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From Victim to Aggressor: The Impact of Child Abuse on Violent Juvenile Delinquency

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THESIS ACCEPTANCE

Accepted for the faculty of the Graduate College, University of Nebraska, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, University of Nebraska at Omaha.

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This work is dedicated to the young people who took part in the project, in the hope that they will attain that quality in living that justifies their toil in the growing-up process.

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INTRODUCTION

Two of the major social issues demanding attention from the criminal justice system today are violent juvenile crime and the abuse of children. Neither of these problems shares in the general declining trend of other forms of crime. (For the five-year period from 1980-84, arrests for crimes of violence increased by four percent, while index crime arrests as a whole decreased (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 1985). Among juveniles aged 16 through 18, 1983 arrest rates for violent crimes showed an increase over the two previous years. Estimates of the incidence of child abuse vary from 200,000 to 1 1/2 million cases annually (Straus & Gelles, 1980; Smith, Berkman & Fraser, 1980; Forer, 1980; Steele, 1982), with many children being repeatedly victimized by the same abuser. In the state of Nebraska, with a population of only 1,460,000, there were 3,312 officially confirmed incidents of child abuse in 1984, including 13 that resulted in death ("Child Abuse Deaths," 1985).

As a result, traditions of family privacy, parental responsibility, and even the separate juvenile justice system are being challenged. (Is it possible for the same agency to protect children's rights and protect society from their misdeeds?) Are the two problems of delinquency and abuse in fact the two sides of one larger problem? Recent research by the Department of Justice (Smith, Berkman & Fraser, 1980; Wilkinson, 1984) suggests that they are, citing evidence that abuse, neglect, and delinquency all

have roots in family environments, and that "violent chronic offenders" tend to come from homes with a high degree of family conflict. Travis Hirschi's (1983) study of crime and family strengthened the argument that the gross correlates of child abuse and delinquency are identical. In England, according to a highly respected longitudinal study by West and Farrington (1977), fewer than five percent of families account for as many as half of the criminal convictions.

In the United States, it is estimated, one million violent personal crimes are committed each year by persons under age 18, and FBI figures for the year 1984 show over 550,000 of these cases cleared by arrest. Research has shown that these offenders do not come primarily from the lower economic groups, as was formerly suspected (Wilkinson, 1984), and experts have begun to look to the family not only as a force for preventing delinquency but also as one of its likely sources.

A substantial body of research strongly suggests that child abuse is transmitted intergenerationally, through the social learning process (Steele & Pollock, 1968; Steinmetz & Straus, 1974; Carroll, 1977; Smith, Berkman & Fraser, 1980). Does this assaultive style of adaptation also train teenagers from such homes to approach the outside world in a threatening way? Some authorities think so. Dr. Arthur Green asserts, "To the abused adolescent, all human relationships consist of encounters between aggressors and victims." (Green, 1981; p. 156). David Sandberg

(1985) of Boston University Law School has found that child abuse is often a contributing factor in delinquency, but one of which the justice system is largely unaware.

Efforts at untangling the connection between delinquency and child abuse have been hindered partly by definitional ambiguity. To many people, both phenomena inhabit some grey area between social blunders, deserving mere censure, and crimes requiring judicial intervention. The specific actions comprising delinquency are fairly uniformly defined, but the term juvenile varies in meaning from state to state. In most, all persons under age 18 are considered to be juveniles, but the range is from 16 to 21. In addition, some juvenile codes encourage exceptions to the "diminished responsibility" policy for minors who commit felonies or are multiple recidivists.

The meaning of child abuse is also problematic. While all 50 states now have statutes requiring the reporting of suspected child abuse, most stop short of defining the specific actions in question. The original concept, principally involving cases of child battery discovered by emergency room physicians, has since been expanded to cover child neglect, sexual abuse, and emotional abuse as well. As more professionals have been drawn into the identification and treatment of abused children, the orientations of their respective disciplines have both enriched the research and added to the confusion over what constitutes child abuse.

Scholars and public alike tend to operate under the assumption that everyone has the same understanding of physical abuse.

Such is not the case. While there is virtually universal condemnation of abuse, the list of "legitimate" uses of physical force against children varies widely among individuals, as was indicated in a cross-sectional survey by Sapp and Carter (1978). In a nationwide survey of parents, Gelles (1980) found 73 percent admitting to at least one episode of violence in the course of childrearing, and 63 percent reporting one or more episodes within the previous year. Twenty percent admitted to beating children with belts or hard objects as a disciplinary measure.

Judicial guidance on the issue of corporal punishment has not been consistently helpful. While the American Bar Association supports a ban on corporal punishment in the public schools, the Supreme Court stands behind its 1977 decision in Ingraham v. Wright, sending the message to parents that paddling is not an act of abuse. This precedent weakens the efforts of agencies assigned by the juvenile courts to train abusing parents away from harsh physical punishments.

Gelles' perspective on physical abuse typifies those commonly voiced by recent authors. He states that ordinary physical punishments and child abuse are at the extreme ends of a continuum of force, with increasing gradations of severity between. All applications of physical force to control or react to the behavior of children are to some extent abusive. Their labeling as abusive or non-abusive depends on many factors other than their content.

The amount of physical force that can be justified, if any,

is a moral and legal issue, but one to which criminal justices can bring enlightenment. A sound evaluation of the consequences of physical punishment and other assaults on children is needed to help the justice system formulate a rational response. This thesis addresses one facet of the issue: whether or not being a victim of violence places a child at greater risk of engaging in violent forms of delinquency than would coming from a non-violent background.

The thesis consists of five chapters. The first chapter reviews the pertinent empirical literature. A theoretical basis for the abuse-violent delinquency relationship is established in the second chapter. The third chapter explains the methodology of the research project, and the fourth and fifth chapters present the findings and conclusions reached.

The Massachusetts Department of Youth Services has just completed a study of delinquent youth and family violence (Guarino, 1985). Case records of 165 court-committed youths were used to establish evidence of abuse, relying on social histories and psychological reports. Over one-half of these clients were found to have experienced family violence: 40 percent as victims and 10 percent as involved witnesses. The current target offenses of this abused group were compared with those of the non-abused 50 percent (omitting the cases of 36 who had been referred for violation of probation). Offenses were divided into two categories: "against the person" and "other", the latter including all drug and property offenses. This analysis produced a significant ($p < .01$) difference: 74 percent of the abused group, and only 49 percent of the non-abused, had target offenses "against the person."

Family Violence and Homicide

Though not generally treated as a form of delinquency, homicide by children is a fifth category of research that bears reviewing in any study of violence. Biographical case studies of murderous aggression in children include eight by Easson and Steinkiller (1961), five by Duncan and Duncan (1971), nine by King (1975), and 31 by Sorrells (1977). Except for the Sorrells group, all the above studies dealt with children who had either killed or attempted to kill a member of their immediate families, and were later found, during psychological evaluations, to have been

motivated by revenge, fear, or frustration. These individual biographical reconstructions are useful, particularly for purposes of determining dispositions, but even taken as a group, they do not represent empirical data on which theoretical conclusions can be based.

Sorrells, however, carried out controlled background investigations of all 31 juveniles convicted of homicide in a single California county during an 18-month period. He learned, through his study of police, court, and mental health records as well as first-hand interviews, that only one of the 31 homicides was brought on directly by a parental action: one young boy killed his father to stop him from beating his mother. Twenty-five percent (N=8) of the others happened as the result of quarrels between youths that escalated, and 25 percent in the course of robberies and burglaries. Eight of the cases had no apparent motive. Sorrells did discover that 16 of the family members had criminal records, 10 parents were alcoholic, 10 had agency records of emotional illness, and 8 families were headed by parents previously known in the community as violent persons. A believer in the power of role models, Sorrells concluded that the pervasive climate of chaos and absence of models for controlling their impulses had led many of this group to use violence as a cheap form of entertainment. This study was particularly useful because of the absence of data on murderous aggression in other self-report research. The author's conclusions tend to support the social learning model of violent delinquency.

