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Final Report

CHILD ABUSE, NEGLECT, AND VIOLENT CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR

(Grant Number 86-IJ-CX-0033)

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ABSTRACT

The notion that violence begets violence is firmly established in the minds of professionals and the general public alike. However, methodological problems have substantially restricted our knowledge of the long-term consequences of childhood victimization. Using a prospective cohorts design, official criminal histories for a large sample of substantiated and validated cases of physical and sexual abuse and neglect from the years 1967 through 1971 (n = 908) were compared to those of a matched control group (n = 667) of individuals with no official record of abuse or neglect. Results indicate that abused and neglected children overall have a higher likelihood of arrests for delinquency, adult criminality, and violent criminal behavior than the matched controls. Controlling for age, sex, and race, being abused or neglected overall increases the odds that a person will have an adult arrest by a factor of 1.72. Being physically abused and neglected put one at greater risk of an arrest for violence, but neither type of abuse or neglect is as powerful a predictor as the demographic characteristics of sex, race, and age. Childhood victimization has demonstrable long-term consequences for criminal behavior; however, the majority of abused and neglected children did not become delinquent, adult criminals, or violent criminal offenders. Thus, the pathway from childhood victimization to later criminal and violent criminal behavior is not straight or inevitable. The implications of these findings, the limitations of this study, and future research needs are discussed.

This document represents the final report of the project "Child Abuse, Neglect, and Violent Criminal Behavior" (86-IJ-CX-0033). This summary briefly describes the research and conclusions, and discusses the implications and limitations of the findings. The study, its background and rationale, and detailed findings are described more fully in a number of forthcoming publications (Widom, in press - a, b, and c), in manuscripts under editorial review (Ames and Widom, 1988; Widom, 1988), and manuscripts in preparation based on conference presentations (Rivera and Widom, 1988; Widom and Ross, 1988, Widom, 1988). [For a complete list of grant-related publications, manuscripts under review, manuscripts in preparation, and invited addresses or conference presentations, see attached Appendix.]

I. INTRODUCTION

Violent crime represents a serious problem for our society and for criminal justice practitioners and researchers. In recent years, childhood victimization has also come to be recognized as a major social problem.

The idea that violence begets violence is firmly established in the minds of professionals and the general public alike. However, to paraphrase Garbarino and Gilliam (1980), the alleged relationship between childhood victimization and violent behavior has not really "passed scientific muster" (p.111). In fact, professionals and laymen alike may have been premature in accepting the notion that violence breeds violence and believing that abusive behavior patterns are directly transmitted to children by parents and later reflected in the greater use of violence.

The phrases cycle of violence and intergenerational transmission of

violence have been used rather loosely to refer to assumptions or hypotheses about the consequences of abuse and neglect in relation to a number of different dependent variables or outcomes. Some writers refer exclusively to the relationship between abused children becoming abusive parents (Kaufman and Zigler, 1987). Others focus on the relationships between child abuse and neglect and later delinquent, adult criminal, or violent behaviors.

In a recent review, Widom (in press - a) assessed the empirical literature on the "violence breeds violence" hypothesis broadly defined and concluded that our knowledge of the longterm consequences of abusive home environments remains limited. Furthermore, since most of the existing literature examines violence among delinquents or adolescents, there is little evidence that these childhood experiences have direct and lasting consequences for the commission of violent crimes into adulthood.

Purpose and Background of the Present Research

The purpose of the present research project was threefold: (1) to identify a large sample of substantiated and validated cases of abuse and neglect in children from approximately twenty years ago; (2) to identify a matched control group of non-abused children; and (3) to determine the extent to which these individuals and the matched control group have engaged in subsequent delinquent, and adult criminal and violent criminal behavior. This research involves (and is limited to) the collection, tabulation, and analysis of existing official records.

Begun in the fall of 1986, this work was undertaken to examine a number of basic questions about the relationship between early child abuse, neglect, and later violent criminal behavior. Building on past research, this project

was designed to incorporate improvements in the areas of design, operationalization, and conceptualization (Widom, 1988; Widom, in press - a). Specifically, these advances include: 1) an unambiguous operationalization of abuse and neglect; 2) a prospective design; 3) separate abused and neglected groups; 4) a large sample; 5) a control group matched as closely as possible for age, sex, race, and social class background; and 6) assessment of the longterm consequences of abuse and neglect beyond adolescence or juvenile court into adulthood.

