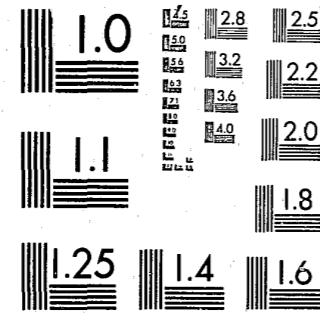


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THE CONNECTIONS BETWEEN YOUTH PROBLEMS

AND VIOLENCE IN THE HOME

Philip W. Rhoades

Sharon L. Parker

1981

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THE CONNECTIONS BETWEEN YOUTH PROBLEMS  
AND VIOLENCE IN THE HOME:  
PRELIMINARY REPORT OF NEW RESEARCH

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September, 1981

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This is dedicated to the youth of Oregon who participated in this survey, many of whom asked these discerning questions:

Will this make any difference?

Will this help any other kids?

Will anyone out there listen?

We could not adequately answer these youth, but did make a commitment to provide a part of the information which might make a difference. We don't know if society will respond to these voices crying out, but believe these "kids" are entitled to be heard. To them we present this first report.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Many individuals generously contributed time, knowledge, contacts and support which greatly facilitated the data collection process and led to this report. Represented were paraprofessionals and professionals in the fields of social service, youth facilities, shelters for battered women, education, mental health and juvenile justice. These also included many private individuals with a genuine concern about violence in society and its impact on youth.

Sandra J. Wellman and Jennifer Squires, Research Assistants, spent many hours collecting information related to child abuse and juvenile delinquency, in addition to administering and coding the questionnaire. Mrs. Wellman did most of the editing and provided constructive criticism.

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THE CONNECTIONS BETWEEN YOUTH PROBLEMS AND VIOLENCE  
IN THE HOME: PRELIMINARY REPORT OF NEW RESEARCH

This paper reports the preliminary analysis of the data collected concerning physical abuse histories of juvenile delinquents in Oregon which was collected in a survey research project. The motivating factor behind this research has been the growing evidence indicating a relationship between the social problems of child abuse and juvenile delinquency. The relationship may or may not be a causal one, but at least we may observe, as the literature reviewed in the following sections indicates, that many of the same families and juveniles who have been involved in child abuse become involved in juvenile delinquency. Helfer and Kempe (1976) have observed that the

effects of child abuse and neglect are cumulative. Once the developmental process of a child is insulted or arrested by bizarre child rearing patterns, the scars remain. One should not be surprised, then, to find that the large majority of delinquent adolescents indicate that they were abused children.

However, our society's response to these seemingly related problems has, for the most part, become separated. Child protective service systems have evolved within the past twenty years to deal with the child abuse problem and juvenile justice systems have been created to focus on the delinquency problem. Even, as in Oregon, where the same state agency is responsible

for providing both of these responses our society has generally failed to provide a coordinated approach to them, either in policy or practical operation.

We have also seen the development in more recent years, of a third system which is far less formal, institutionalized, and coordinated as the child protective and juvenile justice systems. This third response is the near-system of domestic violence and runaway shelters for the provision of services and assistance to the victims of family violence. The practical operation of this system also reflects a relatively loosely coordinated system and a lack of coordination with the two more institutionalized systems.

The recent reports of the National Juvenile Justice Assessment Centers (Smith *et al*, 1980: 23 and 65) call attention to the jurisdictional disputes, bureaucratic jealousies, misunderstanding, confusion, and competition which exists between these groups of agencies "often resulting in horrendous consequences for children and families involved." They note the need to develop "a well coordinated and well integrated policy approach for addressing the needs of children and families in crisis" so that both problems may be addressed by the community.

This type of approach is specifically called for in the Standards for the Administration of Juvenile Justice (NACJJP, 1980) which lists specific standards for planning, research, needs identification, goal and strategy development, and program coordination, development and implementation involving local authorities on both the juvenile justices and child

protective service systems. It is recommended that these efforts be community wide and involve all agencies which might be called upon to assist in the delinquency and abuse problems. This suggestion of program coordination and cooperation between the juvenile justice and child protective systems was also made by the earlier National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals (1976: 92).

Family life that is shattered by episodes of physical or emotional mistreatment may breed feelings of rejection among children and retard the youngster's normal development. Thus, programs designed to insure that children are raised in home situations beneficial to their healthy growth should be a major component of a community delinquency prevention plan.

In support of the suggested integrated planning, policy creation, and program operations, both the National Advisory Committee for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (1980: 104-126) and the National Juvenile Justice Assessment Centers (Smith, *et al*, 1980: 71-74) recommend research into the relationship between child abuse and juvenile delinquency and the ways these problems may be resolved.

This research is needed as we have only a little knowledge of the long-term effects of child abuse on its victims. We know that many of these children become abusive parents in return, but are unable to completely explain this phenomenon. We do not know the full extent of the effect of child abuse on the "acting out" behavior (much of it juvenile delinquency) of abuse victims, although research has been initiated in this area. We have not adequately evaluated the long-term effects

of the witnessing of violence towards another family member on the individual child. We have not assessed the effects of dealing with juveniles as delinquents who have come to the attention of authorities because they have attempted to escape victimization in the home. Also we have not adequately incorporated the knowledge already gained into our theories concerning the causes of juvenile delinquency. Thus the necessary base of knowledge upon which we can build an adequate, coordinated social response to these interrelated social problems is lacking.

This project was designed to improve the working relationship between juvenile justice agencies and domestic violence agencies in Oregon. It was to accomplish this task through networking (or the fostering of coordination, cooperation, and information exchange between these agencies). The research component of this project sought to assess the need for networking within Oregon by providing data about the child abuse experienced on the part of juvenile delinquents under supervision by juvenile justice agencies in the state. The research is an attempt to shed some light on the many unanswered questions we have about the relationship between the problems of child abuse and juvenile delinquency and the social systems involved in response to them.

Hopefully, this report will contribute to the base of knowledge required to support the information exchange and coordination reflected in the networking aspects of this project. This is the first in what we hope will be a series of project

reports based on analysis of the data collected by the survey project.

We will first provide some brief background information about the grant and the agencies involved. It is rare for agencies involved in practical operations involving the provision of services to perform survey research, so we felt this information was necessary to provide an understanding of the organizational context of the research project. To provide a framework for the literature review and research results we will briefly examine some data about the extent of the problems of child abuse, domestic violence, and juvenile delinquency. Then, some of the available literature concerning the relationship between child abuse and delinquency will be reviewed. This will be followed by a description of the data collection procedures, the reporting of the research results, and a discussion of the implications of these findings.



II. OREGON MODEL FOR NETWORKING AND TRAINING

A. PROJECT

The project entitled "Oregon Model for Networking and Training Between Youth Development Services and Domestic Violence Services" was funded by the Youth Development Bureau of the Department of Health and Human Services. Three agencies were involved in the grant: Looking Glass Youth and Family Services, Mid-Valley Center Against Domestic and Sexual Violence, and the Oregon Coalition Against Domestic and Sexual Violence. The latter two agencies had had previous close involvement with each other, the third had had no prior contact with the others. Looking Glass was the primary recipient of the grant; Mid-Valley and the Coalition were sub-contracted with for a portion of the grant.

The tasks of the grant were divided into three areas:

1. networking between youth serving agencies and domestic violence programs, concluding in a conference;
2. a research component for collecting data on youth in an institutional setting about their involvement in intra-familial violence; and
3. recommendations for a treatment model for youth experiencing crisis as a result of intra-familial violence.

Although all three agencies were involved in all aspects of the project, Looking Glass took responsibility for fiscal management and overall administration of the project; the Oregon Coalition took primary responsibility for facilitating networking between agencies and the conference, and Mid-Valley

Center was responsible for the research component and recommendations for a treatment model. Mid-Valley was assisted in all stages of the research project by the co-author and two practicum students from the Administration of Justice Department, Portland State University.

The specific goals for the project were:

1. to investigate the predominance of domestic violence histories in youth receiving services in the youth program;
2. to train youth shelter staff to be sensitive to domestic violence issues and the special needs of victims;
3. to train domestic violence staff to be sensitive to youth issues and special needs; and
4. to create a strong positive working relationship between the youth service agency and the domestic violence agency.

Because of the distance involved between Looking Glass and Mid-Valley Center, Womanspace (a shelter for battered women and their children) was chosen for the networking aspects of the project. During the life of the project, networking activities were accomplished among a number of other agencies by project staff and the research was greatly expanded to include a number of other programs which provide treatment for juvenile delinquents.

B. Training Component

The Oregon Coalition coordinated training workshops for the staffs of Looking Glass, Womanspace, and Mid-Valley Center. Consultants were from the domestic violence and youth services fields. The training provided a foundation for all participants

in the networking project. They included an examination of current knowledge of the effects of spouse abuse on children and youth, existing program models and specific intervention and treatment techniques for youth experiencing or practicing violence, especially relevant to residential shelter programs for youth and battered women. This was expanded by Mid-Valley Center to include in-service training to youth programs participating in the research projects.

#### C. NETWORKING

Both youth shelter agencies and domestic violence programs have networked in the same areas: medical, legal, social service and education, in an effort to provide coordination of services for shelter clientele. However, until the development of the project, neither had networked with the other. Through the development of the networking, and specific training in both areas, the youth program was able to better identify domestic violence occurring in the families they were serving, and the domestic violence programs were able to identify more readily the special problems of children in shelter. The project facilitated better coordination of services for both types of agencies through cross referrals and provision of additional resource information. Both types of agencies discovered common issues in addition to specific differences. Through discussion, each developed an understanding of the other's function, and a means to continue to work together in the future.

#### D. LOOKING GLASS YOUTH AND FAMILY SERVICES

Looking Glass was founded in 1970 by seventeen year-old Debra Warnes, a former runaway who had been in a number of foster placements. The agency was conceived as a shelter home where youth in crisis could receive intensive short-term counseling in a supportive environment.

Widespread community response resulted in a volunteer-based organization which provided short-term housing in a donated building, information and referral, and crisis counseling. Initial funding was secured in 1973 through the National Institute of Mental Health. As State and Federal funding became available, the agency changed from volunteer-based to salaried staff. Alcohol counseling and longer-term family counseling were included in the program.

At their current locations, Looking Glass has bed space for fifteen youths; because of recent funding cutbacks, they can only fill ten of those. Four are contracted by CSD, four by the juvenile department and two are kept for youth in crisis (runaways). Depending on referral source youth can stay up to 60 days in the shelter.

Looking Glass staff have been active on both a local and statewide level in an effort to raise public awareness of the needs of youth in crisis. As a result of their own networking efforts they have provided valuable training for other agencies working with similar issues.

#### E. MID-VALLEY CENTER AGAINST DOMESTIC AND SEXUAL VIOLENCE

Mid-Valley provides safe shelter for battered women and their children, twenty-four hour crisis line coverage, walk-in counseling, information and referral for battered women and victims of rape and sexual abuse, and a weekly Battered Women's Support Group. This group is for women who have been, or are currently in, violent relationships, and wish to change the dynamics of those relationships. The agency does not work directly with violent men; these persons are referred to other counselors who specialize in this area. This agency works closely with other social service agencies in the area, including Children's Services Division, Adult and Family Services, and mental health, medical service and law enforcement agencies. Mid-Valley has worked diligently to improve community awareness and response to domestic violence and sexual abuse through their Speaker's Bureau. In addition, the Board of Directors, individual staff-persons and volunteers have been actively involved in city and state politics with other groups who have similar interest.

Mid-Valley began as a volunteer-based agency. As funding became available, salaried staff were included. In April of 1981 the agency had thirteen paid staff; because of government funding cuts, paid staff has been reduced to two persons. This agency is once again becoming primarily volunteer-based. Mid-Valley is attempting to maintain the full range of services.

Although the shelter accepts clients from all areas of the State of Oregon, and out of state referrals, it primarily serves a three-county area.

#### F. THE OREGON COALITION AGAINST DOMESTIC AND SEXUAL VIOLENCE

The Oregon Coalition Against Domestic and Sexual Violence comprises a coalition of battered women's programs and rape crisis lines in the State of Oregon. It was founded in 1976 and incorporated in 1978.