CHAPTER 2

Theoretical Perspective

In this chapter, a framework is constructed to explain the transformation of an abused child into a violent adolescent. It is proposed that children are socialized towards violence in their home environments. Support for this position is provided by combining developmental theory with social learning theory. The former teaches us the requirements for normative socialization, and the latter describes the processes of socialization into delinquency.

Nettler (1982), in discussing environments which produce crime, asserts that we are not taught behavior so much as we are trained into behavior patterns. Teaching is the cognitive aspect of learning, while training is essentially accomplished by manipulations of which the trainee is not aware (and which may be unintentional on the part of the trainer). This approach is useful for understanding the learning of deviance in the family setting, where teaching of violence is uncommon but training into violent behavior patterns is not.

What does the developmental literature tell us about adequate socialization? Its basic requirements, summarized by Lazar (1980), are as follows:

1. The presence of an adult who cares, expresses affection, and promotes the child's increasing independence. (Developing trust and autonomy)

2. Consistency and continuity in the above through the early years.
3. Presentation of the rules of life in family and society at a rate suited to the child's ability to learn. (Discriminations favorable to law)
4. Praise and respect for the child's accomplishments. (Positive reinforcement)
5. Provision of clear models of desired behavior. (Modeling)
6. Provision of the same socialization lessons by outside institutions, notably the school. (Reinforcement)

Treatments which conflict with these requirements can be assumed to result in negative socialization; thus, to deviance.

A concise statement of the consequences of abuse is offered by Steele (1980):

While early neglect and abuse is only one of the factors involved in the development of later delinquency, it is possibly the earliest and most important matrix, providing a fertile ground in which all the other deleterious influences may take root and flourish (p. 99).

Some of the specific consequences of inadequate socialization are discussed in a later section, following an analysis of social learning theory.

The Theory of Differential Association

The general learning approach to criminal behavior was first suggested by Edwin Sutherland (1947). His differential association theory marked a radical departure from the view popular at that time that most crime, particularly violent and seemingly irrational crime, was caused by either mental illness or character deficit. The differential association principal holds that a person commits crime when his definition of the law as something

to violate is stronger than his definition of the law as something to be obeyed. These "definitions" are attitudes, and are learned in interaction with others, particularly in primary groups. Differential exposure to definitions, in frequency, priority, intensity and duration, determines the probability that a person will commit a crime. This theory suggests that youth who have been exposed from their early years to constant and intense violence in their homes are at high risk of committing crimes of violence, as a consequence of learning pro-violent attitudes.

Differential Association-Reinforcement Theory

Burgess and Akers (1966) modified Sutherland's theory, incorporating the principle of operant conditioning¹, and enlarged its scope to include the effects of indirect learning and to encompass all forms of deviance. The expanded and revised theory is now generally known as the social learning theory of deviance, and consists of the following statements:

1. Deviant behavior is learned according to the principles of operant conditioning.
2. Deviant behavior is learned both in non-social situations that are reinforcing or discriminating and through that social interaction in which the behavior of other persons is reinforcing or discriminating for such behavior.

¹Operant conditioning is a continual feedback process in which a behavior is shaped and maintained by its consequences. Reinforcers may be positive, as in receiving a reward, or negative, as in the removal of unpleasant stimuli. Punishers, which are intended to weaken undesired behaviors, may be positive, as in receiving blows or other aversive stimuli, or negative, as in being deprived of rewards or privileges (Akers, 1985: p.44-45).

3. The principal part of the learning of deviant behavior occurs in those groups which comprise or control the individual's major source of reinforcement.
4. The learning of deviant behavior, including specific techniques, attitudes, and avoidance procedures, is a function of the effective and available reinforcers and the existing reinforcement contingencies.
5. The specific class of learned behavior and its frequency of occurrence are a function of the effective and available reinforcers and the deviant or nondeviant direction of the norms, rules, and definitions which in the past have accompanied the reinforcement.
6. The probability that a person will commit deviant behavior is increased in the presence of normative statements, definitions and verbalizations which, in the process of differential reinforcement of such behavior over conforming behavior, have acquired discriminative value.
7. The strength of the deviant behavior is a direct function of the amount, frequency, and probability of its reinforcement. The modalities of association with deviant patterns of behavior are important insofar as they affect the source, amount and scheduling of reinforcement. (Akers, 1985: p. 41)

This theory suggests that the probability that a delinquent will commit a second offense depends in part on what happens to him (or someone who serves as a model to him) following the first offense. Negative reinforcement principles enable us to predict that when the offending behavior either goes undetected or elicits no negative reaction within the family or social circle, it is more likely to be repeated than if it results in unpleasant consequences. Positive reinforcement principles lead to the assumption that offenders who reap rewards, either in money, satisfaction, or expressed approval, will be more inclined to commit similar

illegal actions in the future than those whose experiments with crime bring open disapproval from persons whose opinions they value.

A Social Learning Theory of Aggression

Bandura (1979), whose earlier work paralleled that of Burgess and Akers, developed a social learning theory which refers specifically to the process by which aggression² is learned and activated. While it is more psychological than criminological in orientation, Bandura's conceptualization is useful here because aggression is the common element of physical abuse and delinquent violence.

To the concepts of modeling and reinforcement, Bandura adds instigation, which refers to an aversive stimulus acting as an incentive to violence. Instigators may be threatening agents (such as a physical assault or insult, losses, or frustrations) or disinhibiting agents (mob hysteria, influence of a drug, moral urgency). The theory distinguishes between the acquisition of skills and knowledge of destructive behavior and the motivational factors that determine whether people will use this knowledge. Through observational learning and reinforcement, children acquire repertoires of aggressive behavior which they may not use because

²Aggression is generally defined as "behavior that results in personal injury or physical destruction (Bandura, 1979)."

of fear of negative sanctions, but may retain and put into practice much later, in the presence of an instigator.

Bandura's discussion of the consequences of physical punishment is especially relevant to the present study. Goal-seeking aggression will be discarded when the risk of punishment is high, unless no other means of achieving the goal is available to the child. In this case, punishment must be applied with considerable force and consistency to deter the child, and may eventually evoke even more punitive counterattacks, resulting in an escalation of violence on the part of both aggressor and punisher that cannot be satisfactorily resolved. At the same time, the child is receiving a strong lesson in the effectiveness of physical force as a control technique, even though he is for the moment the loser.

Eron, Walder and Lefkowitz (1981) confirmed experimentally that increased punishment is generally associated with increased aggression rather than with the suppression of aggressive behavior. However, when they controlled for identification, they discovered that the undesired behavior tends to decrease with increased punishment if the child is highly identified with the punisher, and if the punisher is one who is typically non-aggressive in his or her treatment of the child. If (as in most cases) the child is not highly identified, the physical punishment then serves as an instigator to aggression, but the resulting aggressive behavior is likely to be displaced onto a less-threatening victim.

Both Bandura's and Eron's interpretations are consistent with the differential association principle: the child will disobey the law (defy the punishing parent) under conditions in which there are more definitions favorable to using or continuing his aggression than definitions which favor alternative behaviors.