This present study is based on a standard research design referred to as specialized cohorts (Schulsinger, Mednick, and Knop, 1981; Leventhal, 1982). In this design, matched cohorts who are free of the "disease" in question (violent or delinquent behavior) at the time they are chosen for the study are assumed to differ only in the attribute to be examined (that is, having experienced child abuse or neglect). Research using such a design can lead to further work on the primary prevention of child abuse and neglect, and intervention to reduce the problems of negative long term consequences.

This research utilized cases of child abuse and neglect recorded in county court records from a metropolitan area in the midwest during the years 1967 through 1971. This time period was chosen: (1) to maximize the likelihood that the cases are currently closed and (2) to allow for the maturing of the individuals concerned, while avoiding the problems associated with much older files.

II. DESIGN

Identification and Characteristics of Abuse and Neglect Cases

The underlying rationale for identifying "treatment" groups here was that

they were serious enough to come to the attention of the authorities. Thus, only cases of child abuse and neglect that were validated and substantiated by the court are included.

In examining the relationship between child abuse or neglect and delinquency and criminality, it was also important to avoid any potential problems of ambiguity in the direction of causality. Specifically, we did not want to include cases where delinquency may have preceded abuse and/or neglect or may have been the cause of the abuse or neglect. Thus, to insure that the order of temporal sequence was clear (abuse or neglect ----> delinquency or criminality), abuse and neglect cases are restricted to those in which children were 11 years of age or less at the time of the incident.

Definitions of physical and sexual abuse and neglect are as follows:

Physical abuse, referred to "cruelty to children", where an individual had "knowingly and wilfully inflicted unnecessarily severe corporal punishment" or "unnecessary physical suffering" upon the child or children. These cases include injuries such as bruises/welts, burns, abrasions/lacerations, wounds/cuts, bone/skull fractures, and other evidence of physical injury to the child.

Sexual abuse includes a variety of charges, ranging from relatively non-specific charges of "assault and battery with intent to gratify sexual desires" to more specific detailed charges of "fondling or touching in an obscene manner", sodomy, incest, and so forth.

Neglect refers to cases in which the court has found a child (or children) to have no proper parent care or guardianship, to be destitute,

homeless, or to be living in a physically dangerous environment. The neglect petition reflects the judgment that the behavior represents a serious omission(s) by the parents -- beyond acceptable community and professional standards at the time. These cases represent extreme failure to provide adequate food, clothing, shelter, and medical attention to children.

[For details of the design of the study, including the criteria for inclusion and exclusion of abuse and neglect cases, see Widom, in press -b.]

Among the abused and neglected group, there are about equal numbers of males and females (49% versus 51%) and more whites than blacks (67% versus 31%). At the time of the abuse or neglect, about a quarter of the sample was under 3 years old and 11% were 4-5 years old. The remainder of the sample (about 65%) were under 11 years of age. In about half the cases there was only one child on the abuse/neglect petition; the remaining cases involved petitions representing a number of children and their siblings or half-siblings.

The mean current age of the abused and neglected group is 25.69 (SD = 3.53), ranging from the youngest of 16 to the oldest at 32. The large majority of our sample are currently between the ages of 20 and 30 (85%), with about 10% under age 20, and only a few older than 30 (about 5%). The current age distribution indicates that our design has allowed sufficient time for most of these subjects to come to the attention of authorities for delinquent, adult criminal, and violent behavior (cf. Wolfgang, Figlio, and Sellin, 1972; Strasburg, 1978; Rojek and Erikson, 1982, Hartstone and Hansen, 1984).

Identification and Characteristics of Matched Control Group

One of the critical elements of this research design is the establishment

of a control group, matched on the basis of sex, race, age, and approximate family socio-economic status during the time period of the abuse and neglect incidents (1967-1971). To accomplish the matching, the sample of abuse and neglect cases were divided into two groups on the basis of the age of the child at the time of the abuse and/or neglect incident. Two sets of operational criteria for matching existed. Using county birth record information, children who were under school age at the time of the abuse or neglect were matched with children of the same sex, race, date of birth (+/- one week), and hospital of birth. Of the possible 318 abused and neglected children, we have matches for 229, representing 72%.