The purpose of the coalition is to encourage the development of new programs, and improve existing agencies. This is done by providing training through networking and technical assistance dependent upon the needs of individual programs. Training can include information on how to develop new programs, how to work with other community agencies, development of a volunteer program, or obtaining a funding base. In addition to making arrangements for outside trainers, the Coalition facilitates training by existing programs to new programs through an annual conference.

The state is divided into seven regions. Monthly meetings by regional representatives provide a means for programs around the state to pool information and resources. Since the Coalition also acts as a state lobbying body seeking legislative changes beneficial to victims of battering, rape and incest, these meetings also provide a forum for strategy planning about legal issues.

The Coalition, with the other state coalitions, also acts on a national level through the main office in Washington, D. C. The Oregon Coalition prepares a bi-monthly newsletter which supplies information on individual programs, current research in domestic violence and sexual abuse issues, and a legislative up-date on both the state and national levels.

### III. VIOLENCE IN FAMILIES

#### A. DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

The concept of domestic violence is usually used to refer to violence between spouses with either person as the possible victim. In reality, although some men are battered, women are most frequently the victims of this violence (Gelles, 1979: 141-142). Some have estimated that women are the victims of spouse abuse "three times as often as men." (Langley and Levy, 1977: 199). The persistent violence of men against women in this society appears to be the continuing effect of a centuries long acceptance of violence against women in our cultural and legal traditions (Calvert, 1974 and Lanley and Levy, 1977).

Gelles (1979: 92) has estimated that, of the 47 million married women in the United States, as many as 2 million suffer severe assaults by their spouses each year. Others estimate that an episode of domestic violence occurs in 50 to 60 percent of all couples at some point in the relationship (Davidson, 1978 and Langley and Levy, 1977: 19-20). Because of under reporting of these assaults by the victims and the lack of keeping records on domestic assaults separate from all others, no accurate figures for the extent of this problem are available. One disturbing point should be added, however: once domestic violence begins within a family, it tends to become more frequent and more serious as time passes (Langley and Levy, 1977: 25).

The social response to this form of family violence has been far less extensive than that in response to child abuse.

Effective changes in the society's response to spouse abuse began within the past decade, but the legal and social welfare response systems can still be observed to reflect the same cultural traditions which support violence against women. The most promising change has been the development of shelters for the victims of domestic violence; the first shelter was opened in England during 1971 (Pizzy, 1974) and in the United States in 1974. At least, shelters provide a place for victims to go in order to escape further assaults. Most attempt to provide other services to the clients. However, as few as 100 shelters are currently operating in the United States today (Gelles, 1979: 93). Many of these have or may have to reduce their services due to cutbacks in government grants of support and the general economic conditions of the society.

#### B. CHILD ABUSE

Although the problem of child abuse is not new, it did not surface as a major social issue until the early 1960's after the classic presentation of the concept of the battered child by Kempe and others (Fontana, 1973: 14). There has been a long history of violence directed towards children and it can be found reflected in both folklore and fairy tales. (Bakan, 1979). Corporal punishment has been used as a learning mechanism within our public institutions and is still condoned in some places. Physical punishment can range from mild spanking to the use of an object and severe forms of battering, and, in the case of female children, rape by the male parent. The results of the

survey will note the full range of this physical abuse of children and its existence in Oregon, from battering with hands to the use of objects such as knives, crowbars, baseball bats, extension cords, metal pipes, wooden spoons, and bottles, to rape.

How extensive is this social problem? The National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect's (1980) most recent report on the number of reported cases of child abuse and neglect in the United States indicates a total of 614,291 cases for the year of 1978. These are reported cases. Fontana (1977: 12) calls these known cases only the tip of the child abuse iceberg, providing only a glimpse at the true size of the social problem. Indeed, between 1976 and 1978 the number of known reports increased by 47.7 percent. As reporting systems and educational campaigns continue to improve in the United States, we should not be surprised to see a continuation of this dramatic growth in reports. Estimates of the number of abused children in the United States show considerable variability. Light (1973) and Nagi (1977) have provided the most statistically complex estimations. Their estimates of physical abuse occurring each year range from 500,000 to over 2 million if neglect and sexual abuse are added.

The number of confirmed reports of child abuse (physical abuse and neglect resulting in physical injury) in Oregon for 1978 was 1,598. This was an increase of 75.8 percent over the number reported in 1976 (NCCAN, 1980). Again this figure probably reflects only a portion of the true number of child

abuse incidents. The 1979 report of criminal statistics for Oregon indicates a total of 1,160 complaints of family offenses were recorded (child abuse, neglect, and abandonment) and 1,734 complaints of sexual offenses where victims were juveniles were made (OLEC, 1980). It is doubtful that all of these complaints reach the child abuse statistics as confirmed incidents. However, they provide additional indicators of the extent of the child abuse problem in Oregon.

Within a few years after the Kempe (1962) article about the battered child, every state had modified its laws in relation to this social problem. By 1967, all fifty states had passed mandatory reporting laws (Hochhauser, 1973) and most states have created new or modified old social service systems into child protective service systems (DHEW, 1978 and Katz *et al*, 1977). This social response to child abuse has been primarily within the therapeutic model not the punitive one (DHEW, 1975). The social and psychological problems which result in child abuse are best dealt with as "ills" through curative and remedial action (Fontana, 1977: 71). The current philosophy underlying the social response to child abuse recommends that communities develop multi-disciplinary team responses (DHEW, 1975 and Kempe and Kempe, 1978: 114). It is recommended that all agencies which work with children and families unite in a coordinated and integrated community response network to insure that all families which need help receive it.

### C. JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

Crime and the fear of crime have been popular topics in American society for a number of years. The national crime statistics appeared to be dropping in 1977 and 1978, but have begun to climb again. Between 1975 and 1979 the population of the United States grew three percent, but at the same time the Uniform Crime Reports (Webster, 1980) index of seven major crimes increased by eight percent. The rate of increase for Oregon was essentially the same as that for the nation as a whole. Oregon reported 161,045 serious crimes in 1979 or a rate of 6,373 per 100,000 population. This placed Oregon with the ninth highest rate of crime in the United States.

Nationally, juveniles (those under 18) represented 23 percent of all persons arrested for crime in 1979 and 39 percent of those arrested for serious (index) crimes. In Oregon, 36,791 juveniles (17 and younger) were arrested in 1979 (OLEC, 1980). Juveniles represented 30.3 percent of those persons arrested in Oregon for all crimes and 46.8 percent of those arrested for serious crime. In addition, 11,344 complaints of runaway were made about juveniles (62.3 percent were females) in 1979. Juveniles thus appear to represent a greater proportion of those arrested for crime in Oregon than in the rest of the United States.

Juvenile detention facilities in the United States housed 76,576 individuals on June 30, 1975; some 698,000 admissions and nearly the same number of releases of juveniles were recorded that year. In Oregon, 1,030 juveniles were incarcerated in



public or private institutions on the same date and 7,867 admissions were recorded that year (LEAA, 1979).

The current social response to juvenile delinquency has a fairly long history. The development of the juvenile court system took place during the first decades of this century. All fifty states have juvenile justice systems to deal with juvenile crime. The guiding philosophy behind the modern juvenile justice system has been a paternal rehabilitative one under the concept of parens patriae. The state is to deal with juveniles in a protective and rehabilitative manner while providing the community with protection from juvenile crime. (Siegel and Senna, 1981: 274, 275 and 314-315). In the past two decades, doubts were raised over the success of the juvenile system in accomplishing its goals. The community treatment movement has grown out of this dissatisfaction. A strong movement is still operating to shift away from the institutionalization of juvenile delinquents to the use of probation, social casework, group programs, camps, schools and non-secure facilities within the local community. It is believed that treatment can be more effective and community resources better utilized through the community treatment model than through institutionalization of juveniles outside the community (Siegel and Senna, 1981: 417-418). However, as indicated by the data above, many juveniles are still incarcerated in facilities which remove them from the community.

#### IV. CHILD ABUSE, DELINQUENCY AND CRIME

We will review some of the literature concerning the relationship between child abuse and later delinquency, crime or domestic violence on the part of the victims in this section. We should note at the beginning that we view the family as a social system in which the members interact. Child abuse is not just a problem between two individuals, it involves the whole social system of the family (Fontana, 1976: 83, and Kempe and Kempe, 1978: 103). Because of the interactions and processes of the family, the family acts as a mechanism of socialization. Where violence is present in the family, violence is bred into the succeeding generations (Steele, 1976a: 22, and Fontana, 1976: 99). Thus, the family may be the social system contributing the greatest measure to the oft mentioned cycle of violence (Steinmetz and Straus, 1974: 20-21).

We do not view either child abuse or juvenile delinquency as simple phenomena. We tend to subscribe to the idea that the causes of both of these social problems are, as Steinmetz and Straus (1974: 17) have stated for child abuse, "a whole system of mutually influencing and interacting forces, with each part of the system providing feedback to the others." We see hope in the debate over cause from the theories which have begun to integrate aspects of the sociological, psychological and interactionist perspectives toward more complex and explanatory models. The more integrative models will become

increasingly important to theory and practice, if future research continues to contribute to the weight of the evidence which follows. We will review those studies which deal with the emotional/psychological effects of child abuse and their relationship with delinquency first, followed by an examination of deadly violence by children and adults, and finally a brief look at the material relating abuse to child abuse and domestic violence.

#### A. ABUSE AND DELINQUENCY

Child abuse appears to be related to the development of character disorders, aggressive tendencies, punitiveness, and an acceptance of violence on the part of its victims. All of these factors may eventually lead to behavior on the part of the victim which is disruptive, violent, or delinquent. Blumberg (1979) has provided a review of the literature on character disorders demonstrated in children and finds among the significant causes of these disorders the observation of violence between parents by the child, or the experience of either child abuse or child neglect. Reidy (1977), in studying samples of abused and neglected children and comparing them to a control group, found that abused children showed more fantasy aggressive behavior, play aggressive behavior, and were reported by their teachers to display more aggression and behavior problems in the classroom. He concludes that

it seems likely that the aggressiveness of abused children is frequently an enduring pattern of behavior perpetuated into adolescence and adulthood.

Green (1978) reporting his clinical observations on twenty abused children referred to the hospital from child welfare, notes that they were suffering from impaired ego functioning, impulse control, and self concept, displayed acute anxiety, and demonstrated self-destructive behavior. He notes that abuse during the child's early years results in abnormal behavior which results in continued abuse by the child's guardians. Button (1973) discovered that delinquent boys tended to have attitudes that were more vengeful, callous and punitive than non-delinquent boys in his study of 180 boys. He concludes that this is a result of the punitive practices of the parents of the delinquent boys. Silver et al (1969) conclude that abused children learn to accept violence and grow up to be abused by their spouses. They examined 34 cases of child abuse referred to social services from doctors through a longitudinal retrospective analysis of records. Kent (1976) using a sample of abused children, one of neglected children and one of children whose families had received aid from social services, found that the abused and neglected children were more developmentally retarded, more aggressive, and displayed more behavior problems. The abused group was found to be the most aggressive.

In finding that delinquent children demonstrated poorer impulse controls, more learning disabilities, and more impaired

judgment when compared to a matched sample of non-delinquent children, Lewis and Shanock (1979) report that the delinquent children had been abused more frequently, were found more often in hospital records, and had received more head trauma than the non-delinquents. They state that the disorders noted above in combination with violent role models, seem to lead to delinquency. Hopkins (in Steele, 1976a) reported, from interviews with 200 juveniles picked up by the police and released to juvenile detention facilities, that 72 percent claimed that they had been abused before school age. Of those whose records could be confirmed, 84 percent reported abuse before their sixth birthday and 92 percent said they were abused in the year before their delinquent act. Tracing forward in the records of a sample of 4,301 abused children and backward in a sample of 1,963 delinquents, Alfaro (1978) found that 17.2 percent of the abused children were later reported to the juvenile court for delinquency and 22.8 percent of the delinquents had had prior contact with the child protective service system.