Identification with the Aggressor

In their version of learning theory, Garbarino and Gilliam (1980) refer to the processes of modeling, imitation and identification as the natural avenues for social development. Their concept of identification goes a step beyond that used by Eron and his associates to account for differential responses to punishment. Garbarino and Gilliam maintain that children learn to become the people they belong to, and in abusive homes they learn not only to imitate their parents' social incompetence, but to incorporate their hostility. The child's self-concept is largely formed by his day-to-day experience of reality in the family, according to the authors, and "they will absorb whatever reality is defined for them, even if it is a warped and violent one" (p. 171). In a similar vein, Steele (1982) concludes: "Deprivation in the earliest months plus identification with unempathetic caretakers contributes to later delinquent behavior" (p. 97).

The Parent's Role in Child Development

The psychological component of identification serves as an introduction to a discussion of the overall negative impact of abusing parents on the child's emotional development. Dr. Arthur Green, a psychiatrist who treats abused children and their families, has defined abuse as a "pathological relationship between child and family" (Green, 1981; p. 153). Like many experts in his field, Green measures abuse by its developmental and emotional consequences for the child. Punitive and assaultive child-rearing styles are emotionally damaging because they convey hostility and rejection.

According to Raymond (1981), it has been determined that abusing parents share more psychological than sociological characteristics. They tend to be immature, dependent, self-centered and impulsive, and these traits are often passed on to their children, along with mixed messages of hostility and love. While these traits are being implanted, another essential process is failing to take place in an abusive home: the developmental tasks that must be accomplished in order for a child to become socially competent (or non-delinquent) are being impeded.

In the early stages, the traits of trust, autonomy, and self-control must begin to develop. Children who are punished for crying or expressing anger and self-assertion during infancy and toddlerhood are being denied the foundations of trust, self-control, and self-confidence. During pre-adolescence, the development of moral judgement, conscience, self-evaluation, and coopera-

tion should take place. Children who are abused at this time are apt to develop poor self-concepts, and fail to internalize moral values sufficiently to transfer them to situations in which they must make independent judgements. If abuse continues into adolescence, these deficiencies continue to hold the child back socially and prevent his maturing with a healthy attitude towards authority, the ability to delay gratification, or empathy with the needs of others (Raymond, 1981).

Many clinical studies have confirmed the interference of early abuse with accomplishment of developmental tasks. In a review of the empirical research on the psychological consequences of child abuse, Kinard (1979) reported the following commonalities among victims: low self-esteem, negative self concept, aggressive behavior, impaired capacity to trust, and difficulties in interpersonal relationships. These echo Raymond's theoretical predictions. Drawing from their first-hand knowledge of the troubled adolescents they worked with at Boys Town Center, Garbarino and Gilliam (1980) identified low self-esteem, anxiety, lack of empathy, and poor social relationships as both common consequences of abuse and common predictors of delinquency. Developmental theory points to the natural human striving for cognitive consistency as the basis for negative self-concepts. This can lead abused children to rationalize their negative treatment by downgrading themselves. For example, a victim reports:

My mom, see, she hit me with furniture and my dad has beaten me with his belt, hit me with his fist and everything else.... I took it for five years. I don't blame them for doing it because I deserved every bit of it." (p. 173)

Containment Theory

Among theories of social control invoked by criminologists to account for delinquency, one that is pertinent to the discussion of developmental factors is containment theory (Reckless, 1961). This theory posits that lawbreaking is prevented by a combination of inner and outer pressures acting on the individual. The definition of "inner controls" reveals a striking resemblance to the developmental task list: positive self-concept, goal-directedness, and ability to tolerate frustration. While this is not a learning theory, the necessity is affirmed for positive input from persons in a position to help the child learn to "contain" himself. A test of inner containment in delinquents (Jensen, 1973) demonstrated a significant negative relationship between inner containment measures and amounts of delinquency. In short, the development of an inadequate personality- one that lacks inner controls based on emotional health - contributes to the process of becoming delinquent. Youth in serious trouble are likely to be youth who have been hurt.

Socialization into Juvenile Violence: A Summary

A synthesis of social learning theory with developmental

process theory provides a framework for linking abuse with delinquency in the context of aggression. This model, which is depicted in Figure 1, asserts that abusive parents tend to hand down their violent tendencies in two ways: by failing to provide adequate nurturing environments for sound emotional growth, and by providing and reinforcing examples of physical force, threats, and general aggression for their offspring to imitate.

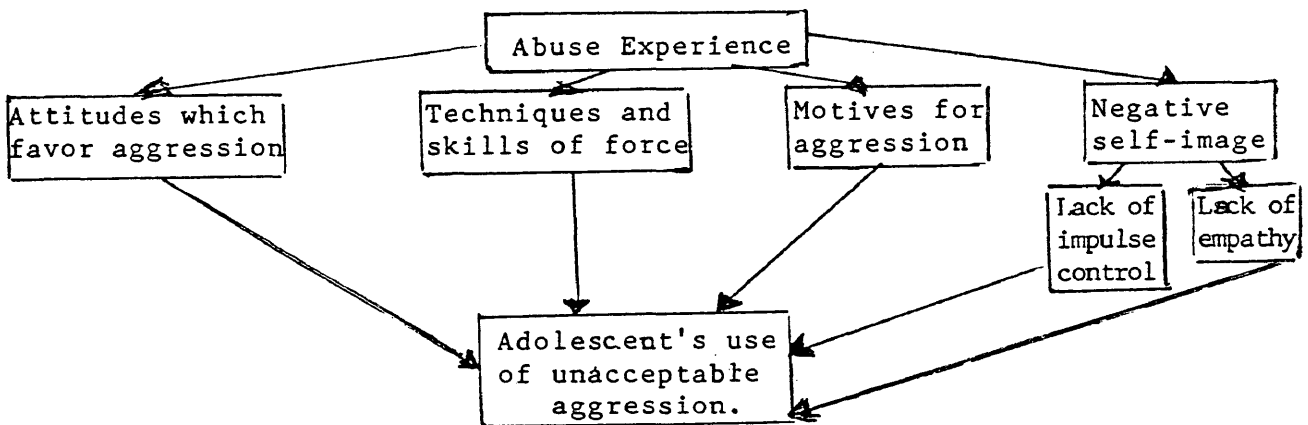


Figure 1: The process leading from physical abuse to juvenile violence.

Socialization toward aggression is a dichotomy of training and developmental experiences with unintended but predictable results. It consists both of things done to the child, which instigate him to aggress, and things withheld from the child. The latter are the basic building blocks of trust, self-confidence, self-esteem,

and empathy. Without these character traits to control himself or herself when confronted by the inevitable experiences of instigation and frustration encountered in living, the abused adolescent has little choice but to respond to conflict with the violent tactics with which he is familiar.

In the present empirical study, the intermediate steps of the above model are merely assumed to be present. Exploration of the abuse delinquency linkage is confined to the operationalizing of the "input" and "output" concepts: Abuse experience and unacceptable aggression.

makeup to the county population it represents. The sample's racial composition is 36 percent black, 58 percent white and 6 percent other, with seventy-two percent being male and 28 percent female. For 1984, corresponding Douglas County juvenile offender statistics were 36 percent black, 58 percent white, and 5 percent other; 70 percent male, and 30 percent female.⁶ A comparison of offense distributions may be found in Table 1. These figures suggest that the sample is composed of a typical cross-section of the population under study.

Table 1

Distribution of Offenses Resulting in Adjudication, for Study Sample Members and County Juvenile Offender Population

	Assault	Sexual Assault	Robbery	Drug/Alcohol	Arson	Burglary	Other Theft	Trespass, Property Destk.	Forgery	Ungovernable, Truant	Other/Unknown
Sample, '85 (%)	1	2	1	14	1	19	31	7	1	24	0
Total Offender Group, '84 (%)	4	0.2	0.2	4	1.4	14	34	8	1	24	8.2

An inspection of the two sets of offense rates confirms the sample's adequacy in representing the delinquency patterns of the population under study. The discrepancy in alcohol and drug use figures is due to their being officially classified, in some cases, as ungovernability.