Using the same overall rationale, the goal for children of school age was to find matches who were as close as possible by sex, race, date of birth (+/- six months) and same class in elementary school system during years 1967 through 1971. Of the 587 school age children in the abuse/neglect sample, we have matches for 438, representing about 75% of the group. Overall, there are 667 matches (73.7%) for the abused and neglected children. [For further details of the matching procedure, see Widom, in press - b.]

The controls are equally divided between males and females; about 35% are black and 65% white. About 35% were under school age and the remainder were of school age during the years 1967 through 1971. The mean current age for the control subjects is 25.76 (SD = 3.53), ranging from the youngest at 16 to the oldest at 33. The majority are between 20 and 30. The abused and neglected and control groups are quite comparable. None of the demographic characteristics differed significantly between the groups.

Data Collection

Abuse and neglect incident. Detailed information from the files of the juvenile court and juvenile probation department (which keeps track of cases of neglect, delinquency, or dependent children) was recorded. This information typically includes a description of the original abuse or neglect incident (type, seriousness, extent of physical injuries, age of victim at the time of the incident, duration of abuse or neglect, and characteristics of the perpetrator) and the disposition of the case (e.g. foster care or other placements).

Juvenile Delinquency. Files in the juvenile probation department also contain information on delinquent activities. Year-by-year delinquent activities for each person in our sample was recorded and coded, where applicable.

Control subjects were also processed through the juvenile court and juvenile probation departments in an identical manner for two reasons. First, if there was evidence that a control subject had been abused, then he or she was excluded from our control group. [This occurred in 11 cases.] Second, it was necessary for the purposes of the study to record detailed delinquency information (identical to that recorded for the abused and neglected groups) for the control group, where it existed.

Adult criminal history information. Adult criminal histories for all subjects were searched at three levels: local, state, and federal. Bureau of Motor Vehicle records were searched to determine the current whereabouts of the subjects and/or to find social security numbers to assist in tracing. In addition, marriage license bureau records were searched to find married names

for the females.

Dependent Variables

All of the outcome measures refer to arrests. Arrests as a juvenile refer to arrests before the individual was 18 years old. Any adult criminal record -- refers to the frequency of any adult criminal arrest for a non-traffic offense. Any criminal record refers to an arrest (juvenile or adult) at any point during the time-period under study (from the earliest arrests as a young child to those occurring in young adulthood).

Violent crimes include arrests for: robbery, assault, assault and battery, battery with injury, battery, aggravated assault, manslaughter/involuntary manslaughter/reckless homicide, murder/attempted murder, rape/sodomy, and robbery and burglary with injury. ny violent refers to an arrest for any violent offense at any point in the individual's life (juvenile or adult). Offense categories are not mutually exclusive and, thus, individual subjects may have arrests for a variety of offenses.

III. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The following is a very brief summary of findings. For more detailed descriptions of the study's findings, see articles by Widom (in press -b, -c) and those by Widom (Science, revision under review) and Ames and Widom (under editorial review).

Overall Comparisons: Abused and Neglected versus Controls

Abused and neglected children have a higher likelihood of arrests for delinquency, adult criminality, and violent criminal behavior than the matched controls.

In comparison to controls, abused and neglected children overall have:

- o more arrests as a juvenile (26% versus 17%);
- o more arrests as an adult (29% versus 21%); and
- o more arrests for any violent offense (11% versus 8%).

Criminality is also often described in terms of the number of offenses committed, the age at first arrest, and the repetitiveness (or chronicity) of a person's criminal activity.

In comparison to controls, abused and neglected children as a group have:

- o a larger mean number of offenses (2.43 versus 1.41);
- o an earlier mean age at first arrest (16.48 versus 17.29 years); and
- o a higher proportion of chronic offenders (that is, those charged with 5 or more offenses) (17% versus 9%)

Differences Related to Demographic Characteristics

Sex. As expected, males have higher rates of delinquency, adult criminality, and violent criminal behavior than females. Within each sex, a history of abuse or neglect also significantly increases one's chances of having an official criminal record. For example, despite the fact that women generally have lower rates of arrests for criminal behavior, abused and/or neglected females are significantly more likely to have an adult arrest (15.9%) than control females (9.0%).

Race. Although blacks are statistically more likely to have official criminal records than whites, the same pattern exists across the abused and neglected and the control group for all three levels of criminal activity (delinquency, adult criminal, and violent criminal behavior). For blacks and

whites, being abused or neglected increases the likelihood of having a criminal record as a juvenile and as an adult. For blacks, being abused or neglected increases one's likelihood of having a violent criminal record, whereas, surprisingly, for whites, being abused and/or neglected does not increase the risk.