Evidence of escape behaviors, rather than aggressive or violent ones, have been found by two studies. Bolton *et al* (1977) report from a sample of juveniles who were both abused and delinquent and a sample of delinquents that there was a tendency for the abused children to be reported at a later date for escape crimes such as runaway or truancy. The siblings of the abused children were involved in more aggressive crimes though they also were more involved in escape offenses than the control group. Gutierrez and Reich (1981) report, from samples of

abused children and juvenile delinquents and their siblings that the abused children tend to be more involved in escape behaviors such as runaway. This was most frequent with the victims of sexual abuse. They conclude that running away may be a "well-developed coping mechanism" in response to child abuse rather than a delinquent behavior.

The studies reviewed above tend to demonstrate that abused children develop conditions which may lead to delinquent behavior. Some have noted that child abuse is to be found in the personal histories of delinquent juveniles or that some abused children become delinquent. The following studies generally show a stronger tie between abuse and delinquency in especially serious forms.

#### B. CHILDREN WHO KILL

Bender and Curran (1940) provide an early inquiry into this phenomenon. In their review of cases of deadly violence on the part of children, they conclude that rivalry for the attention of others is the fundamental cause. Violence occurs or becomes dangerous when the family situation becomes abnormal. One aspect found in many of the cases they review is the severe aggression of the parents either toward the child or the child's intended victim. Easson and Steinhilber (1961) review the cases of eight boys who made murderous assaults. They state that parental brutality may be a causitive factor, but in all cases the parents fostered the violence. "These boys were set in the pattern of physical violence either by parental example or

parental approval." Sargent (1962) concludes that the children in nine cases of homicide were acting out the parents' desire to kill. In each of the five cases for which he provides clinical descriptions, the child who killed was shown to have been a victim of child abuse. Sendi and Blomgren (1975) examined the cases of thirty children, ten murderers, ten who attempted murder, and ten controls. They found that those who murdered or attempted to murder had received more abuse, had witnessed more violence in the home or had had more encouragement of violence in the home than the controls. They characterized the experience of the delinquents as containing brutality, seduction, and rejection within their family life. Sorrells (1977) also found that the majority of the families of the 31 juveniles he studied were "violent, chaotic, and many of the parents had histories of crime, alcohol abuse, and violence." He argues that the children involved in homicide or attempted homicide whom he studied had learned their violence from parental example.

Some of the murderous aggression by abused children is directed toward the abuser. Tanay (1973) examines three cases of parricide and concludes in each of them the parent had been sadistic toward the whole family. The murder committed by the child was a protective and adaptive reaction to the violence in the family. Corder et al (1976) reviewed ten parricides, ten murders of relatives or acquaintances, and ten murders of strangers. All of these cases reflected "high level of family and home disorganization", "maladjustment and behavior disorders

in the parents," and "parental brutality." Those children who had committed parricide had been the victims of a greater level of physical abuse and sexual stimulation by their parents when compared to the other two groups. They had also witnessed a greater degree of repeated abuse of their mothers by their fathers.

In these studies we see a direct linkage between child abuse and very serious violence and aggression by the child victim. This tendency carries over into their adult years.

#### C. ADULT MURDERERS AS ABUSED CHILDREN

Duncan et al (1958) argues that it is not the fostering of delinquency by parents which leads to adult murder but the learning by children to behave violently. Violence is learned as a "solution to frustration." Of six adults convicted of murder, they found that four had histories of "remorseless physical brutality at the hands of" their parents. Bach-Y-Rita and Veno (1974) examined the family and medical histories of 62 men who had been habitually violent. The men had entered treatment after being sentenced to prison. They found that 53 percent had witnessed parents in violent interaction. Some 61 percent had suffered head trauma as children, perhaps a proportion of these as a result of abuse. Steinmetz (1976b) reviews the family histories of political assassins in United States history and notes that a majority of them were abused or maltreated as children. Brutality and rejection characterized their relationships with parents. This adult violence is not always focused on strangers.

Scott (1973) reviews 29 cases of fathers killing children who were under five years of age.

Most fathers had themselves experienced parental violence or hostility but a small proportion had not, and these are usually either very immature in personality or have been influenced vicariously by very punitive wives.

Here we observe violence turning full cycle to return to the family.

#### D. CHILD ABUSE AND DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

Steinmetz (1977a) observes in a study of 78 college students that the method of conflict resolution used in the home by their parents was adopted by these students. The same form of conflict resolution used between spouses is generally used between the parents and children and is adopted by the children in their relationships with their siblings. She predicts that the respondents will use the same type of conflict resolution with their own spouses and children. In this manner, coercive and violent methods are passed from generation to generation. Smith and Hanson (1975) using self reports from 214 parents of battered children and a control group, found that battering parents were more inconsistent, unreasonable and physical in their punishments. The battering parents had had childhoods which were more harsh and parents who were more physical in punishment and more rejecting. A very unsettling examination of the family tree of a single battered child is provided by Oliver and Taylor (1971). They traced back five years in the history of a child's family after the child was treated for severe battering. They found that the majority of the children born had been battered, abused, abandoned or otherwise

maltreated. They report ongoing investigations into several similar families. Steinmetz (1977b) reports from another study of parent-child interaction over a three generation period by the use of survey techniques. Again she finds that the type of interaction by parents is repeated by children with each other and later by them as adults with their own spouses and children. Families who used physical aggression to resolve conflicts tended to pass this behavior on to the children.

Jenkins et al (1970) add support to the findings that battered children tend to use violence with their siblings.

Not only does a battered child tend to become a battering parent, but occasionally a family pattern of violence develops in which a battered child batters younger children.

Steinmetz and Straus (1974) observe

parents who use physical punishment to control the aggressiveness of their children are probably increasing rather than decreasing the aggressive tendencies of their child. Violence begets violence.

The most consistent feature of the histories of abusive families is the repetition, from one generation to the next, of a pattern of abuse, neglect, and parental loss, or deprivation (Kempe and Kempe, 1978).

We are unable to conclude otherwise; there exists a strong link between child abuse and later juvenile delinquency, adult criminality, and domestic violence on the part of the abuse victims. The hypotheses in the next section reflect this

conclusion. We have based many of the hypotheses on the findings revealed above. We have generally phrased the hypotheses in a direction suggested by these previous studies. We may not necessarily refer back to the specific studies.

## V. HYPOTHESES

The hypotheses were generated through group discussions by the research team. These discussions were accomplished after the authors had collected and reviewed a portion of the literature and the research assistants had participated in a college seminar on domestic violence and completed class assignments on the relationship between abuse and delinquency. Thus, we were prepared to base our discussion on a common understanding of the area of research.

We noted that a large number of authors have pointed to environmental, emotional, and economic stresses as contributing factors to child abuse (see Justice and Justice, 1976: 44-47 or Kempe and Kempe, 1978: 22-24). These stresses may also lead to the breakdown of family relationships and result in broken homes. Pemberton and Benaday (1973) reported that marital instability antedated the rejection of children in their study and O'Neill et al (1973) report broken homes to be associated to abuse in the sample of 100 victims they studied. Family stability may thus be related to the presence of child abuse. We chose to examine stability by tabulating the number of parent figures which the juveniles had had and reached this hypothesis:

- H1. The greater the number of parent figures in the juveniles' family history, the more likely it is that abuse will be reported.

A contributing factor to the degree of stress in a family may be the size of the family. A greater number of children in



a family may tend to place greater demands on limited emotional or economic resources leading to stress, crisis, and abuse. Gil (1973: 110) reports that abused children are more likely to come from larger families. Therefore, we reach the hypothesis:

H2. Juveniles from larger families will more often report abuse.

We believed that some differences, based on the sex of the abusers or victims might be found in the data. Physical punishment and abuse may be directed more frequently at males than at females (Lystad, 1975: 335 and Gil, 1973: 104). This may be related to cultural characteristics which encourage males to be more aggressive and violent (Gelles, 1974 and Lystad, 1975: 335). Parents may both attempt to encourage masculine assertiveness and control their male children's aggressive behavior by physical punishment which on occasion becomes abusive. As a result of the same cultural factors, male parents may be more punitive and abusive. However, women tend to be cited more frequently in studies as the abusers (Justice and Justice, 1976: 90). This may be related to the absence of a male parent in many of these families. Gil (1973: 116) found that male parents more frequently were cited as the abuser where they were present in the family. We sought to test these hypotheses:

H3. More abuse will be found in the histories of male juveniles than in female juveniles, and

H4. Male parents will be cited as the abuser more frequently than female parents.

As a result of the literature review found in the earlier

section, we expected to find that a significant proportion of the juveniles in the sample would report experiencing domestic violence. Many of the studies reviewed included neglected children within their samples, while we did not inquire about neglect. Therefore, we would expect the proportion of delinquents reporting abuse in this sample to be smaller because of the focus on abuse alone. The estimates of the number of abused children in the United States each year range from below one percent to near three percent of the society's children (Justice and Justice, 1976; Light, 1973, and Nagi, 1977). Given the repetitive nature of child abuse, it is likely that these reported incidents involve the same children with considerable frequency. It is likely that the proportion of children under 17 in the United States who have been abused is under fifty percent because of these factors. We believe that a finding that more than fifty percent of the juveniles in the sample had experienced child abuse would support the existence of a link between child abuse and later juvenile delinquency. Delinquents would be found to be disproportionately involved in child abuse when compared to the population of juveniles in the society. We caution that this is based more on our estimation and "sense" than upon hard data because neither the number of abused children nor juvenile delinquents is actually known. Based on our "hunch" we offer the hypothesis:

H5. More than fifty percent of the juvenile delinquents will report having previously experienced domestic violence.

This will hold true for child abuse and spouse abuse.

Specific types of delinquent acts may result from abuse. Kempe and Kempe (1978: 42) state that under conditions of severe abuse adolescents may run away repeatedly. Their observation is supported by the research of Bolton et al (1977) and Gutierrez and Reich (1981) who report escape behaviors in response to abuse. These escape behaviors may include drug or alcohol use. The previous review of the studies of children who murder and violent adults would tend to relate serious abuse to later violent behaviors by juveniles. We propose these hypotheses:

- H6. Juveniles reporting participation in drug and alcohol abuse will more likely report previous child abuse,
- H7. Juveniles reporting runaway episodes will more likely report previous child abuse,
- H8a. Juveniles reporting violent crime will more likely report previous child abuse, and
- H8b. The abuse reported by violent juveniles will be of a more frequent and serious nature than that experienced by non-violent juveniles.

Studies relating broken homes to delinquency have led to inconclusive findings. However, in several studies, boys who have lived with stepfathers have been shown to be more delinquent than those who have lived only with their natural mothers (see the review of these studies in Siegel and Senna, 1981: 250). Our hypothesis is:

- H9. A greater degree of delinquency will be found on the part of juveniles from unstable families.

We were able to quantify the extent of the respondent's participation in delinquency in a simple fashion through the tabulation of the number of types of crime for which each

juvenile reported participation. We believe that this provides a simple indication of the seriousness of the juvenile's delinquency. If abuse is related to delinquency, then the more frequent and serious the abuse that has been experienced the larger the number of reported types of delinquency should be. We will test these hypotheses:

- H10a. Juveniles involved in a greater number of types of crime will more likely report previous domestic violence, and
- H10b. Juveniles involved in a greater number of types of crime will more likely report experience with more serious and frequent domestic violence.

These hypotheses will hold true for child abuse and spouse abuse.

We began the collection of data in the effort to test these hypotheses and a number of additional ones. Our analysis of the data is not yet complete. We will report here only those hypotheses for which analysis was accomplished. We believe that a number of the hypotheses reported above should be explored with variables and methods not yet attempted. Our preliminary results follow in the next section.

## VI. DATA COLLECTION AND METHODS

The study was conducted at five resident and one non-resident juvenile delinquent treatment programs and one program for victims of sexual abuse. The latter, the Adolescent Incest Group in Salem, is not included in the study findings reported here. All of the juveniles in the results reported here were in the programs by order of the court. The six programs include the Looking Glass Youth and Family Service, Eugene; Mainstream, Portland; Adolescent Treatment unit, Oregon State Hospital, Salem; Hillcrest School, Salem; Sunburst, Salem; and MacLaren School, Woodburn.