⁶Statistics were obtained from data supplied by the Nebraska Commission on Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice.

Statistical Analysis

The data were analyzed using the cross-tabular method. This choice was based on the nature of the research question. The hypotheses predict that the abused group will differ from the non-abused group in amounts of personal violence, expressive property offenses, and total delinquency; therefore, a categorical comparison is indicated. Further, because the data are ordinal rather than interval, the chi-square test of independence is best suited for testing significance.

Two-way, six-cell tables were constructed to compare the percentages of members of the two categories of abuse (abused and non-abused) that fell into the low, medium, and high classifications of delinquency involvement.

The null hypotheses tested were:

H₀₁: Among juvenile offenders, there is no difference in degree of involvement in personal violence between abused and non-abused offenders. ($\chi^2=0.00$; $p<.05$)

H₀₂: Among juvenile offenders, there is no difference in degree of involvement in expressive property offenses between abused and non-abused offenders. ($\chi^2=0.00$, $p<.05$)

H₀₃: Among juvenile offenders, there is no difference in degree of involvement in instrumental property offenses between abused and non-abused offenders. ($\chi^2=0.00$; $p<.05$)

H₀₄: Among juvenile offenders, there is no difference in degree of involvement in victimless offenses between abused and non-abused offenders. ($\chi^2=0.00$; $p<.05$)

H₀₅: Among juvenile offenders, there is no difference in degree of total involvement in delinquency between abused and non-abused offenders. ($\chi^2=0.00$; $p<.05$)

More information about the relationships suggested by results of the bivariate analysis was obtained by multivariate analyses using the five control variables (age, sex, race, family structure, and employment status). Five pairs of partial tables were constructed to assess the primary group comparisons in the presence of each control variable.

Results of both bivariate and multivariate analyses are presented in the next chapter, and the findings interpreted.

H₀₄: Among juvenile offenders, there is no difference in degree of involvement in victimless offenses between abused and non-abused offenders. ($\chi^2=0.00$; $p<.05$)

H₀₅: Among juvenile offenders, there is no difference in degree of total involvement in delinquency between abused and non-abused offenders. ($\chi^2=0.00$; $p<.05$)

More information about the relationships suggested by results of the bivariate analysis was obtained by multivariate analyses using the five control variables (age, sex, race, family structure, and employment status). Five pairs of partial tables were constructed to assess the primary group comparisons in the presence of each control variable.

Results of both bivariate and multivariate analyses are presented in the next chapter, and the findings interpreted.

CHAPTER 4

Analysis and Findings

Data analysis consists of three parts: a univariate description of the study sample, presentation of the bivariate relationships between the independent variable and each of the dependent variables, and an examination of each bivariate relationship in a multivariate context.

Univariate Analysis

The data indicate that 34 percent (N=41) of the sample of delinquents (N=120) are between 12 and 14 years of age and 66 percent (N=99) between ages 15 and 18. The sample is 58 percent (N=70) white, 36 percent (N=43) black, and 6 percent (N=7) other races. Seventy-two percent (N=86) are male and 27 1/2 percent (N=33) female.¹ Sixty-five percent (N=78) come from broken homes, and 35 percent (N=42) are from intact homes. In 77 percent (N=92) of the cases, at least one parent is a high school graduate¹. Forty-four percent (N=53) of the subjects are supported by parents who work at unskilled or middle-range technical jobs, 35 percent (N=42) by parents in the professions or managerial or high-level technical positions, and 19 percent (N=23) by parents who are presently unemployed¹.

¹ Contains missing or "unknown" responses.

From the survey responses, it is possible to create a profile of a "typical" youth who is under court supervision in the Omaha metropolitan area in 1985. This person is a 15-year-old white male from a broken home, living with his natural mother, either alone or with her boyfriend or current husband. At least one of his parents completed high school, and the family's income is derived from the mother's earnings in a clerical or childcare job combined with intermittent support from the man of the house or from child support payments.

The typical delinquent in the sample has a cumulative abuse score of 6.9 out of a possible 45. He has experienced beatings with a belt or extension cord more than twice, has been beaten with a hard object at least twice, and on at least once occasion has been kicked, hit with fists, or received blows from objects thrown at him. Table 2 presents a complete breakdown of the abuse experiences of the entire sample.

On the delinquency scale, the typical delinquent admits to frequent involvement in truancy, alcohol and marijuana use, shoplifting, and assault (beating someone up). He frequently carries a concealed weapon ("for protection"), is prone to gang fighting and vandalism, and has stolen money on at least one occasion. His personal violence subscale score totals 4.6 out of a possible 24, and he is unlikely to have committed violence in its extreme forms: rape, robbery, aggravated assault, or homicide. Table 3 shows the distribution of all delinquency items for the entire sample.

Table 2
 Number of Subjects Reporting Episodes of Abuse
 by Frequency of Experience (N=120)

Experience	Happened at least once ^a	Happened very often ^b
Belt, extension cord	89 (74%)	9 (7.5%)
Fists on face/head	65 (54%)	9 (7.5%)
Hard object	62 (52%)	6 (5%)
Kicked	60 (50%)	1
Things thrown at	57 (48%)	2
Shaken violently	53 (44%)	6 (5%)
Caused to bleed	46 (38%)	3
Bruised	45 (38%)	3
Threatened with knife or gun	34 (28%)	0
Choked or strangled	26 (22%)	1
Medical attention	21 (18%)	3
Burned	20 (17%)	0
Attacked w/weapon	18 (15%)	0
Forcibly raped	16 (13%)	1
Tied up	14 (12%)	1

NOTE. Percentages lower than 5% are not calculated.

^aIncludes any non-zero response

^bIncludes responses of "3"

Table 3
Number of Subjects Reporting Episodes of Delinquency
by Frequency of Involvement

Offense	Committed at Least Once	Committed quite often
Alcohol use	107 (89%)	37 (31%)
Truancy	98 (82%)	29 (24%)
Marijuana use	97 (81%)	42 (35%)
Shoplifting	97 (81%)	12 (10%)
Running away	80 (67%)	14 (12%)
Minor assault (beat up)	77 (64%)	16 (38%)
Mischief (rocks, BBs)	72 (60%)	6 (5%)
Property damage	71 (59%)	7 (6%)
Gang fighting	70 (58%)	10 (8%)
Concealed weapon	69 (57%)	22 (18%)
Sale of stolen goods	60 (50%)	6 (5%)
Stealing, family/friend	56 (47%)	3
Drugs other than pot	46 (38%)	12 (10%)
Stealing, strangers	46 (38%)	3
Selling drugs	45 (37%)	8 (19%)
Willful destruction of property	42 (35%)	2
Assault, property, parent/teacher	38 (32%)	4
Aggravated assault	37 (31%)	4
Vandalism	28 (23%)	1
Robbery by force	26 (22%)	2
Motor vehicle theft	27 (22%)	1
Theft of drugs	25 (21%)	1
Arson	16 (13%)	0
Robbery w/weapon	13 (11%)	1
Forcible rape	9 (7.5%)	2

NOTE. See footnotes for Table 2

Bivariate Analysis

In order to test the five hypotheses of this study, five tables were constructed cross-tabulating the physical abuse categories (abused v. non-abused) with offenders' involvement in, respectively, violent personal offenses (H_{01}), expressive property offenses (H_{02}), instrumental property offenses (H_{03}), victimless offenses (H_{04}), and total delinquency (H_{05}). For purposes of analysis, the offense scores were grouped into three categories, (low, medium and high), following the procedures outlined in the previous chapter. This classification scheme yielded the following categories of delinquency involvement: for personal violence, Low = scores between zero and 2, Medium = scores between 3 and 6, High = scores of 7 and above. For expressive property offenses, Low = scores of zero and one, Medium = scores of 2 and 3, High = scores of 4 and above. For instrumental property offenses, Low = scores of zero through 2, Medium = scores of 3 through 5, High = scores of 6 and above. For victimless offenses, Low = scores of zero through 5, Medium = scores of 6 through 9, High = scores of 10 and above. Low total delinquency scores range from zero through 12, Medium from 13 through 22, and High scores begin at 23.