Age. Dividing our sample (ages 16 to 33 years) into 4 age-groups of equal size, older subjects in both groups have higher frequencies of an adult criminal record and of violent criminal behavior than younger subjects. While this finding may simply reflect the number of years available for the subjects to accumulate criminal records, it also illustrates the complexity of dealing with criminal behavior and the need to control for age.

Need for Multivariate Models. Since we have seen that sex, race, and age are independently related to differences in rates of criminal behavior, it is necessary to control for the effects of these possible confounds. Thus, data analysis and, ultimately, interpretation of these findings must incorporate and control for sample demographic characteristics.

A logit model incorporating the four factors of age, sex, race, and abuse/neglect history simultaneously yielded a good fit in predicting an adult criminal record (see Widom, in press - c). Based on the odds ratio of this model, with an expected rate of 20%, being abused or neglected as a child would increase a person's chances of having an arrest as an adult to 25% to 36%, the precise amount depending on the other risk characteristics. Few individuals (4%) in the lowest risk category (youngest, white, control females) had an adult arrest, in contrast to two-thirds of the individuals in the highest risk category (oldest, black males who had been abused or

neglected).

Does violence beget violence?

In a direct test of the cycle of violence hypothesis, violent criminal behavior was examined as a function of the type of abuse or neglect experienced as a child. Narrowly defining a childhood history of violence as physical abuse only, the cycle of violence hypothesis predicts that individuals who experienced childhood physical abuse should show higher levels of violence than individuals victimized by other forms of abuse or neglect. As predicted by the cycle of violence hypothesis, victims of physical abuse had the highest level of arrests for violent criminal behavior (15.8%), followed by victims of neglect (12.5%), and much higher than controls (7.9%). However, types of abuse and neglect are not distributed randomly in our sample across age, sex, and race groups, and thus bivariate analyses present an overly simplistic picture.

The results of a linear logistic regression analysis (a multivariate statistical technique for data of this sort) indicate that, controlling for age, sex, and race, the physical abuse and neglect groups have a significantly higher likelihood of having an arrest for a violent offense than the controls. Thus, in the most direct and stringent test of the cycle of violence hypothesis, being physically abused as a child does increase one's propensity to commit further criminal violence. However, being neglected also increases one's likelihood of violent behavior and neither type of abuse or neglect is as powerful a predictor as the demographic characteristics of sex, race, and age.

IV. DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

Previous knowledge concerning the link between child abuse, neglect, and later criminal behavior has been limited by sparse empirical evidence, inconsistent findings, and studies suffering from a number of methodological problems. In the present research, using a prospective cohorts design, a large number of substantiated and validated cases of child abuse and neglect were examined to determine whether these early childhood experiences are associated with the development of later criminal behavior. In addition to identifying a large group of children who had been abused or neglected approximately twenty years earlier, a control group matched on age, sex, race, and approximate social class background was also identified.

Our results indicate that childhood victimization has demonstrable longterm consequences for criminal behavior. Being abused as a child significantly increases one's risk of having a juvenile and an adult criminal record. Early child abuse and neglect also have demonstrated long term consequences for violent criminal behavior. Abused and neglected subjects overall had higher rates of arrests for any violent offense, thus supporting the cycle of violence hypothesis. However, as adults, this was due primarily to the males in the abused and neglected group, since this difference was not evident among the females.

Females generally appear less frequently than males in arrest statistics (i.e., females have a low base rate); however, abused females were more likely than control females to have an arrest as an adult. ~~Thus, experiencing early~~ child abuse or neglect has a substantial impact even on individuals with little likelihood of engaging in officially recorded adult criminal behavior.

It is also likely that females manifest the long-term consequences of abuse and neglect in other and perhaps, more subtle ways. In line with traditional socialization practices (Widom, 1984), abused females may be more likely to suffer depression and undergo psychiatric hospitalization as a consequence of these early childhood experiences, rather than directing their aggression "outwardly". On the other hand, interpretation of these results is complicated by the fact that the type of abuse and neglect suffered by females and males differs somewhat, and this in turn may influence differential longterm consequences. Further analyses of these sex differences are planned.

