 found the following:

- Neglect was the most common form of maltreatment found among all age groups (58%).
- Younger children (under age 8) were more likely than older children (age 8 and older) to have been neglected (65% vs. 49%).
- Older victims were more likely than younger victims to have been physically abused (29% vs. 19%) or sexually abused (15% vs. 7%).

As the primary provider of child care, females were the perpetrators in most maltreatment

	Percent of perpetrators			
	Male only	Female only	Mixed: male and female	All
Victim age				
0–17	22%	54%	24%	100%
Less than 1	5	70	25	100
1–5	16	58	25	100
6–11	25	52	24	100
12–17	35	42	23	100
Maltreatment type				
All	22%	54%	24%	100%
Physical abuse	33	41	26	100
Neglect	10	64	25	100
Medical neglect	5	70	25	100
Sexual abuse	62	9	29	100
Psychological abuse	26	37	37	100

- In 1996, over one-half (54%) of maltreatment cases involved only female perpetrators, and about one-quarter (24%) involved both male and female perpetrators. As a result, at least one female was identified as a perpetrator in more than 3 in 4 maltreatment cases (78%). In contrast, at least one male was identified as a perpetrator in about 1 in 2 cases (46%).
- Male perpetrators were more common in maltreatment cases involving older victims. For example, at least one male was identified as the perpetrator in 30% of cases involving victims under the age of 1, compared to 58% of cases involving victims ages 12–17.
- For most maltreatment types, females were more likely than males to be identified as a perpetrator. The one exception is sexual abuse. At least one male was identified in 91% of these reports. In contrast, at least one female was identified in 38% of cases involving sexual abuse.

Note: Detail may not total 100% because of rounding. The male proportion includes cases with at least one male perpetrator and no females. The female proportion includes cases with at least one female perpetrator and no males. The mixed proportion includes cases with at least one male and one female perpetrator. It should be noted that cases identifying multiple perpetrators do not imply equal involvement of each perpetrator.

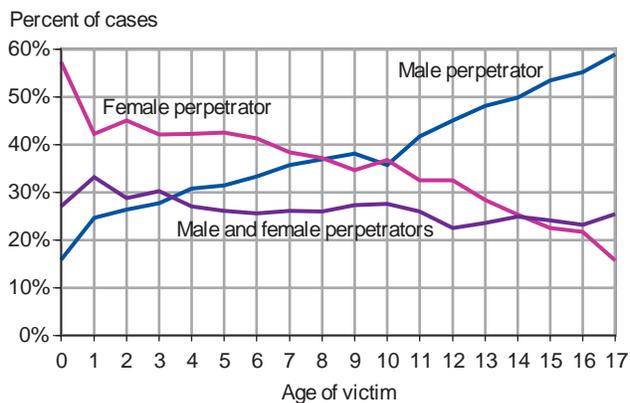
Source: Authors' analysis of unpublished data from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Children's Bureau, on the detailed case component of the *National Child Abuse and Neglect Data System*.

- Female victims were three times more likely than males to have experienced sexual abuse (16% vs. 5%) and less likely to have experienced neglect (54% vs. 62%).
- More than half (56%) of fatalities were male.
- White youth were more likely than black youth to be victims of sexual abuse (13% vs. 7%) and less likely to be victims of some form of neglect (58% vs. 70%).
- Death due to child abuse and neglect was found mostly among very young children. Three in four deaths (76%) involved children under age 4.

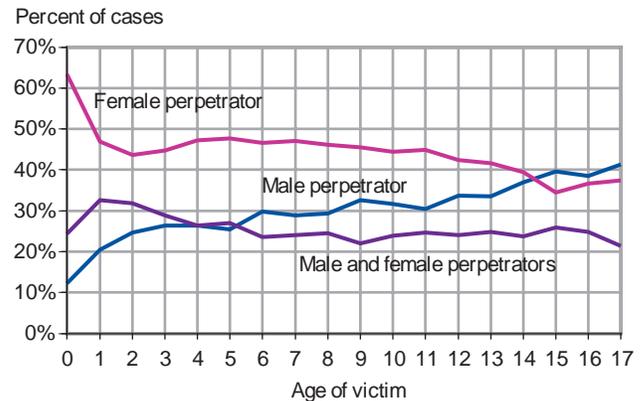
Overall, the proportion of maltreatment involving a female perpetrator generally declined with victim age

Females were reported as the perpetrator of physical abuse against younger victims more often than males—this pattern reverses in cases of older victims