A self-completing survey questionnaire was used to gather data from the respondents. At the smaller programs a total of 45 juveniles were contacted and 32 volunteered to complete the questionnaire. A response rate of 71 percent was obtained in these smaller programs. At Hillcrest, 125 juveniles were in residence, 96 were available for the survey and 84 volunteered to complete the questionnaire. The response rate for Hillcrest was 87.5 percent of those juveniles made available to the research team. At MacLaren, the research team was permitted to survey the two reception cottages, three of the fourteen regular cottages and the special program cottage. On the day of the site visit 443 juveniles were housed at MacLaren, 134 were available for the survey and 75 volunteered to complete the questionnaire. This is a response rate of 55.9 percent of those available to the research team. This resulted in a total of 191

completed questionnaires from the six sites. A total response rate of 69.4 percent of those juveniles available to the research team or a sample of 31.2 percent of those within the programs was obtained.

The survey questionnaire was created by the research team. A representative selection of pages from the instrument is found at Appendix A. The questionnaire concerning only physical abuse took an average of twenty-five minutes to complete. The longer questionnaires which included questions about sexual abuse took approximately forty minutes to complete. The questionnaire contained questions about demographic characteristics, family structure, juvenile delinquency, and interactions between parents and between parents and children.

The questionnaire was originally designed by Parker after consultation with numerous individuals who are involved with children in institutional settings. We then revised the questionnaire through several drafts prior to pre-testing it. Just prior to the pre-test, contact was again made by Parker with liaison persons at the administration sites. This coordination was done in an effort to insure that the instrument collected information of interest to the participating agencies and that the language being used was appropriate for the prospective respondents. The resulting pre-test draft was administered to a group of students from the Administration of Justice Department at Portland State University, Portland, Oregon. The students were asked to comment about word use, question construction, and instructions for completing the instrument.

Three separate classes were used which provided the research team with valuable experience in the administration of the questionnaire. Following the pre-test, the authors, research assistants, and the consultant participated in several brainstorming discussions of the instrument in order to reach a final draft. The final draft questionnaire was reviewed by liaison personnel at several of the data collection sites and their suggestions were incorporated into the final questionnaire design. The final questionnaire was approved by the Chairperson of the Board of Directors of the Children's Services Division for the State of Oregon.

The final review by the agencies lead to the most severe threat to the success of the study. Even after numerous revisions of the questions on sexual abuse, several sites, including those with the largest numbers of prospective respondents, balked at the use of the sexual abuse questions. This initially delayed the administration of the questionnaire by two months and finally resulted in the deletion of all questions, even in drastically shortened form, about sexual abuse from the instrument used at MacLaren and Hillcrest. An extremely brief set of questions about sexual abuse was permitted at Looking Glass.

Prior to the administration of the questionnaire at the sites each program was offered inservice training about the subjects being studied. Several programs accepted this training, specifically around domestic violence and sexual abuse issues. This training not only served to provide the program

staffs with a better understanding of these issues and how the area of research relates to their functions, but also provided a forum for networking efforts.

Prior to the arrival of the research team at Looking Glass, Mainstream, Sunburst, and Hillcrest, the prospective respondents were informed of the purpose and subject matter of the study and told that it was completely voluntary and confidential. Generally, this was done by Parker or by agency staff members who had been briefed by Parker. On the day of the administration of the questionnaire, at each site, the research team members met with the respondents either in group settings or in classrooms. The survey was again explained by the research team and the voluntariness and confidentiality issues were reviewed. Questions were permitted and voluntary consent forms were read and completed by each individual. The voluntary consent forms detailed the purpose of the study, named the individuals and organizations performing the study, described the possible risks to the respondents, and stressed that the responses were totally confidential and voluntary. A modified version with simplified language was used at MacLaren and Hillcrest. Those volunteering to complete the questionnaire were then given instructions about the forms and provided assistance, if needed, during its completion. The questionnaire was read for some respondents who expressed difficulty in reading. Respondents were told that they could stop at any time during the completion of the form because of the voluntary nature of the survey. When everyone was finished with the forms, a time

for questions was allowed, comments were made about the probable use of the data, and the names of counselors were provided should any of the respondents have need of assistance due to the recalling of traumatic experiences. The questionnaires and informed consent forms are stored separately. It is not possible to connect the name of a respondent with a specific questionnaire. Only the research team has access to the questionnaires.

At the Adolescent Treatment Group and MacLaren, the same preparation by staff members was done and the same procedures used by the research team. A recreation room was used at Adolescent Treatment and an auditorium was used at MacLaren. One major difference did exist with these last two sites. The research team met with only those juveniles volunteering to complete the questionnaire. The respondents made the decision to participate or not solely on the information provided by the agency staff member. This appears to have resulted in a higher refusal rate at these sites.

We believe the 191 responses to be a reasonably representative sample of juvenile delinquents incarcerated in Oregon. The addition of the eight responses from Mainstream may reduce the representativeness of the sample because it is a non-resident program and contains the oldest individuals in the sample. This group may be deleted from the analysis leading to the final report of the project, but is included here. Although the three regular cottages sampled at MacLaren were not selected at random, but were those whose counselors were most willing to

participate in the study, assignment to the cottages is random. The juveniles available for the study should, therefore, not differ greatly from those not available. Except for the Adolescent Treatment group where only 8 of 20 juveniles chose to participate, the sampling of the smaller programs was nearly 100 percent. With these factors in mind, we believe that the sample is sufficiently representative to justify generalization from it to the population of juveniles detained at the survey sites.

Since the purpose of the study is to assess the histories of domestic violence on the part of juvenile delinquents incarcerated in Oregon, the primary analysis performed has been the creation of frequency distributions for the categories of the variables derived from the survey responses. These frequencies are reported by number and percent. The testing of the hypotheses discussed in the preceding section was completed through tabular analysis including the use of Chi square and tests of association. Primarily, bivariate relationships have been considered, although some analysis was performed on bivariate relationships while controlling for a third variable. Generally, the controlling variable was a demographic characteristic.

The research team encoded the responses and the analysis was performed using the computer facilities of Portland State University. The computer programs and statistics available in the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences were used for the analysis. The results of this analysis are reported in the following section.

## VII. RESEARCH FINDINGS

We will first present a basic description of the sample. Secondly, we will examine the types of delinquency in which the respondents reported participation. This will be followed by the testing of the hypotheses.

The sample of 191 juveniles was composed of 111 males for 58.1 percent and 77 females for 40.3 percent. The mean age of the respondents was 16 with a range from 12 to 23 years of age. The four oldest respondents were from the subsample collected at the non-residential program which provides treatment to individuals who were originally sentenced as juveniles but who may now be older than 17. The respondents were predominately white, 79.6 percent (152). The sample contained 20 Native Americans, 10.5 percent; 7 blacks, 3.7 percent; and 5 Hispanics, 2.6 percent. An additional seven did not record their ethnicity or marked "Other."

The respondents were asked to indicate their family's yearly income. However, 97 or 51.6 percent of the sample stated that it was unknown. Of the remaining respondents, 53.7 percent indicated family incomes higher than \$20,000 per year and 46.3 percent indicated family incomes below \$20,000 per year. We did not attempt further analysis of this variable because the response to this question was so low. We felt that to do so would have resulted in unreliable results.

The total number of parent figures listed by each respondent was tabulated. The sample had a mean number of parent figures of 7.6 and a range from 1 to 57. The highest numbers of parent figures were found among those juveniles who have had a large number of foster home placements. Respondents listing only one parent figure make up six percent, two parents 18 percent, and both three and four parents 10 percent each. Averages of 3.9 male figures and 3.7 female parent figures were obtained. The absence of a father figure was noted by 12 percent of the sample, but the absence of a mother figure was noted by only one percent. Just over 48 percent of the respondents had lived with stepfathers, 22 percent with stepmothers, 37 percent with other male guardians, 45.5 percent with female guardians, 22 percent with the mother's boyfriends and 14.7 percent with the father's girlfriends. Only 71, or 37.2 percent of the sample, have lived in foster home placements. This group accounts for the high average number of parent figures and for the mean number of two foster fathers and two foster mothers recorded. We asked the respondents to indicate their primary parents, or the parent figures they had lived with for the longest period of time. Natural fathers were indicated by 53 percent with all other male guardians at 37.6 percent. Natural mothers were cited by 88.6 percent and all other female guardians 10.8 percent. An average of two brothers and two sisters was reported. The average family size was 6.5. Please note for the analysis immediately following, we use crime and delinquency interchangeably, although some offenses are not crimes for adults.



We asked the respondents to indicate their participation in sixteen types of juvenile delinquency. Table 1 reports the number of respondents who indicated participation in each of these types of delinquency. The respondents report a considerable involvement in crime. More than 70 percent have participated in runaway, drug and alcohol use, shoplifting, other theft and breaking and entering. Also more than 50 percent have participated in auto theft, vandalism and assault. The average number of types of crime reported per respondent was 8.6. The responses were concentrated around the mean with

Table 1: Reported Participation in Delinquency (N=191)

Type of Crime	Number Participating	% of Sample	% of Male	% of Female
Runaway	150	78.5	68.5	92.2*
Suicide	69	36.1	18.9	59.7*
Prostitution	27	14.1	2.7	29.9*
Drug Use	170	89.0	87.4	90.9
Alcohol Use	173	90.6	91.0	90.9
Shoplifting	175	91.6	91.0	92.2
Credit Card Theft	58	30.4	34.2	24.7
Auto Theft	112	58.6	67.6	45.5*
Other Theft	138	72.3	75.7	67.5
Forgery	78	40.8	41.4	40.3
Breaking and Entering	142	74.3	83.8	61.0*
Vandalism	130	68.1	77.5	55.8*
Arson	57	29.8	33.3	24.7
Assault	120	62.8	61.3	66.2
Rape	14	7.3	12.6	0
Murder	13	6.8	9.9	2.6
Other	29	15.2	16.2	14.3

\*Value of  $X^2$  significant at  $P \geq .005$  level.

62.7 percent reporting participation in six to ten types of crime. A better picture of the extent of the respondents' participation in crime can be found by condensing into categories of crime. Theft crimes are reported by 97.9 percent or 187, substance abuse by 94.8 percent or 181, property crime by 84.8 percent or 162, and violent crime by 65.4 percent or 125.

Table 1 also provides a breakdown of the proportion of male and female respondents participating in the types of crime. Males were found to have participated in vandalism, breaking and entering, and auto theft significantly more than females through the use of the chi square statistic. Females participated in runaway and suicide significantly more often than males. The findings from tests of association (phi and contingency coefficient) relating to the chi square tables for these results were of sufficient magnitude to justify the conclusion that sex is associated with the probability of participation in the types of crime of vandalism, breaking and entering, auto theft, runaway and suicide.

No significant differences were found in participation in any of the types of crime by the various ethnic or age groups. We may conclude that participation in specific types of delinquency may be related to the sex of the respondent but not to age or ethnicity.

The average number of types of crime participated in was also examined by sex, ethnicity and age. No differences were found between the categories of these variables in the average

number of types of crimes committed. The absence of differences in the number of crimes participated in remained, even when examined by sex while controlling for age. We thus conclude that differences in sex, ethnicity and age do not appear to be associated in differences in the number of crimes the juveniles participated in.

The histories of the respondents' experience with child abuse and spouse abuse was recorded by a sequence of questions about the behavior of their primary parents toward them when the parents were angry. Again, primary parent(s) was defined as the parent figure(s) that the respondent lived with for the longest period of time. We attempted to provide a range of behaviors which included non-physical and physical behaviors and non-abusive and abusive behaviors. We asked for responses by the frequency of the behavior per year. It should be noted that in each of the following tables, the largest category cited for most behaviors was "never" which indicates that the behavior never occurred or the respondent did not have that particular parent figure. For each item a considerable proportion of the respondents left the item blank (missing). However, few left all of the items blank. Table 2 reports the findings for male primary parent (referred to as father). Fathers talked calmly (when angry) to 46.7 percent of the respondents one or more times each year (all of the following findings in relation to Tables 2, 3, 4, and 5 use this summarization). The fathers yelled at 75.4 percent and called 49.2 percent names.