These findings also indicate unambiguously that the relationship between childhood victimization and later criminal behavior is not as overwhelming as might have been expected given the predominance of the cycle of violence hypothesis. For example, while 29% of the abused and neglected subjects have adult criminal records, 71% do not. However, since in all analyses the majority of the abused and neglected group in this study did not have official records for delinquency, adult criminality, or violent criminal behavior, these findings dramatically indicate that the relationship between childhood victimization and criminal behavior is complex and far from inevitable.

It is very likely that our conceptualization of the relationship between child abuse and violence has been overly simplistic. Indeed, Curtis (1963) recognized the unlikely possibility that there would be a simple causal relationship between early child abuse and later crimes of violence. Being abused as a child may increase one's risk for criminal behavior, but, based on our findings, the pathway is not straight or certain.

How do we interpret the current results? Criminality may be one direct by-product of these early experiences or may reflect the interaction of a number of other causal factors, early abuse among them. For example, Heath, Kruttschnitt, and Ward (1986) found that the interaction of large amounts of television viewing and exposure to parental abuse related to violent criminal behavior.

There are clues within the literature that the path from early abusive or neglectful experiences may not lead simply or directly to violence and that the effects of these early experiences may be manifested in different ways. Evidence often forgotten suggests that abuse may also lead to withdrawal or self-destructive behavior (Green, 1978). Thus, one explanation for the lack of a more substantial relationship between childhood abuse and later abuse, delinquency, or violent behavior may lie in more subtle manifestations of emotional damage such as severe anxiety, depression, withdrawal, or in the extreme, suicide. Indeed, given the attrition that typically occurs in longitudinal studies, examination of cases lost due to early death, hospitalizations, and so forth would be revealing. In some ways our almost exclusive focus on violence may have been shortsighted, precluding examination of more subtle forms of damage.

While our findings confirm some aspects of the cycle of violence hypothesis, our understanding of the relationship between childhood victimization and later criminal behavior needs refinement in light of these findings. For those individuals for whom the pathway between early childhood victimization and later violent behavior appears to be straightforward, we need further understanding of the factors which may have influenced this development and outcome. Designs such as this one, which depend on archival

data, are weak in understanding process, since they are typically undertaken to record performance outcomes and not the processes mediating performance (Cook and Campbell, 1979). At the same time, given these findings, it would also seem appropriate to begin to search for alternative pathways and possible protective factors which may act to buffer some children from the longterm effects of these early childhood experiences.

V. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

These results are based on official records of both independent (abuse and neglect) and dependent variables (official records of criminal behavior. Given the methodological limitations of the previous literature on the topic (Widom, in press - a), the design implemented here (unambiguous abuse and neglect cases, prospective, cohorts, control group) was chosen as a beginning point to provide some base rate information on these fundamental relationships. However, it should be made very clear that these findings do not apply to all cases of childhood victimization since they do not reflect unreported or unsubstantiated child abuse and neglect and cases of childhood adoption were excluded. These results also do not include self-reported or non-official criminal behavior. Thus, the selective process of identifying these "caught cases" at every level -- in childhood, adolescence, and adulthood -- should be recognized.

The cases involved here were processed before the child abuse laws were passed. Many cases were not reported and those reported are skewed toward the lower end of the socio-economic spectrum. These findings, then, are not generalizable to unreported cases of abuse and neglect, and especially to those cases dealt with unofficially by private medical doctors (Widom, 1988).

These are the cases where agencies have intervened, and cases in which there is little doubt of abuse or neglect. Thus, these findings are confounded with the processing factor.

Pagelow (1982) has called attention to the problems associated with using officially recorded cases of abuse and neglect. She suggests that labelling these children, disrupting their residence with their family, and stigmatizing their parents, may create a self-fulfilling prophecy that can be difficult to resist or overcome. Following Pagelow's negative scenario, using the research design implemented here, strong evidence for the longterm consequences on the abused and neglected children would be expected, since these abuse and neglect cases were processed through the courts and presumably these children suffered all the negative effects related to such experiences. If a significant relationship exists between early child abuse, neglect, and later violent criminal behavior, then it should have emerged clearly in these "substantiated and validated" court cases.

VI. FUTURE RESEARCH NEEDS

Now is the time to undertake a more discriminating analysis of the different effects likely to result from early experiences with abuse and neglect. Not all children who grow up in violent homes become violent adults. In this study, while 29% of the abused and neglected children had an adult criminal record, 71% did not. In McCord's (1983) study, a number of the men appeared to be relatively invulnerable to the adverse effects of parental abuse and neglect. Certainly there are a wide variety of environmental stresses and potential triggering mechanisms and many other factors involved in the learning process. Since many children appear not to succumb to the

adverse effects of abuse or neglect, it is important to determine why this is so and what it is that protects them from these negative consequences.