Results of the bivariate analysis are presented in tables 4 thru 8.

Table 4

Involvement in Personal Violence Offenses by Abuse Category			
Degree of Involvement	Non-Abused (%)	Abused (%)	Total
Low	61.5	23.5	N=47
Medium	23.1	44.1	N=41
High	15.4	32.4	N=32
Totals	N=52	N=68	N=120

$$\chi^2=16.4 \text{ (df=2, } p<.001)$$

Note. Cell frequencies are expressed as percentages of column totals, for all tables in this chapter

Table 5

Involvement in Expressive Property Offenses by Abuse Category			
Degree of Involvement	Non-Abused (%)	Abused (%)	Total
Low	55.8	27.9	N=48
Medium	21.2	53.8	N=34
High	23.0	38.2	N=35
Totals	N=52	N=68	N=120

$$\chi^2=9.5 \text{ (df=2, } p<.01)$$

Table 6

Involvement in Instrumental Property Offenses by Abuse Category			
Degree of Involvement	Non-Abused (%)	Abused (%)	Total
Low	53.8	29.4	N=47
Medium	21.2	33.8	N=35
High	25.0	36.8	N=38
Totals	N=52	N=68	N=120

$$\chi^2=8.2 \text{ (df=2, } p<.05)$$

Table 7

Involvement in Victimless Offenses by Abuse Category			
Degree of Involvement	Non-Abused (%)	Abused (%)	Total
Low	51.9	26.5	N=45
Medium	32.7	41.2	N=45
High	15.4	32.3	N=30
Totals	N=52	N=68	N=120

$$\chi^2=9.1 \text{ (df=2, } p<.01)$$

Table 8

Total Delinquency Involvement by Abuse Category			
Degree of Involvement	Non-Abused (%)	Abused (%)	Total
Low	50.0	23.5	N=42
Medium	32.7	35.3	N=41
High	17.3	41.2	N=37
Totals	N=52	N=68	N=120

$$\chi^2=13.3 \text{ (df=2, } p<.005)$$

Table 4 shows that non-abused subjects were almost three times more likely than abused subjects to report little or no involvement in personal violence. Abused subjects also reported moderate amount of involvement twice as frequently as did non-abused, and high involvement almost twice as often. The chi-square value of 16.4 (df=2, $p<.005$) indicates that null hypothesis H_{01} can be rejected. The data support the main research hypothesis: Among juvenile offenders, those with histories of physical abuse

will report higher degrees of involvement in offenses of personal violence than will those without abuse histories.

Table 5 represents the relationship between abuse and expressive property offenses. Slightly over half of both groups reported little or no involvement. However, the abused group reported medium or high involvement significantly more often than the non-abused. The chi-square value of 9.5 ($df=2$, $p<.01$) provides evidence that null hypothesis H_{02} can be rejected. The research hypothesis, stating that juvenile offenders with histories of physical abuse will report higher degrees of involvement in expressive property offenses than will those without abuse histories, is supported.

Table 6 indicates that the abused group commits instrumental property offenses more frequently than the non-abused group. That is, there is a statistically significant difference between abused and non-abused offenders with regard to involvement in instrumental property crime. A chi-square value of 8.2 ($df=2$, $p<.05$) allows rejection of the null hypothesis, H_{03} . These data do not support the corresponding research hypothesis, which predicts that among juvenile offenders, those with histories of physical abuse will not differ from those without abuse histories in reported degree of involvement in instrumental property offenses.

From Table 7, it is apparent that more than twice as high a percentage of abused as non-abused subjects have engaged in large

amounts of victimless illegal activity, and that non-abused subjects are twice as likely as abused subjects to report little or no involvement. The chi-square value of 9.1 ($df=2$, $p<.01$) means that null hypothesis H_{04} must be rejected. There is no support for the research hypothesis, which predicted that juvenile offenders with histories of physical abuse would not differ from those without abuse histories in reported degree of victimless offense involvement.

Finally, data in Table 8 suggest that null hypothesis H_{05} can be rejected. The abused group's reported overall involvement in illegal activity is significantly higher than the non-abused group's, with the abused group reporting almost three times the participation of the non-abused group. The chi-square value of 11.3 ($df=2$, $p>.005$) indicates that the fifth research hypothesis - predicting that, among juvenile offenders, those with histories of physical abuse will report higher degrees of total involvement in delinquency than will those without abuse histories - is confirmed for the sample studied.

By way of summary, the crosstabular analyses show significant differences between the two abuse categories in the distribution of scores from responses to all four subsets of delinquency questions comprising the delinquency scale. This is not entirely as predicted by the research hypotheses. However, a comparison of the five chi-square values suggests that the dependencies are less strong between abuse and both instrumental property and victimless

offenses than those between abuse and the three variables that were predicted to be associated with it.

Control variables.

Prior to their employment in a multivariate context, the five control variables were examined for their effects on delinquency rates without regard to the existence of abuse. Table 9 presents a comparison of frequencies of involvement in significant amounts of the five dimensions of delinquency by control-variable category. Frequency figures are based on the number of subjects reporting delinquency scores which would place them in the medium or high classifications for the offense.

Table 9

Percentage of Offenders Reporting Significant Amounts of Delinquency
by Age, Race, Sex, Family Structure and SES

<u>Offense</u>	<u>Control-variable Category</u>									
	<u><15 / ≥15</u>		<u>W / B</u>		<u>M / F</u>		<u>Br / In</u>		<u>Low / Hi</u>	
Personal Violence	61	61	66	50	63	55	63	57	57	67
Expressive Property	50	66	69	45	66	42	58	64	54	69
Instrumental Property	44	70	71	44	68	42	53	69	54	74
Victimless	54	66	74	40	59	70	60	67	58	69
Overall Delinquency	54	71	76	48	68	58	64	67	58	76

These data suggest that there is a higher degree of involvement by older youth, whites, males, offenders from intact homes, and offenders in the higher socioeconomic bracket. Only in the case of family structure does the percentage difference consistently amount to less than ten percent. While no significance tests have

been applied to these relationships, they can be informally used to surmise that some of the dependency found between abuse and delinquency may be attributable to structural effects. Particularly in the case of property crime, there are large percentage differences across all control variables. Age and race appear to make a large difference in victimless offense rates. In multivariate analysis, the extent to which the abuse-delinquency dependencies remain valid when structural variables are held constant can be estimated.

Multivariate Analysis

In this part of the analysis, the focus is on re-examination of the bivariate associations under controlled conditions. The control variables employed are age, race, sex, family structure, and family socioeconomic status. The purpose of this analysis is to determine whether the demonstrated dependence between physical abuse and any of the delinquency variables is due to their common association with one of the above-mentioned factors.

Age.

Tables 10 through 14 present a breakdown of the bivariate tables into two age groups: younger, containing subjects between ages 12 and 14, and older, containing those between the ages of 15 and 18.