Table 2: Frequency of Fathers' Behavior Toward Respondents When Angry By Percentage Reporting (N=191)\*

Behavior	Times Behavior Occurred Per Year					
	Never	Missing	Less Than 1	1-6	6-12	More Than 12
Talked calmly	26.7	16.2	10.5	15.2	7.9	23.6
Took privilege away	19.9	12.1	7.3	17.3	8.4	35.1
Yelled	8.9	13.1	2.6	11.0	9.4	55.0
Called names	32.5	13.1	5.2	9.4	4.7	35.1
Pushed	29.3	12.6	11.0	12.0	6.3	28.8
Slapped	24.6	11.0	10.5	18.3	4.7	30.9
Kicked	56.0	14.7	4.2	7.9	3.7	13.6
Punched with fist	50.8	14.7	7.3	9.9	3.1	14.1
Scared with object	53.9	16.3	5.2	6.8	4.2	13.6
Hit with object	43.5	14.6	3.7	9.4	7.3	15.7

\*Percentages total across rows to 100.

For the more physical actions, fathers pushed 47.1 percent, slapped 53.9 percent, kicked 25.2 percent, punched 27.1 percent, and hit with an object 32.4 percent. The most frequently cited category for those reporting the behavior is "more than 12 times a year."

The mothers' behavior toward the respondents when angry is reported on Table 3. Mothers were reported to have talked calmly to 68.6 percent and yelled at 68.1 percent. Name calling was recorded by 49.2 percent. For the physical behaviors, mothers were reported to have pushed 29.9 percent, slapped 41.9 percent, kicked 13.1 percent, punched 17.7 percent and

Table 3: Frequency of Mothers' Behavior Toward Respondents  
When Angry By Percentage Reporting (N=191)\*

Behavior	Times Behavior Occurred Per Year					
	Never	Missing	Less Than 1	1-6	6-12	More Than 12
Talked calmly	18.8	9.4	3.1	15.7	8.4	44.5
Took privilege away	24.1	7.3	7.9	21.5	11.5	27.7
Yelled	18.8	5.7	7.3	14.7	14.7	38.7
Called names	44.5	10.4	8.4	9.9	3.1	23.6
Pushed	54.5	7.8	7.9	8.9	5.8	15.2
Slapped	37.2	7.8	13.1	16.2	8.4	17.3
Kicked	75.4	9.4	2.1	4.2	1.6	7.3
Punched with fist	71.2	9.4	4.7	3.1	4.2	7.3
Scared with object	64.4	11.5	5.2	6.3	3.1	9.4
Hit with object	59.2	12.5	5.2	7.9	3.1	12.0

\*Percentages total across rows to 100.

hit with an object 23.0 percent of the respondents. Again, as with the fathers' behavior, we find that the most often cited frequency of occurrence is "more than 12 times a year."

To record spouse abuse we used the same question items, but focused on the parents' behaviors toward each other, which the respondents had observed. The frequency of these behaviors by the father toward the mother is found on Table 4 and the mother's behavior toward the father on Table 5. Fathers are reported to have talked calmly in 41.8 percent of the cases, but to have slapped in 33.9 percent, punched in 27.3 percent,

Table 4: Frequency of Fathers' Behavior Toward Mothers  
When Angry by Percentage Reporting (N=191)\*

Behavior	Times Behavior Occurred Per Year					
	Never	Missing	Less Than 1	1-6	6-12	More Than 12
Talked calmly	27.2	21.5	9.4	14.1	7.3	20.4
Left house	16.8	17.2	13.6	15.2	10.5	28.8
Yelled	14.7	13.1	4.2	10.5	11.5	46.1
Called names	28.8	15.2	5.8	8.9	6.8	34.6
Pushed	35.6	17.3	7.3	8.4	6.3	25.1
Slapped	41.9	15.2	8.9	9.9	3.1	20.9
Kicked	59.7	17.8	2.1	5.2	0.5	14.7
Punched with fist	50.8	17.3	4.2	7.3	3.7	16.3
Scared with object	56.0	20.4	4.7	2.6	3.1	13.1
Hit with object	19.4	21.4	7.3	15.2	8.4	28.3

\*Percentage total across rows to 100%.

and hit with an object in 51.9 percent. Mothers are reported to have talked calmly in 51.9 percent of the cases, and slapped in 16.3 percent, punched in 8.4 percent, and hit with an object in 8.4 percent. Again, in the parents behaviors toward each other we find the most frequently cited category is the "more than 12 times a year" for those reporting the behaviors.

We also asked if any other thing had been done by the parents when they were angry. We found that fathers were reported to have sexually molested or raped ten or 13 percent of the female respondents. Also reported was being tied, chained, or locked up by one percent of the total sample and thrown around by 2.6 percent. Only one male respondent reported

Table 5: Frequency of Mothers' Behavior Toward Fathers When Angry by Percentage Reporting (N=191)\*

Behavior	Times Behavior Occurred Per Year					
	Never	Missing	Less Than 1	1-6	6-12	More Than 12
Talked calmly	19.4	19.4	7.3	15.2	8.4	28.3
Left house	27.7	19.4	9.9	13.1	8.9	20.9
Yelled	16.2	18.3	8.9	13.1	5.8	37.7
Called names	32.5	16.8	4.2	12.0	5.2	27.2
Pushed	60.2	20.4	3.7	5.2	2.1	8.4
Slapped	57.1	19.4	7.3	6.3	1.6	8.4
Kicked	69.1	20.4	2.1	1.6	1.6	5.2
Punched with fist	67.5	20.9	3.1	1.6	1.0	5.8
Scared with object	63.9	20.9	5.2	3.7	6.3	6.8
Hit with object	65.4	22.5	3.7	2.6	1.6	4.2

\*Percentages total across rows to 100%.

being sexually molested by his mother and three juveniles reported being tied or locked up. We have not yet analyzed the sexual abuse questions, but find it significant that the female respondents reported that the sexual abuse sometimes occurred as a punishment when the male parent was angry.

The objects most frequently used to hit the respondents were belts for 49 percent of the objects cited. Wooden objects were 21 percent, whips 9 percent, metal objects 4 percent, guns and knives 3 percent and other objects 17 percent of the objects used to hit respondents. Among the objects used were crowbars, metal pipes, kitchen utensils, garden tools,

extension cords, ropes, lamps, chairs, bottles, baseball bats, fan belts, coat hangers, and homemade whips.

We discovered considerable variability in the respondents' answers on the items about frequency of the parental behaviors. Some indicated very frequent slapping, but marked never for pushing, kicking, and punching, then again marked a high frequency for hitting with an object. We found that when the data was summarized, for the items on slapping, kicking, punching and hitting with an object, we discovered the respondents had a more extensive experience with abuse than the single items indicate.

We chose to label pushing and slapping as physical forms of punishment and kicking, punching, and scaring or hitting with an object as an abusive form of discipline. All other behaviors were labeled non-physical. Table 6 reports the methods of discipline of respondents by fathers.

Table 6: Method of Fathers' Discipline

Method	N	%
Never Happened	21	11.0
Non-physical	25	13.1
Physical	35	18.3
Abusive	119	57.6
Totals:	191	100.0

Fathers were reported to have used abusive discipline methods by a majority of the respondents, 57.6 percent. When the physical methods were also considered 75.9 percent of the respondents noted having experienced physical discipline.

The mothers' methods of discipline are reported in Table 7. Mothers were reported to have used abusive discipline methods

Table 7: Method of Mothers' Discipline

Method	N	%
Never Happened	15	7.9
Non-physical	48	25.1
Physical	53	27.7
Abusive	75	39.3
Totals:	191	100.0

by 39.3 percent of the respondents. Adding the physical methods of discipline, 67.0 percent of the respondents report experiencing physical forms of discipline from their mothers. The observations may be made that a majority of the respondents have been the recipients of physical or abusive discipline. We will return to this data during examination findings relating to the hypothesis.

In order to test our first hypothesis, we totaled the number of parent figures the respondents reported living with as an indication of the stability of their families. We reasoned that juveniles having lived with a greater number of parent figures had experienced a greater degree of family instability. We then compared the average number of parent figures for the various categories of each of the parent's discipline methods. We discovered that respondents reporting only non-physical discipline by the father had an average of

5.7 parent figures, but those reporting abusive discipline had an average of 7.8. For the mother's discipline, the average number of parent figures in the non-physical category was 7 and for the abusive category it was 7.8. These differences do not appear to be statistically significant by a test for the difference between means. This may be partially a result of the summary nature of the discipline variables which are indicators that at least one of the component behaviors occurred at least once. They did not indicate any differences due to frequency of the abuse. The large variance for the means also had effect.

To examine the effects of the frequency of the abusive discipline behaviors, we created summary variables which retained data about frequency. We summed the responses for slapping, kicking, punching, and hitting with an object for the behavior items of both parents toward the respondents and of the parents toward each other. This collapsed the most physically abusive behaviors into scales of domestic violence. We should note that in this variable we consider slapping to be an abusive behavior, but have excluded pushing and threatening with an object. The indicators retain the original variables' information about the frequency of the occurrences per year. They are therefore scales of frequency for both types and occurrence of the abuse and range from a minimum of 0 (no abuse) to a maximum of 32 (the most abusive). We plotted scattergrams for these variables in relation to the number of parent figures reported.

We found a positive association between the number of parent figures and the frequency of domestic violence. We obtained a Pearson's  $r$  of .3977 with  $p > .001$  for the fathers' behavior, and .1911 with  $p > .005$  for the mothers'. Summarizing these two into a combined scale of family violence, we obtained a Pearson's  $r$  of .3619 with  $p > .001$ . From these findings, we may conclude that the greater the number of parent figures in the respondent's history, the greater the amount of domestic violence.

We also used the primary parent variable as an indicator of family instability. Where the juvenile cited a male or female parent figure other than a natural parent, we assumed the respondent had experienced a greater degree of instability in the family. We found that 71.4 percent of the respondents reporting male parent figures other than natural fathers reported abusive discipline while only 55.1 percent of those reporting natural fathers reported abusive discipline. Natural mothers were cited as abusive by 35.9 percent and other female parent figures by 47.4 percent. A test for the difference between proportions was used to examine these differences. The test indicated no difference in the proportions for the female parent figures. However, the difference for the male parents was significant at the .025 level. Although the association is weak, we believe that this also indicates that family instability is associated with abuse. We believe that the hypothesis H1 which states, the greater the number of parent figures in the juveniles' family history, the more likely it is that abuse

will be reported, is confirmed. We would also note that the difference between the natural fathers and the other male parent figures can be interpreted as demonstrating that stepfathers, male guardians, and foster fathers tend to be more abusive in their discipline than natural fathers.

Our second hypothesis required the consideration of the total size of the families from which the respondents came. This family size variable was examined in regard to several parental violence and family violence indicators. We found no significant differences in the average family size of juveniles who reported non-physical methods of discipline when compared to those reporting abusive discipline by their fathers or mothers. The families of abused respondents did appear slightly larger.

Moving to the scale of domestic violence, we found that the father's behavior was related to family size in a positive direction, Pearson's  $r$  was .1168 with  $p > .06$ . The mother's behavior was related positively, but was extremely weak. The summary variable for family violence was also related to family size in a positive direction with a Pearson's  $r$  of .1097 and  $p > .07$ . We can conclude that the larger the size of the family, the more likely that abuse will have occurred. However, the association is very weak. Hypothesis H2 which states, juveniles from larger families will more often report abuse, is only weakly supported by these findings.

Based on our observation of previous research, we expected to find that males would report more parental abuse. We did not



find this to be true. For each of the abusive behaviors, and for the vast majority of the frequency categories of those variables, the percentage of female respondents reporting abuse was larger than that for males. We modified the examination of these variables to a degree to reduce the effect of the most infrequent category of the variables. We considered abusive to be when the behavior was reported one or more times a year. When the behavior was reported less than one time a year it was included with those for which it never happened. These differences did not reach an acceptable level of statistical significance for the individual items using the chi square tests on the father's behaviors. The chi square tests for the mother's behavior items of slapping, punching, and hitting with an object were statistically significant at the .001 level. The contingency coefficient test of association for each of these was reasonably strong to confirm the association (.258, .251 and .270, respectively), This indicates that females report abuse more often than males.