While clear cases of the cycle of violence are foremost in our minds, the ultimate outcome may depend on a variety of factors, including the characteristics of the abuse or neglect incident (physical and sexual abuse or neglect, the nature and severity of the abuse, the age of the child at which the abuse occurred, the characteristics of the perpetrator and so on). The findings from a number of studies (Reidy, 1977; Rohrbeck and Twentyman, 1986) suggest the need to consider the experience of neglect as distinct from abuse. Neglected children may actually show as high levels of subsequent violent behavior as those abused. With one exception (McCord, 1983), previously large scale studies examining the relationship between abuse and neglect and delinquent or violent behavior aggregated abused and neglected children, or they restricted their samples to abused children. Only the developmental psychology studies have systematically examined and reported differences between separate samples of abused and neglected children (Widom, in press - a). Combining the abused and neglected groups or studying only physically abused children may obscure important differences in consequences.

Why some children succumb and others do not remains an open question. In the meantime, we need further research which examines some of these questions, while controlling for confounding factors. Studies are also needed which examine the role of what have been called protective factors (Garmezy, 1981) - those dispositional attributes, environmental conditions, biological predispositions, and positive events that can act to mitigate against early negative experiences.

The research reported here has just begun to examine the longterm consequences of early childhood victimization. Because of the limitations of this project's exclusive reliance on official records, we hope to follow-up these individuals and pursue many of the questions posed here. Further research is clearly necessary to understand the processes, potential protective factors, and alternative and perhaps more subtle manifestations of the consequences of these experiences. It is also important to determine the extent to which the abused and neglected subjects and the controls report having experienced child abuse or neglect and report having contact with criminal justice agencies which has not been disclosed through official records. Finally, in the future, we hope to examine the further intergenerational transmission of violence when these individuals (now in their 20's and 30s) begin child rearing with their own offspring. It is critical to begin to unravel the complex and far from simple causal relationship between childhood victimization and adult criminal behavior.

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- Widom, C.S. (in press - b) Child abuse, neglect, and adult behavior: Design and findings on criminality, violence, and child abuse. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry.
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APPENDIX

Grant-Related Publications

Widom, C.S. Sampling biases and implications for child abuse research. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 1988, 58(2), 260-270.

Widom, C.S. Intergenerational transmission of violence. In: Weiner, N.A., and Wolfgang, M.E. (Eds.) Pathways to Criminal Violence. Newbury Park, CA.: Sage, in press - a.

Widom, C.S. Child abuse, neglect, and adult behavior: Design and findings on criminality, violence, and child abuse. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, in press - b .

Widom, C.S. Child abuse, neglect, and violent criminal behavior. Criminology, in press - c.

Widom, C.S. Does violence beget violence? A critical examination of the literature. Psychological Bulletin, in press - d.

Ames, A., & Widom, C.S. Childhood sexual abuse and later delinquent and criminal behavior. (Under editorial review)

Widom, C.S. The cycle of violence. Science (solicited general article, under review).

Manuscripts in Preparation

Rivera, B., and Widom, C.S. Childhood victimization and violent offending.

Widom, C.S., and Ross, B. Pathways to delinquency and adult criminality.

Widom, C.S. Early childhood victimization and later juvenile delinquency.

Major Papers and/or Conference Presentations (March 1988-January 1989)

Widom, C.S. Some longterm consequences of early childhood victimization. Paper presented at Responses to Family Violence Conference, Purdue University, West Lafayette, Indiana, 30-31 January 1989.

Widom, C.S. Invited address to Symposium on Abuse and Criminality, Florida Department of Corrections, Tampa, Florida, 12 December 1988.

Widom, C.S. Pathways to delinquency and criminality. Paper presented at the third annual meeting of the Society for Research in Psychopathology, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 10-13 November 1988.

Ames, A. & Widom, C.S. Childhood sexual abuse and later delinquent and criminal behavior. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American

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Society of Criminology, Chicago, Illinois, 9-13 November 1988.

Rivera, B., & Widom, C.S. Childhood victimization and violent offending. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Society of Criminology, Chicago, Illinois, 9-13 November 1988.

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