Male victims of physical abuse



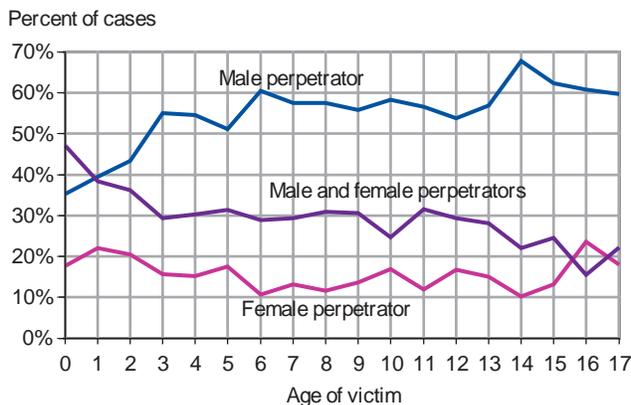
Female victims of physical abuse



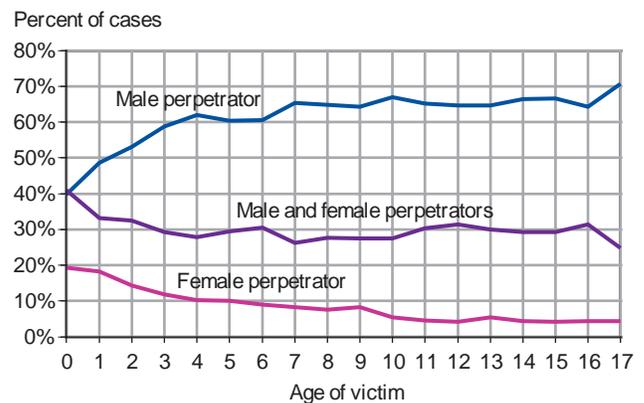
- Male-only perpetrators were over three times more common than female-only for cases involving 17-year-old male victims of physical abuse. In contrast, male-only perpetrators were only slightly more common than female-only perpetrators for 17-year-old female victims. The proportion of cases involving both male and female perpetrators was similar among male and female victims.

The difference in the number of sexual abuse cases involving male perpetrators and the number involving female perpetrators grew with victim age

Male victims of sexual abuse



Female victims of sexual abuse



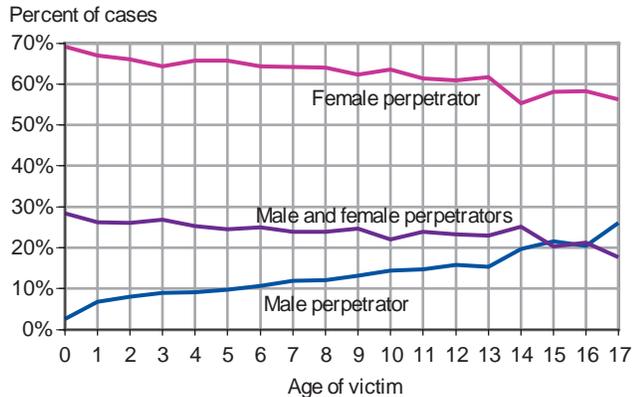
- In cases of sexual abuse, male-only perpetrators were more common than female-only perpetrators. The majority of sexual abuse cases involving female perpetrators also involved male perpetrators.

Note: Data are for 1996. The male proportion includes cases with at least one male perpetrator and no females. The female proportion includes cases with at least one female perpetrator and no males. The male and female perpetrators proportion includes cases with at least one male and one female perpetrator. It should be noted that cases identifying multiple perpetrators do not imply equal involvement of each perpetrator.

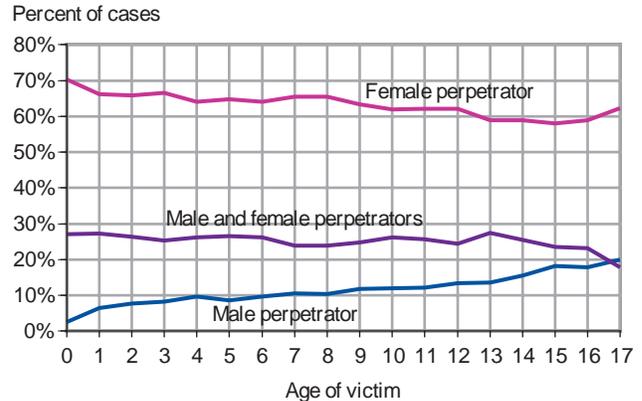
Source: Authors' analysis of unpublished data from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Children's Bureau, on the detailed case data component of the *National Child Abuse and Neglect Data System*.

The disparity in male and female perpetrator proportions was greatest in neglect cases

Male victims of neglect



Female victims of neglect



■ Overall, most neglect cases involving a male perpetrator also involved a female.

Note: Data are for 1996. The male proportion includes cases with at least one male perpetrator and no females. The female proportion includes cases with at least one female perpetrator and no males. The male and female perpetrators proportion includes cases with at least one male and one female perpetrator. It should be noted that cases identifying multiple perpetrators do not imply equal involvement of each perpetrator.

Source: Authors' analysis of unpublished data from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Children's Bureau, on the detailed case data component of the *National Child Abuse and Neglect Data System*.

Between 1992 and 1995, child abuse and neglect rates increased among American Indians and Asians while declining among other racial/ethnic groups

Racial/ethnic group	Number of abuse and neglect victims per 100,000 children age 14 or younger		Percent change 1992-1995
	1992	1995	
All children	1,866	1,724	-8%
American Indian	2,830	3,343	18
Asian	454	479	6
White	1,628	1,520	-7
Black	3,560	3,323	-7
Hispanic	1,486	1,254	-16

■ Between 1992 and 1995, growth in reported incidents of abuse and neglect was three times greater for American Indian children under age 15 than for Asian children in that age group.

■ In 1995, child victimization rates for American Indian children and black children were at least twice as high as rates for other racial and ethnic groups.

Note: Rates were calculated on the number of children age 14 or younger because this group accounts for at least 80% of the victims of child abuse and neglect.

Source: Authors' adaptation of the Bureau of Justice Statistics' *American Indians and crime*.

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