Table 10

Involvement in Personal Violence Offenses by Abuse Category for Younger and Older Groups

Degree of involvement	Younger			Older			Total
	Non-abused (%)	Abused (%)	<u>n</u>	Non-abused (%)	Abused (%)	<u>n</u>	
Low	47.6	30.0	16	67.8	20.8	31	47
Medium	42.9	30.0	15	6.4	50.0	26	41
High	9.5	40.0	10	25.8	29.2	22	32
Total	<u>n</u> =21	<u>n</u> =20	41	<u>n</u> =31	<u>n</u> =48	79	120

$$\chi^2 = 5.11 \text{ (df=2, p).05)}$$

$$\chi^2 = 21.4 \text{ (df=2, p<.001)}$$

Table 11

Involvement in Expressive Property Offenses by Abuse Category for Younger and Older Groups

Degree of involvement	Younger			Older			Total
	Non-abused (%)	Abused (%)	<u>n</u>	Non-abused (%)	Abused (%)	<u>n</u>	
Low	66.7	35.0	21	48.4	25.0	27	48
Medium	19.0	20.0	8	22.6	39.6	26	34
High	14.3	45.0	12	29.0	35.4	26	38
Total	<u>n</u> =21	<u>n</u> =20	41	<u>n</u> =31	<u>n</u> =48	79	120

$$\chi^2 = 5.62 \text{ (df=2, p>.05)}$$

$$\chi^2 = 4.89 \text{ (df=2, p>.05)}$$

Table 12

Involvement in Instrumental Property Offenses by Abuse Category for Younger and Older Groups

Degree of involvement	Younger			Older			Total
	Non-abused (%)	Abused (%)	<u>n</u>	Non-abused (%)	Abused (%)	<u>n</u>	
Low	76.2	35.0	23	38.7	25.0	24	47
Medium	9.5	30.0	8	29.0	37.5	27	35
High	14.3	35.0	10	32.3	37.5	28	38
Total	<u>n</u> =21	<u>n</u> =20	41	<u>n</u> =31	<u>n</u> =48	79	120

$$\chi^2 = 7.04 \text{ (df=2, } p < .05)$$

$$\chi^2 = 1.8 \text{ (df=2, } p > .05)$$

Table 13

Involvement in Victimless Offenses by Abuse Category for Younger and Older Groups

Degree of involvement	Younger			Older			Total
	Non-abused (%)	Abused (%)	<u>n</u>	Non-abused (%)	Abused (%)	<u>n</u>	
Low	52.4	40.0	19	51.6	20.8	25	45
Medium	33.3	25.0	12	32.3	47.9	33	45
High	14.3	35.0	10	16.1	31.3	20	30
Total	<u>n</u> = 21	<u>n</u> =20	41	<u>n</u> =31	<u>n</u> =48	79	120

$$\chi^2 = 2.6 \text{ (df=2, } p > .05)$$

$$\chi^2 = 8.3 \text{ (df=2, } p < .05)$$

Table 14

Total Involvement in Delinquency by Abuse Category
for Younger and Older Groups

Degree of involvement	Younger			Older			Total
	Non-abused (%)	Abused (%)	<u>n</u>	Non-abused (%)	Abused (%)	<u>n</u>	
Low	61.9	30.0	19	41.9	20.8	23	42
Medium	28.6	30.0	12	35.5	37.5	29	41
High	9.5	40.0	10	22.6	41.7	27	37
Total	<u>n</u> =21	<u>n</u> =20	41	<u>n</u> =31	<u>n</u> =48	79	120

$$\chi^2=6.4 \text{ (df=2, } p<.05)$$

$$\chi^2=4.9 \text{ (df=2, } p>.05)$$

Examination of the partial tables suggests that the introduction of age as a control variable changes the initial association between physical abuse and delinquency. Data in three out of five partial tables (Tables 10, 11, and 13) show that this association applies only to the older group of offenders. Personal violence, expressive property crime and victimless offenses are significantly dependent on abuse only for the older group. However, it should be noted that, although the corresponding chi-square values for the younger group fail to reach statistical significance, an inspection of the percentage tables reveals that youngsters with an abuse history tend more frequently to report a high degree of involvement in these behaviors than their non-abused counterparts. Tables 12 and 14 indicate that physical abuse is significantly related to instrumental property crime and total delinquency for the younger offenders only. Although the chi-square values fail

to reach statistical significance for the older group, the percentage comparisons again suggest that abused children in both age groups tend to report more overall delinquency than do non-abused.

Race.

To control for race, the five bivariate tables were subdivided into partial tables for two component groups: whites and blacks. The "other" category was excluded at this point due to the small size of this group (N=6). Tables 15 through 19 present the results of this comparison.

Table 15

Involvement in Personal Violence Offenses by Abuse Category for Whites and Blacks

Degree of involvement	Whites			Blacks			Total
	Non-abused (%)	Abused (%)	<u>n</u>	Non-abused (%)	Abused (%)	<u>n</u>	
Low	51.5	18.9	24	76.5	29.6	21	45
Medium	24.2	40.5	23	17.6	51.9	17	40
High	24.2	40.5	23	5.9	18.5	6	29
Total	<u>n</u> =33	<u>n</u> =37	70	<u>n</u> =17	<u>n</u> =27	44	114

$$\chi^2 = 7.8 \text{ (df=2, } p < .05)$$

$$\chi^2 = 9.71 \text{ (df=2, } p = .01)$$

Table 16

Involvement in Expressive Property Offenses by Abuse
Category for Whites and Blacks

Degree of involvement	Whites			Blacks			Total
	Non-abused (%)	Abused (%)	<u>n</u>	Non-abused (%)	Abused (%)	<u>n</u>	
Low	45.5	18.9	22	76.5	40.7	24	46
Medium	21.2	37.8	21	23.5	33.3	13	34
High	33.3	43.3	27	0.0	25.9	7	34
Total	<u>n</u> = 33	<u>n</u> = 37	70	<u>n</u> = 17	<u>n</u> = 27	44	114

$$\chi^2 = 5.0 \text{ (df=2, p=.05)} \quad \chi^2 = 6.13 \text{ (df=2, p<.05)}$$

Table 17

Involvement in Instrumental Property Offenses by Abuse
Category for Whites and Blacks

Degree of involvement	Whites			Blacks			Total
	Non-abused (%)	Abused (%)	<u>n</u>	Non-abused (%)	Abused (%)	<u>n</u>	
Low	42.4	16.2	20	76.5	44.4	25	45
Medium	24.2	37.8	22	17.6	37.0	13	35
High	33.3	45.9	28	5.9	18.5	6	34
Total	<u>n</u> = 33	<u>n</u> = 37	70	<u>n</u> = 17	<u>n</u> = 27	44	120

$$\chi^2 = 6.00 \text{ (df=2, p<.05)} \quad \chi^2 = 3.12 \text{ (df=2, p>.05)}$$