The parents' discipline method was also considered in relation to the sex of the respondent. This is reported in Table 8. We find that 72.1 percent of the males report physical or abusive discipline by their fathers and 51.5 percent by their mothers. Females report in 85 percent of the cases that they received physical or abusive discipline from their fathers and 79.2 percent from their mothers. The fathers' method of discipline by sex of the respondent is significantly different at the .06 level and the mothers at the .001 level

using chi square and related tests of association. Given these results we must reject the hypothesis H3 which states, more abuse will be found in the histories of male juveniles than in female juveniles. Instead, for this sample, female delinquents are more likely to have histories of abuse than males, and this abuse is more frequent and serious than that experienced by male delinquents.

Table 8: Fathers' and Mothers' Discipline by Sex of Respondent (N=188)

Parent	Method	Male		Female	
		N	%	N	%
Father	None	17	15.3	4	5.2
	Non-Physical	14	12.6	11	14.3
	Physical	24	21.6	11	14.3
	Abusive	56	50.5	51	66.2
	Totals:	111	100.0	77	100.0
Mother	None	10	9.0	5	6.5
	Non-Physical	35	31.5	11	14.3
	Physical	36	32.4	16	20.8
	Abusive	30	19.1	45	58.4
	Totals:	111	100.0	77	100.0

Hypothesis H4 which states, male parents will be cited as the abuser more frequently than female parents, is confirmed. Referring back to Tables 2 and 3, it can be observed that the proportions of the sample indicating the more physical behaviors are consistently greater for the fathers' discipline behavior than that for the mothers'. Using our indicator of the parents' method of discipline (refer to Tables 6 and 7), we find that

57.6 percent of the sample reported abusive methods by the father and 39.3 percent by the mother. We would comment here that when one re-examines Tables 4 and 5, the father's behavior toward the mother is also consistently more physical and abusive than that of the mother toward the father.

We must return to Tables 6 and 7 to begin our discussion of the fifth hypothesis that more than 50 percent of the respondents will report abuse. These tables reported that 57.6 percent of the respondents had received abusive discipline by their fathers and 39.3 percent by their mothers. When we consider the behavior of both parents, we find that 28.8 percent of the respondents report abusive discipline from both parents and 130 or 68.0 percent from either one or both parents. When we add physical discipline methods to these figures we find that 164 or 85.8 percent report physical or abusive discipline from either one or both of their parents. These findings (that 68.0 percent report abuse) lead us to confirm hypothesis H5 which states, more than fifty percent of the juvenile delinquents will report having previously experienced domestic violence.

Additional support for this hypothesis is found with the summarization of the items of behavior between spouses. These included slapping, punching, kicking, and hitting with an object for the father toward the mother as one indicator and the same behaviors by the mother toward the father for the other. We found that 70 or 36.6 percent of the sample report their fathers had been abusive toward their mothers and 36 or 18.8 percent report their mothers had been abusive toward their fathers. We

found that a number of respondents did not complete these questions but wrote on the page that they believed these behaviors had occurred when they were too young to recall. These are not included above. A summary of the spouse abuse in the families is not yet available.

We did not find a significant difference in the method of discipline by either parent in relation to the age of the juveniles. Younger children did report abuse more often, but the difference was very small. For those 15 years and younger 67.1 percent report abusive discipline from the father and 52.6 percent for those 16 years and older is reported. For the mother's discipline, 48.6 percent of the younger respondents and 35.3 percent of the older respondents report abusive discipline. These differences become even smaller when the behaviors of both parents are combined.

The same findings hold for ethnicity. We did not find a significant difference in the abusive behavior of parents by ethnicity. Some 57.9 percent of the white respondents and 55.6 percent of the non-white respondents report abuse by their fathers. Mothers are reported to have been abusive by 38.8 percent of the white respondents and 44.4 percent of the non-white respondents. We recall that the sample of non-white respondents is very small and the differences reported above may be unreliable.

The specific delinquent behaviors of runaway, alcohol and drug use, and violence (assault, murder, suicide and rape) were examined. Table 9 reports the findings for these variables in

relation to parental discipline. For each offense, the greatest proportion of the sample is that which had both been abused and participated in the offense. A majority of those reporting the behaviors (and of the sample) report either physical or abusive discipline by each parent with only one exception. Only 45.0 percent of the sample report both violence and physical or abusive discipline by the mothers. We find for these offenses, the juveniles who participated report child abuse more frequently than those who have not participated.

Table 9: Percentage of Respondents Reporting Specific Offenses by Parents' Method of Discipline (N=191)\*

Method of Discipline	Offense							
	Runaway		Drug Use		Alcohol Use		Violence	
	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
<b>Father</b>								
None	4.7	6.3	1.6	9.4	1.0	9.9	4.2	6.8
Non-Physical	3.1	9.9	2.1	11.0	1.6	11.5	5.2	7.9
Physical	4.2	14.1	9.5	17.3	2.6	15.7	7.3	11.0
Abusive	9.4	48.2	6.3	51.3	4.2	53.4	17.8	39.8
<b>Mother</b>								
None	2.1	5.8	1.6	6.3	1.6	6.3	3.1	4.7
Non-physical	6.3	18.8	3.7	21.5	3.1	22.0	9.4	15.7
Physical	6.8	20.9	2.1	25.7	1.0	26.7	8.9	18.8
Abusive	6.3	33.0	3.7	35.6	3.7	35.6	13.7	26.2

\*Percentages in columns and rows for each offense total to 100.

These same findings occur when the data for the parents is combined into an indicator of the discipline within the family. Using this variable, we found that, of those who had experienced physical or abusive discipline, 90.2 percent reported alcohol use, 90.0 reported drug use, 90.7 reported runaway, and 76.0 percent reported violence. For juveniles not experiencing physical or abusive discipline, 83.3 percent reported alcohol use, 85.7 percent reported drug use, 85.4 percent reported runaway, and 70.0 percent reported violence. Because of the small number of respondents who had not committed these behaviors or who had not been physically disciplined, we did not believe statistical tests would be reliable for these comparisons. However, the differences consistently indicate that abused juveniles more frequently participated in these offenses. In review, we may conclude that the findings provide adequate support for the three hypotheses: H6. Juveniles reporting participation in drug and alcohol use will more likely report previous child abuse; H7. juveniles reporting runaway episodes will more likely report previous child abuse; and H8a. juveniles reporting violent crime will more likely report previous child abuse.

We found additional evidence of this link between delinquency and previous abuse. The respondents were asked to list the things they did in response to their parents' behaviors. Runaway was cited as a response to the father by 65 or 34 percent of the sample, other avoidance behaviors by 28 or 14.6 percent, drug or alcohol use by 12 or 6.2 percent, and aggressive

behavior behavior (hitting, fighting back, yelling, calling names, and arguing) by 44 or 23.0 percent. In response to the mother, 48 or 25.1 percent reported runaway, 24 or 12.5 percent other avoidance behaviors, 15 or 7.8 percent drug or alcohol use, and 52 or 27.2 percent aggressive behaviors. The overwhelming majority of these responses were by respondents within the abusive and or physical discipline categories. As examples, we found that 66.1 percent of all those reporting runaway in response to the father had been abused and 68.1 percent of those reporting aggressive responses toward the father had been abused. Of those reporting runaway from the mother, 50.0 percent were in the abuse category and for aggressive responses to the mother, 51.9 percent were in the abuse category. When physical discipline was included, we found runaway reported by 86.1 percent from the fathers' discipline and 79.1 percent from the mothers' discipline and aggressive behaviors by 88.6 percent to the fathers' and 82.7 percent to the mothers' of those reporting the behaviors. In these responses, we have found a direct link between the abuse and physical discipline reported by the respondents and the delinquent acts or aggressive behavior of the respondents. These findings provide additional support for the previous three hypotheses and for the link between abuse and delinquency.

We returned to the original items of parental behavior to examine the frequency of abuse in relation to violence by the respondents. We found, for the specific offense of assault and

for the summary variable of violence toward others (assault, murder and rape), the most frequently cited category of those reporting abuse was 12 or more times a year. Thus, for those reporting violence and abuse, the abuse was generally of the most frequent level of occurrence.

Comparing those who had not been abused, but had committed violence, with the violent and abused group, we found a greater number and proportion for the abused group reported slapping, punching, and hitting with an object by either the father or the mother than for the non-abused group. These differences ranged from a low of 3.9 percent for the mother hitting with an object to a high of 17.8 percent for slapping by the mother. Because of the consistent pattern of greater frequency in the abuse reported by the abused violent juveniles, we conclude that hypothesis H8b which states, the abuse reported by violent juveniles will be of a more frequent and serious nature than that experienced by non-violent juveniles, is confirmed.

The stability of the respondents' home in relation to their delinquency was examined. Using scatter diagrams and the Pearson's r statistic, we found that the number of parent figures reported by the juveniles was related in a positive direction to the number of types of delinquent acts the juvenile reported. We used this summary of the number of types of delinquency the juvenile participated in as an indicator of the degree of delinquency of the juveniles. The greater the number of types of delinquency reported, the greater the delinquency of the juvenile. The Pearson's r for the positive association was

.2180 at the .002 level of significance. The size of the family did not appear to be related to the number of types of delinquency reported. We found no difference in the average number of types of delinquency reported between those who had lived with only their natural mother or father and those who had lived with another type of male or female parent figure. Therefore we have found only weak support for hypothesis H9 which states, a greater degree of delinquency will be found on the part of juveniles from unstable families.

Our final hypotheses were tested in several ways. First, we examined the number of types of delinquency the respondents participated in by the parents' method of discipline. We chose to split the sample on the delinquency variable into two groups at the average number reported; those reporting one to eight types of delinquency became the low delinquency group and those reporting nine to 16 types became the high delinquency group. Again, we believe that those who reported participation in the greater number of types were the more delinquent. The results of the tabular analysis of parent discipline and types of delinquency reported is found in Table 10. It may be observed that those reporting a higher degree of delinquency did more frequently report abusive behavior from both their mothers and fathers.

As noted in the table, the fathers' results demonstrated an association with a low statistical significance. The small cell in the table for the mother renders the chi square unreliable, so it was not reported. These findings did indicate an association between discipline and delinquency, but were not conclusive.

Table 10: Extent of Delinquency by Method of Parent's Discipline (N=191)

Method of Discipline	Number of Delinquent Acts			
	Low		High	
	N	%	N	%
<u>Father</u>				
Never	11	12.8	10	9.5
Non-Physical	15	17.4	10	9.5
Physical	19	22.1	16	15.2
Abusive	41	47.7	69	65.7
Totals:	86	100.0	105	100.0
<u>Mother</u>				
Never	11	12.8	4	3.8
Non-Physical	22	25.6	26	24.8
Physical	23	26.7	30	28.6
Abusive	30	28.6	45	42.9
Totals:	86	100.0	105	100.0

\*Results for Father:  $\chi^2 = 6.6$  with  $P > .09$ , Cramer's V = .1859

We chose to dichotomize the parent's method of discipline into non-physical and physical/abusive types and examine the relationship again. We found that 47.6 percent of the respondents within the non-abused group reported a high level of delinquency, but 55.9 percent of the abuse group reported a high level in relation to the fathers' discipline. For the mothers' discipline, we found 26.7 percent of the non-abused group reported a high level of delinquency, but 57.4 percent of the abuse group so reported. The figures for the mothers' discipline were significantly different at the .05 level using chi square, with a contingency coefficient of .1638. These

findings did not change significantly when we excluded the lowest frequency of reported abuse from the physical behaviors included in abuse and recalculated the findings. The findings indicate that a higher level of delinquency was reported by the more abused juveniles. Hypothesis H10a, which states, juveniles involved in a greater number of types of crime will more likely report previous domestic violence, is confirmed.