Table 18

Involvement in Victimless Offenses by Abuse
Category for Whites and Blacks

Degree of involvement	Whites			Blacks			T o t a l
	Non-abused (%)	Abused (%)	<u>n</u>	Non-abused (%)	Abused (%)	<u>n</u>	
Low	36.4	16.2	18	82.4	44.4	26	44
Medium	42.4	35.1	27	17.6	48.1	16	43
High	21.2	48.6	25	0.0	7.4	2	27
Total	<u>n</u> =33	<u>n</u> =37	70	<u>n</u> =17	<u>n</u> =27	44	114

$$\chi^2 = 6.7 \text{ (df=2, } p < .05)$$

$$\chi^2 = 6.6 \text{ (df=2, } p < .05)$$

Table 19

Total Involvement in Delinquency by Abuse
Category for Whites and Blacks

Degree of involvement	Whites			Blacks			T o t a l
	Non-abused (%)	Abused (%)	<u>n</u>	Non-abused (%)	Abused (%)	<u>n</u>	
Low	30.3	18.9	17	88.2	29.6	23	40
Medium	45.5	29.7	26	11.8	48.1	15	41
High	24.2	51.4	27	0.0	22.2	6	33
Total	<u>n</u> =33	<u>n</u> =37	70	<u>n</u> =17	<u>n</u> =27	44	114

$$\chi^2 = 5.02 \text{ (df=2, } p > .05)$$

$$\chi^2 = 13.0 \text{ (df=2, } p < .005)$$

Examination of the partial tables suggests that the introduction of race as a control variable does not appreciably change the initial association between abuse and delinquency. When race is held constant, the percentage differences between abused and non-abused offenders for levels of involvement in personal violence (Table 15), expressive property crime (Table 16), and victimless offenses (Table 18) remain statistically significant. Table 16 suggests that the original relationship between abuse and instrumental property crime remains significant only for whites, but the general trend of more participation by the abused group is still supported for blacks. In overall delinquency, the reverse is true: the chi-square value for whites becomes non-significant. It should be noted, however, that percentage comparison still suggests that abused whites report higher involvement than their non-abused counterparts.

The partial tables further indicate that black juveniles are more likely to report a low degree of involvement in all forms of delinquency than whites.³

³Evaluators of the self-report technique (Hindelang 1981; Elliott, 1983) have cautioned against comparing the delinquency rates of blacks with those of other groups in this way, due to validity problems in self-report studies involving blacks.

Sex.

Tables 20 through 24 present the effects of introducing controls for sex on the abuse-delinquency relationships. No chi-square test of independence was carried out for those partial tables containing more than two expected cell counts of less than 5.

Table 20

Involvement in Personal Violence Offenses by Abuse
Category for Males and Females

Degree of involvement	Males			Females			Total
	Non-abused (%)	Abused (%)	<u>n</u>	Non-abused (%)	Abused (%)	<u>n</u>	
Low	60.5	18.8	32	57.1	36.8	15	47
Medium	18.4	47.9	30	28.6	36.8	11	41
High	21.1	33.3	24	14.3	26.3	7	31
Total	<u>n</u> =38	<u>n</u> =48	86	<u>n</u> =14	<u>n</u> =19	33	119

$$\chi^2 = 16.5 \text{ (df=2, } p < .001) \quad \chi^2 = 1.4 \text{ (df=2, } p > .05)$$

Table 21

Involvement in Expressive Property Offenses by Abuse
Category for Males and Females

Degree of involvement	Males			Females			Total
	Non-abused (%)	Abused (%)	<u>n</u>	Non-abused (%)	Abused (%)	<u>n</u>	
Low	47.4	22.9	29	78.6	42.1	19	48
Medium	26.3	33.3	26	7.1	36.8	8	34
High	26.3	43.8	31	14.3	21.1	6	37
Total	<u>n</u> =38	<u>n</u> =48	86	<u>n</u> =14	<u>n</u> =19	33	119

$$\chi^2 = 6.0 \text{ (df=2, } p < .05)$$

Table 22

Involvement in Instrumental Property Offenses by Abuse
Category for Males and Females

Degree of involvement	Males			Females			Total
	Non-abused (%)	Abused (%)	<u>n</u>	Non-abused (%)	Abused (%)	<u>n</u>	
Low	47.4	20.8	28	71.4	47.4	19	47
Medium	28.9	35.4	28	0.0	36.8	7	35
High	23.7	43.8	30	28.6	15.8	7	37
Total	<u>n</u> =38	<u>n</u> =48	86	<u>n</u> =14	<u>n</u> =19	33	119

$$\chi^2 = 7.2 \text{ (df=2, } p = .05)$$

Table 23

Involvement in Victimless Offenses by Abuse
Category for Males and Females

Degree of involvement	Males			Females			Total
	Non-abused (%)	Abused (%)	<u>n</u>	Non-abused (%)	Abused (%)	<u>n</u>	
Low	55.3	29.2	35	42.9	21.1	10	45
Medium	31.6	39.6	31	35.7	47.4	14	45
High	13.1	31.3	20	21.4	31.6	9	29
Total	<u>n</u> =38	<u>n</u> =48	86	<u>n</u> =14	<u>n</u> =19	33	119

$$\chi^2 = 6.8 \text{ (df=2, } P < .05)$$

$$\chi^2 = 1.0 \text{ (df=2, } p > .05)$$

Table 24

Total Involvement in Delinquency by Abuse Category for Males and Females

Degree of involvement	Males			Females			Total
	Non-abused (%)	Abused (%)	<u>n</u>	Non-abused (%)	Abused (%)	<u>n</u>	
Low	44.7	22.9	28	64.3	26.3	14	42
Medium	39.5	31.3	30	14.3	47.4	11	41
High	15.8	45.8	28	21.4	26.3	8	36
Total	<u>n</u> =38	<u>n</u> =48	86	<u>n</u> =14	<u>n</u> =19	33	119

$$\chi^2=9.4 \text{ (df=2, p<.01)}$$

$$\chi^2=5.6 \text{ (df=2, p<.05)}$$

The effect of introducing sex as a control variable is difficult to assess because of the relatively small number of girls in the sample. The original relationship between abuse and delinquency remains unaltered for males, but becomes non-significant for females (Tables 20, 23 and 24). Table 22 indicates that, for girls, the direction of the expected relationship is actually reversed in the case of instrumental property offenses. Caution is advised in drawing conclusions about female offenders and physical abuse, due to the small contingent of girls studied. For this sample, the linkage found between abuse and delinquency appears to be largely specific to males.

Family Structure

Tables 25 through 29 present the results of breaking down the five bivariate tables into the two levels of family structure described in the previous chapter: broken and intact.

Table 25

Involvement in Personal Violence by Abuse Category
for Subjects from Broken and Intact Homes

Degree of involvement	Broken			Intact			Total
	Non-abused (%)	Abused (%)	<u>n</u>	Non-abused (%)	Abused (%)	<u>n</u>	
Low	55.2	26.5	29	65.2	15.8	18	47
Medium	20.7	40.8	26	21.7	52.6	15	41
High	24.1	32.7	23	13.0	31.6	9	32
Total	<u>n</u> =29	<u>n</u> =49	78	<u>n</u> =23	<u>n</u> =19	42	120

$$\chi^2 = 6.7 (df=2, p < .05)$$

$$\chi^2 = 10.2 (df=2, p < .005)$$

Table 26

Involvement in Expressive Property Offense by Abuse Category
for Subjects from Broken and Intact Homes

Degree of involvement	Broken			Intact			Total
	Non-abused (%)	Abused (%)	<u>n</u>	Non-abused (%)	Abused (%)	<u>n</u>	
Low	62.1	30.6	33	47.8	21.1	15	48
Medium	13.8	24.5	16	30.4	57.9	18	34
High	24.1	44.9	29	21.7	21.0	9	38
Total	<u>n</u> =29	<u>n</u> =49	78	<u>n</u> =23	<u>n</u> =19	42	120

$$\chi^2 = 7.3 (df=2, p < .05)$$

$$\chi^2 = 4.0 (df=2, p > .05)$$

Table 27

Involvement in Instrumental Property Offenses by Abuse Category
for Subjects from Broken and Intact Homes