Added evidence was provided by examining the average number of delinquent acts reported by the dichotomized discipline variables. For the father's discipline method, the non-abused group reported an average of 7.8 types of delinquent acts and for the abused group the average was 8.8. This was found to be significantly different at the .005 level by the student's t test of a difference between means. The average number of delinquent acts for those not abused by the mother was 8.2 and for those abused it was 8.8. This difference was not significant at an acceptable level.

To determine if juveniles who reported a greater degree of delinquency were more frequently or seriously abused, we used the scale of domestic violence mentioned earlier. This included the behaviors of parents towards the respondents and towards each other. Plotting scattergrams, we found that the fathers' and the mothers' frequencies of violence were positively associated to the number of delinquent acts reported. The Pearson's r was .229 for the father's behavior and .207 for the mothers'. Both were statistically significant at the .002 level. This means that, the more frequently abusive behavior was reported, the greater the number of reported delinquent acts.

We decided to modify these scales by including a multiplier for the seriousness of the reported abuse. We counted slapping and punching as one unit of seriousness, kicking as two units, and hitting with an object as three units. This created a scale of violence which includes the frequency of occurrence and the seriousness of the behavior. These scales were also significantly related (.003 level) in a positive direction to the number of delinquent acts reported, with a Pearson's r of .198 for the mothers' violence and .218 for the fathers'. The domestic violence scales indicate that the more frequent the abuse in the family, both in type and occurrence, and the more serious the abuse, the greater the number of delinquent acts reported by the respondents. Although the statistical associations are small, they are consistently positive in direction. We believe that hypothesis H10b, which states, juveniles involved in a greater number of types of delinquency will more likely report experience with more serious and frequent domestic violence, is confirmed.

The study sought to discover the extent of domestic violence in the histories of juveniles in custody for delinquency. We found that 57.6 percent of the sample reported abuse from their fathers, 39.3 percent from their mothers, and a total of 68.0 percent from either one or both parents at some point prior to their current condition of custody for delinquency.

We found that fathers were more often cited as the abuser both in child abuse and spouse abuse. This abuse tended to occur more often in unstable homes and parent figures other than natural parents were more frequently cited as abusive. The



female delinquents reported being the victim of abuse more frequently than the males.

Perhaps one of our most important findings came from the analysis of answers to questions asked about the juvenile's reaction to the parent's discipline. We found many that reported runaway, substance abuse, avoidance behaviors, and aggressive behaviors as a direct reaction to parental abuse. It is not surprising, then, that we found an overwhelming majority of those reporting physical and abusive discipline also reported participating in runaway, substance abuse and violence.

We believe that the study has added to the evidence concerning the existence of a linkage between domestic violence and delinquency. We found that juveniles who reported the most delinquent histories also reported the most extensive histories of domestic abuse. With this in mind, we now return to our earlier discussion of networking as it relates to this linkage.

#### VIII. TOWARD A MODEL OF NETWORKING

We pointed out in the introductory chapters that additional research was necessary to adequately address the link between domestic violence and delinquency and the implications of this link for policy and organizational practice. Here, as with much research, we may have added more questions to those needing answers, than we have provided answers. Our sample was small, which reduced our ability to generalize about the histories of other delinquents. We also did not have a control group of non-delinquent youth with which to compare. We can only compare this sample to itself and generalize to the population of delinquents who have come into custody with restraint.

However, we believe our findings are significant enough to warrant extensive research into this linkage and its effects on treatment models in child protection and juvenile justice. The study adds further weight to the literature which documents the linkage. We would encourage larger studies, which include delinquents and non-delinquents, in order to address the many unanswered questions with a sample size and composition which would add greatly to our knowledge. Until such research is performed we will have only a glimpse at the answers and more questions. Are the "causes" of child abuse, juvenile delinquency, spouse abuse, and adult crime the same? How do each of these contribute to the existence of the other? Does child abuse lead to violent juvenile delinquency through socialization in violence or to the socialization into non-violent escape behaviors? The findings here would indicate a link with both

forms of delinquency and therefore both theoretical perspectives are given support. Under what conditions does child abuse lead to the one as compared to the other? Does the presence of domestic violence simply compound the effects of other factors related to violence or does it have a more direct causal link? We should seek to answer these questions as the information may lead to modification of our society's responses to violence.

Additionally, we need to investigate the effect of our society's intervention to violent homes and violent lives. Does intervention in child abuse situations hold any promise for the reduction of juvenile delinquency and violence in the society? Many authors on the issue of the cycle of violence believe it does. What are the effects of treating, as delinquent, one whose delinquent acts may be more "symptoms" of their victimization than indicators of their criminality? Can treatment methods used in either the child protection or the juvenile justice systems be transferred to the other with some hope of success?

Finally, we would encourage evaluative studies of the networking or community team approaches now in existence for both child protection and juvenile justice to determine appropriate models and practices for use in networking between these two. The growing indication of a link between these two social problems demonstrates the need for a link between the two social responses.

We commented previously on the awareness of the need for inter-disciplinary and inter-agency teamwork in the area of

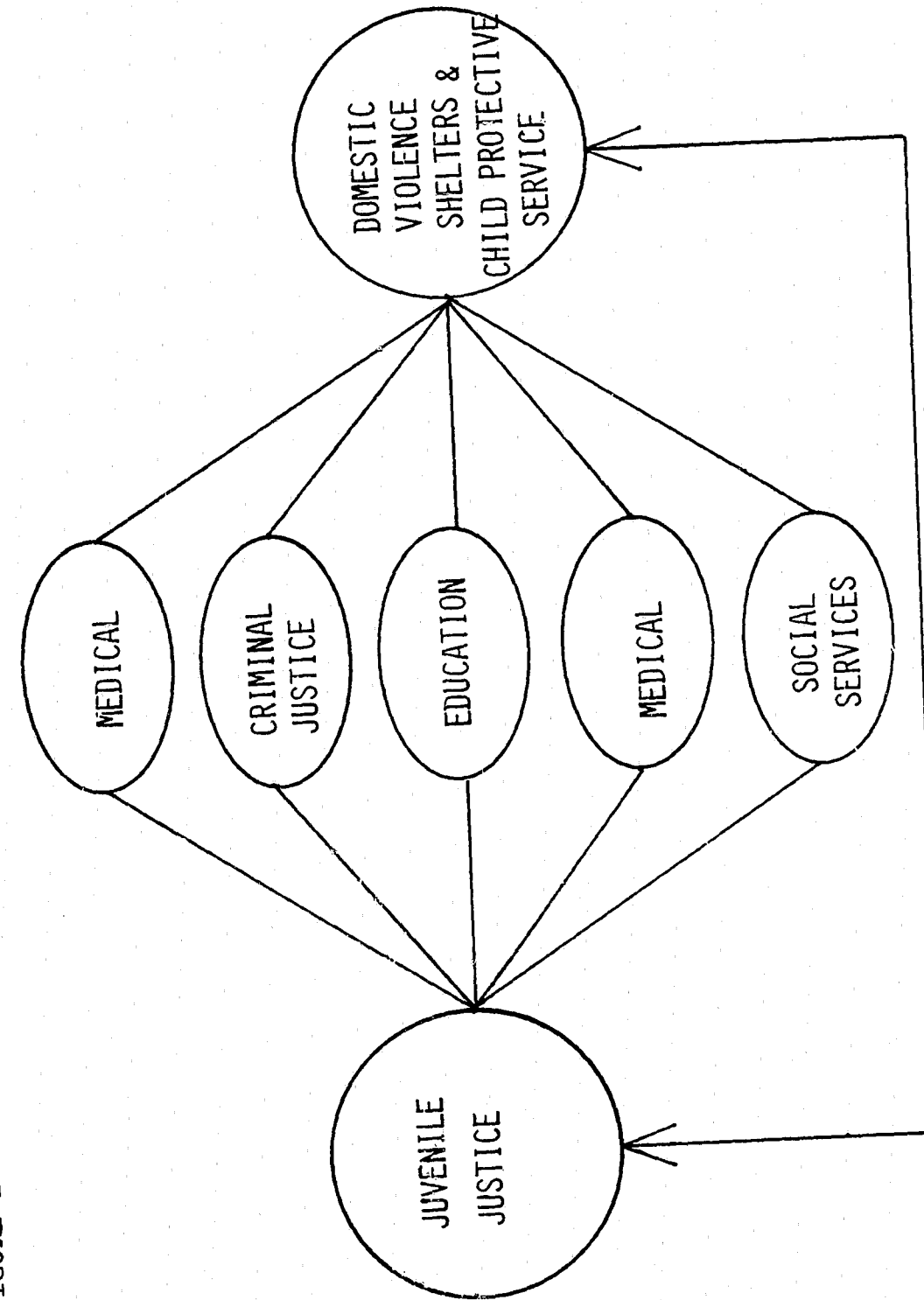
child abuse and neglect which has developed (Steele, 1976b: 166). This community team would ideally work together in a single unit (Helfer and Schmidt, 1976: 230) and focus on strategies for both community intervention and non-intervention (Smith, et al, 1980: 71). However, while much has been accomplished in relation to child abuse, the coordination of services which would address all areas of family violence has been lacking.

The community team concept has also become popular in the juvenile justice field, but in this system's focus on the delinquency of the individual entering the system, it has not adequately examined and provided treatments for underlying factors which may have contributed to the delinquency. In many areas the focus has been on detention, not treatment, and then rarely has this treatment addressed domestic violence. Thus, youths who have been abused and come to public attention through disruptive behavior are labeled delinquent. The body of literature examining the effects of this negative labeling is extensive. Such labeling may be especially harmful to an individual in crisis due to child abuse. In addition, adolescents may be placed into treatment by the mental health system because of symptoms resulting from abuse (Smith, et al, 1980: 47-48). The abused youth does not need to be labeled delinquent and treated as an offender as much as he or she needs treatment of their victimization. Therefore, some argue that adolescents who have been victims of abuse should not be treated as other delinquents (Gutierrez and Reich, 1981). We believe that a network of services which could provide alternative treatment

for these juveniles is needed. Such a network is available through the child protective system and the domestic violence shelters in the community. What appears lacking is the realization of the need and the connections between the agencies.

As noted in the introduction, the community needs to involve individuals from all agencies which work with adults and/or children. We provide a diagram of the community network for juvenile justice and domestic violence agencies on Figure 1. We have indicated the general types of agencies the two should create relationship with. This is not meant to exclude any other agency or individual in the community which might be able to assist in the responses to abuse and delinquency. Of primary importance to these systems is the direct link between them because they are most directly mandated by society to respond to these social problems. This network, which involves coordinated teamwork on the part of the agencies, is a necessity, not only in the detection and treatment of abuse but also as a means to prevent abuse through education of the public. The effects of public awareness has been demonstrated by the increase of reporting of child abuse where news media campaigns have occurred. (DHEW, 1975: 119-135). If the society develops its awareness of the inter-relatedness of all forms of violence, it may be possible to move toward better prevention efforts. Society is better served by treating abusive situations early so that not only continued abuse but perhaps juvenile delinquency and adult criminality may be prevented by the intervention.

FIGURE 1: NETWORK MODEL FOR JUVENILE JUSTICE AND DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AGENCIES



Both parents and children in need of assistance should have ready access to information which would provide them with knowledge about options available to them throughout the community. Training packets containing information on child abuse, sexual abuse, and family violence, should be developed for use in educational settings. This should include a definition of the problem and who the child can turn to for assistance. This would provide a means to reach out directly to children in abusive situations. The community should be ready to respond through a team network which would coordinate services among the various social service systems currently operating.

Coordination of services requires a knowledge of, and contacts with, other agencies. Rather than assigning a few persons within the agency structure to maintain contact with other agencies, we recommend that it should be the responsibility of each staffperson to network with staff in other programs. Ragan, *et al* (1980) note that referrals are best accomplished through personal contact between the service workers. This may help accomplish two things: better coordination of services provided to the community and a reduction of the burnout rate experienced by persons working in direct service. Improved success in solving client problems may improve staff morale. If burnout could be slowed down or eliminated, this might reduce the loss of staff and lead to an improvement in the continuity of staffing. Certainly loss of continuity as a result of staff turnover reduces the agency's ability to provide coordination of services and referrals to other programs. The contacts and friendships

an employee has with other agencies leaves when he or she does. We believe that agencies should encourage networking through modification of the organizational structure, and by initiating agency policies in support of this concept.

A barrier to coordination of services, which may not be readily apparent, is the use of different language, conceptual frames and theoretical concepts by social service systems which can lead to confusion in an exchange of information. Many non-profit agencies, which focus on the needs of the victim, rely heavily on para-professional staff who may not exchange information in terminology considered appropriate to professionals from other areas. This may lead to a discounting or misunderstanding of information and could directly effect the type or quality of service received by the clients.

A related barrier stems from a kind of tunnel vision which does not place individual issues within a larger social framework by the failure to examine the interconnectedness of all forms of violence. The issues addressed by some agencies responding to violence in this society have been spotlighted while areas addressed by others have been left in shadow. While not encouraging the inclusion of alternative programs into the present bureaucratic systems, their perspective must be included in a societal response to violence. We need to recognize the value of the perceptions and experience gained by working directly with victims in shelter. These viewpoints may assist in examining the issue of violence in society.

Evidence is mounting which demonstrate that family violence, juvenile violence, and adult violence are not separate problems in our society. Therefore, we should not separate our social response to violence because of artificial labels or bureaucratic forms which have developed over the years. Figure 2 provides a diagram of a network of the major social systems which deal with domestic violence in the society and come into frequent contact with juveniles. Through this network among these social response systems and their working with the entire community represented by the center, we may have some hope in combating the barriers we have mentioned. We need to increase the exchange of ideas, treatment models, information, and referrals among these agencies to improve our society's prevention efforts. We believe that networking among the agencies involved in responding to violence is a step forward providing this exchange and in the reduction of violence in the society. Such networking ought to be encouraged because until such time as society begins to view the problem of violence in a more unified manner, and provides a coordinated community response, much abuse will continue to be undetected, uninterrupted and untreated.

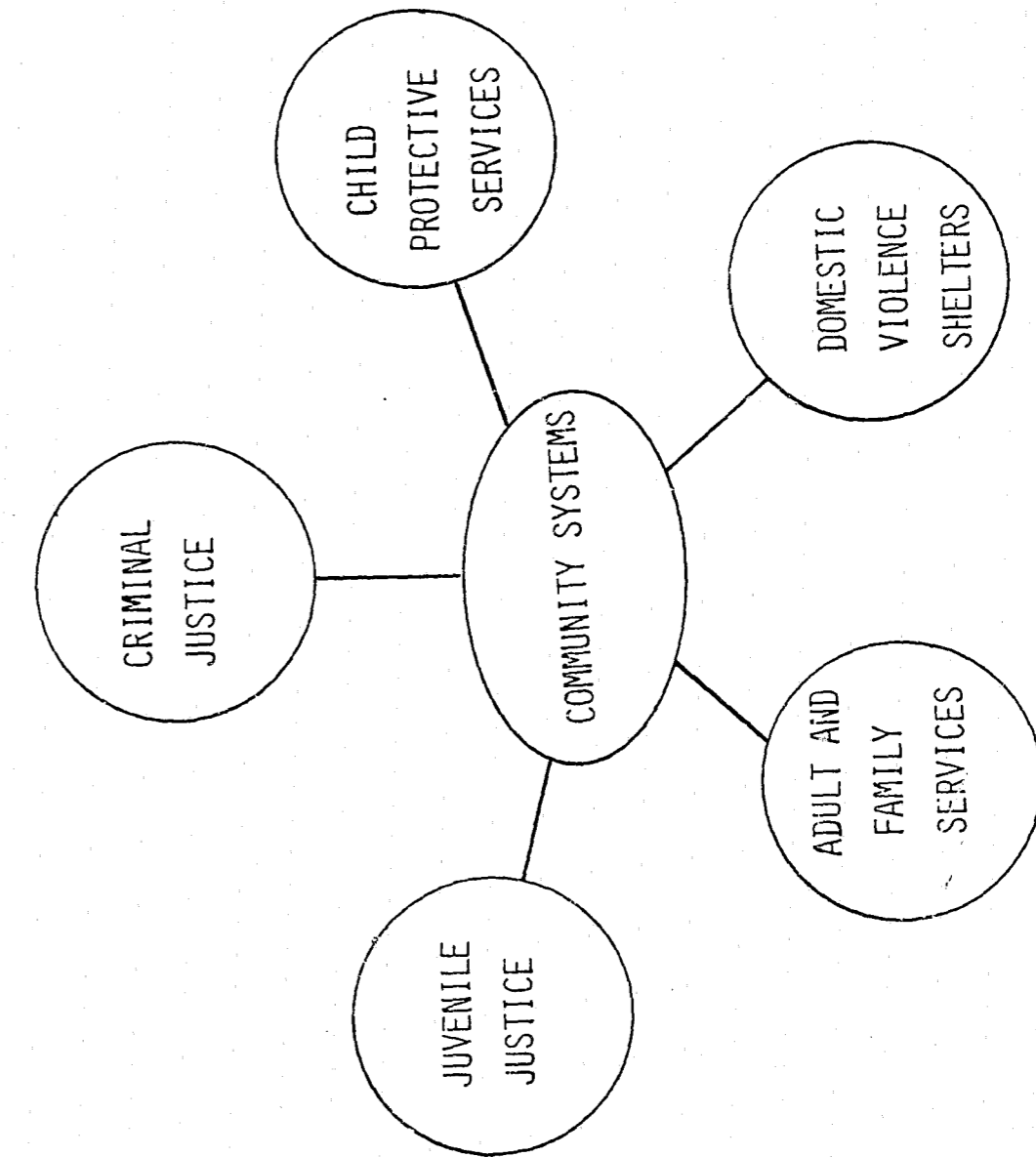


FIGURE 2: COMMUNITY NETWORK AGAINST DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE PAGES



1. Your sex:  
 Male  
 Female

2. Your age:  
 \_\_\_ Years old  
 \_\_\_

3. Your race:  
 White  Black  
 Native American  Hispanic  
 Asian American  Other

4. Have you ever lived with any of the following persons?	Yes	No	How many of each of these persons have you lived with?	How old were you when you began living with this person(s)?	How old were you when you stopped living with this person(s)?
a. Father					
b. Step-Father					
c. Other male Guardian (Uncle, Grandfather etc.)					
d. Mother's Boyfriend					
e. Mother					
f. Step-Mother					
g. Other Female Guardian (Aunt, Grandmother etc.)					
h. Father's Girlfriend					

5. How many foster mother's have you lived with? \_\_\_\_\_  
 How many foster father's have you lived with? \_\_\_\_\_

6. Place a check (✓) mark beside all of the following items you have done or taken part in with others; check them even if you have not been caught doing them or charged.

- |  |   |  |
|--|---|--|
| a. <input type="checkbox"/> Running away from home | f. <input type="checkbox"/> Stolen vehicle        | m. <input type="checkbox"/> Arson (Fire setting)         |
| b. <input type="checkbox"/> Attempted suicide      | g. <input type="checkbox"/> Other theft           | n. <input type="checkbox"/> Assault                      |
| c. <input type="checkbox"/> Prostitution           | h. <input type="checkbox"/> Forgery               | o. <input type="checkbox"/> Rape of another person       |
| d. <input type="checkbox"/> Shop lifting           | i. <input type="checkbox"/> Drug use or sale      | p. <input type="checkbox"/> Murder                       |
| e. <input type="checkbox"/> Theft of credit cards  | j. <input type="checkbox"/> Breaking and entering | q. <input type="checkbox"/> Other (write in what.) _____ |
|  | k. <input type="checkbox"/> Vandalism             |  |
|  | l. <input type="checkbox"/> Underage drinking     |  |

Stop for a moment and think of the people who acted as your parents for the longest period of time. We will call these people your "primary parents."

1. Place a check (✓) mark beside your primary parents (the people who acted as your parents for the longest period)

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| a. <input type="checkbox"/> Father  | e. <input type="checkbox"/> Mother  |
| b. <input type="checkbox"/> Step-Father   | f. <input type="checkbox"/> Step-Mother   |
| c. <input type="checkbox"/> Foster Father   | g. <input type="checkbox"/> Foster Mother   |
| d. <input type="checkbox"/> Other Male Guardian<br>What relationship to you?<br>_____ | h. <input type="checkbox"/> Other Female Guardian<br>What relationship to you?<br>_____ |

2. When you lived with your primary parents, did you also live with any of the following persons?

Place a check (✓) mark beside those persons who lived with you and your primary parents.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| a. <input type="checkbox"/> Brother        | d. <input type="checkbox"/> Sister        |
| b. <input type="checkbox"/> Step-Brother   | e. <input type="checkbox"/> Step-Sister   |
| c. <input type="checkbox"/> Foster Brother | f. <input type="checkbox"/> Foster Sister |

How many of the boys were:

- Older than yourself  
 Younger than yourself

How many of the girls were:

- Older than yourself  
 Younger than yourself

3. When you lived with your primary parents, what was your family income per year?

- |  |  |                                     |
|--|--|-------------------------------------|
| a. <input type="checkbox"/> \$0 to \$5,000       | d. <input type="checkbox"/> \$15,000 to \$20,000 | g. <input type="checkbox"/> Unknown |
| b. <input type="checkbox"/> \$5,000 to \$10,000  | e. <input type="checkbox"/> \$20,000 to \$25,000 |                                     |
| c. <input type="checkbox"/> \$10,000 to \$15,000 | f. <input type="checkbox"/> \$25,000 and over    |                                     |

4. In the following pages please remember which persons you have termed your primary parents, and the other persons who lived with you. Those persons are your family members. Please place a check (✓) mark in the boxes that describe your family situation at the time you were living with these family members. Please write information in those areas where the question (what?) is used if this applies to your family situation.

page 3

Place a check (✓) mark in all of the boxes that describe what happened at home, how often this happened, and how old you were when this started happening.

When my male parent was angry with me he showed it by:	How many times this happened:					This started happening:		
	Never	Less than once a year	1 to 6 times a year	6 to 12 times a year	More than 12 times a year	Before I was 6 years old	Before 6 years	After I was 12 years old
1. He talked calmly about what he didn't like								
2. Took away a privilege (No TV, no friends over)								
3. Yelled								
4. Called me names								
5. Pushed or shoved me around								
6. Slapped or hit me with open hand(s)								
7. Kicked me								
8. Punched or beat me with closed fist(s)								
9. Scared me with an object or weapon What did he use to scare?								
10. Hit me with an object or weapon What did he use to hit?								
11. He did something else What did he do? (write in what he did)								

When you were angry with your male parent what did you do?

1. What did you do sometimes?
2. What did you do often or alot of times?

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Place a check (✓) mark in all of the boxes that describe what happened to you; check (✓) all of the people who did this to you; check (✓) "yes" if you wanted to do this, check (✓) "no" if you didn't want to do this; check (✓) how you felt when this happened to you; write in how old you were when this happened to you.

When he:

	The person who did this to me was:						When this happened I felt:				When this happened my age was:			
	This never happened	Father	Step-Father	Mother's Boyfriend	Foster Father	Uncle	Grandfather	Yes	No	Good		Bad, Upset	Scared	Angry
1. Talked to me about sex														
2. Talked about the way I looked														
3. Gave me hugs														
4. Gave me kisses														
5. Touched my body														
6. Looked at me when I was dressing or undressing														
7. Looked at me when I was bathing or showering														
8. Looked at my sex organs														
9. Had me look at his sex organs														
10. Touched my sex organs														
11. Had me touch his penis														
12. Had me watch him jack off														
13. Put his penis inside my mouth														
14. Put his mouth on my sex organs														
15. Put his penis inside my body														
16. Had me do sexual things with other people														
17. He did something else														
What did he do?														

(Use the next page to write on)

**CONTINUED**

**1 OF 2**

page 12

- 
1. Did you tell anyone about the things you checked off?       Yes       No
  2. If you told someone, who did you tell?
  3. Did you tell this person(s) at the time it happened?       Yes       No
  4. What did you tell this person(s)?
  5. What happened when you told?



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