Degree of involvement	Broken			Intact			Total
	Non-abused (%)	Abused (%)	<u>n</u>	Non-abused (%)	Abused (%)	<u>n</u>	
Low	58.6	30.6	32	47.8	21.1	15	47
Medium	13.8	32.7	20	30.4	42.1	15	35
High	27.6	36.7	26	21.7	36.8	12	38
Total	<u>n</u> =29	<u>n</u> =49	78	<u>n</u> =23	<u>n</u> =19	42	120

$$\chi^2 = 6.4 \text{ (df=2, } p < .05)$$

$$\chi^2 = 3.4 \text{ (df=2, } p > .05)$$

Table 28

Involvement in Victimless Offenses by Abuse
Category for Subjects from Broken and Intact Homes

Degree of involvement	Broken			Intact			Total
	Non-abused (%)	Abused (%)	<u>n</u>	Non-abused (%)	Abused (%)	<u>n</u>	
Low	58.6	28.6	31	43.5	21.0	14	45
Medium	20.7	34.7	23	47.8	57.9	22	45
High	20.7	36.7	24	8.7	21.1	6	30
Total	<u>n</u> =29	<u>n</u> =49	78	<u>n</u> =23	<u>n</u> =19	42	120

$$\chi^2 = 6.9 \text{ (df=2, } p < .05)$$

$$\chi^2 = 2.9 \text{ (df=2, } p > .05)$$

Table 29

Total Involvement in Delinquency by Abuse Category
for Subjects from Broken and Intact Homes

Degree of involvement	Broken			Intact			Total
	Non-abused (%)	Abused (%)	<u>n</u>	Non-abused (%)	Abused (%)	<u>n</u>	
Low	51.7	26.5	28	47.8	15.8	14	42
Medium	27.6	32.7	24	39.1	42.1	17	41
High	20.7	40.8	26	13.0	42.1	11	37
Total	<u>n</u> =29	<u>n</u> =49	78	<u>n</u> =23	<u>n</u> =19	42	120

$$\chi^2=5.6 \text{ (df=2, } p>.05)$$

$$\chi^2=6.5 \text{ (df=2, } p<.05)$$

Table 25 shows that a greater difference between levels of personal violence for abused and non-abused subjects exists in intact homes than broken homes, but the chi-square value remains significant for both groups. This is the only dimension of delinquency not altered by the introduction of family structure as a control. Tables 26 through 28 suggest that involvement in both kinds of property offense and in victimless offenses is significantly associated with the level of abuse only when the offender comes from a broken home. Table 29 indicates that the total amount of illegal activity varies significantly with abuse only for children from intact homes. An analysis of the percentages in Tables 26 through 29, however, shows that although half of the chi-square values fail to reach significance, the abused group typically reports higher involvement in the different delinquent activities than the non-abused group.

SES.

Tables 30 through 34 depict the relationships between delinquency and abuse when family socioeconomic status, as measured by parents' job ranking, is controlled. A low status includes unemployed parents and those with blue-collar rank, and a high status includes parents in the professions, arts, and white-collar technical or managerial work.

Table 30

Involvement in Personal Violence Offenses by Abuse
Category for Low and High SES

Degree of involvement	Low			High			Total
	Non-abused (%)	Abused (%)	<u>n</u>	Non-abused (%)	Abused (%)	<u>n</u>	
Low	60.0	29.3	33	62.5	15.4	14	47
Medium	28.6	48.8	30	6.3	34.6	10	40
High	11.4	22.0	13	31.2	50.0	18	31
Total	<u>n</u> =35	<u>n</u> =41	76	<u>n</u> =16	<u>n</u> =26	42	118

$$\chi^2 = 7.3 \text{ (df=2, } p < .05)$$

$$\chi^2 = 10.7 \text{ (df=2, } p < .005)$$

Table 31

Involvement in Expressive Property Offenses by Abuse
Category for Low and High SES

Degree of involvement	Low			High			Total
	Non-abused (%)	Abused (%)	<u>n</u>	Non-abused (%)	Abused (%)	<u>n</u>	
Low	57.1	34.1	34	50.0	19.2	13	47
Medium	20.0	34.1	21	25.0	30.8	12	33
High	22.9	31.7	21	25.0	50.0	17	38
Total	<u>n</u> =35	<u>n</u> =41	76	<u>n</u> =16	<u>n</u> =26	42	118

$$\chi^2=4.1 \text{ (df=2, } p>.05)$$

$$\chi^2=4.5 \text{ (df=2, } p>.05)$$

Table 32

Involvement in Instrumental Property Offenses by Abuse
Category for Low and High SES

Degree of involvement	Low			High			Total
	Non-abused (%)	Abused (%)	<u>n</u>	Non-abused (%)	Abused (%)	<u>n</u>	
Low	62.8	31.7	35	31.3	23.1	11	46
Medium	14.3	39.0	21	37.5	30.8	14	35
High	22.9	29.3	20	31.3	46.2	17	37
Total	<u>n</u> =35	<u>n</u> =41	76	<u>n</u> =16	<u>n</u> =26	42	118

$$\chi^2=9.9 \text{ (df=2, } p<.01)$$

$$\chi^2=0.95 \text{ (df=2, } p>.05)$$

Table 33

Involvement in Victimless Offenses by Abuse
Category for Low and High SES

Degree of involvement	Low			High			Total
	Non-abused (%)	Abused (%)	<u>n</u>	Non-abused (%)	Abused (%)	<u>n</u>	
Low	60.0	26.8	32	37.5	26.9	13	45
Medium	25.7	53.7	33	43.8	19.2	12	43
High	14.3	19.5	13	18.8	53.8	17	30
Total	<u>n</u> =35	<u>n</u> =41	76	<u>n</u> =16	<u>n</u> =26	42	118

$$\chi^2=8.9 \text{ (df=2, p<.05)}$$

$$\chi^2=5.0 \text{ (df=2, p>.05)}$$

Table 34

Total Involvement in Delinquency by Abuse
Category for Low and High SES

Degree of involvement	Low			High			Total
	Non-abused (%)	Abused (%)	<u>n</u>	Non-abused (%)	Abused (%)	<u>n</u>	
Low	62.9	24.4	32	25.0	23.1	10	42
Medium	20.0	53.7	29	56.2	7.6	11	40
High	17.1	21.0	15	18.8	69.2	21	36
Total	<u>n</u> =35	<u>n</u> =41	76	<u>n</u> =16	<u>n</u> =26	42	118

$$\chi^2=12.6 \text{ (df=2, p<.005)}$$

$$\chi^2=14.0 \text{ (df=2, p<.001)}$$

Examination of the partial tables suggests that controlling for SES changes the initial association between abuse and delinquency. Only two of these relationships - those associating abuse with personal violence (Table 30) and total delinquency (Table 34) - remain statistically significant for both high and low SES groups. However, the sizes of percentage differences in Table 33 lend support to the original linkage found between abuse and victimless crime, even though the chi-square value fails to meet significance for the high SES group. Table 32 indicates that abuse is significantly related to instrumental property offenses for the low SES group. This relationship disappears for the high SES group. Table 31 yields no significant chi-square values but a fairly sharp percentage gap between levels of expressive delinquency for high SES abused and non-abused offenders.

Summary.

It may be helpful to envision the multivariate results and their impact on the five relationships under study by reducing them to symbols that can be compared. Table 35 displays these relationships in tabular form. It may be deduced from inspecting this array that three dimensions of delinquency, (personal violence, victimless illegal activity, and total frequency of delinquent behavior) are rather uniformly associated with abuse across all structural differences. There is less evidence for a relationship between either dimension of property crime and abuse, but the tendency is in the positive direction. Personal violence does appear to be more strongly impacted by abuse, and less

changed by structural controls, than any of the other three specific forms of delinquency.

Table 35

Analysis of the Abuse-Delinquency Relationships
When Controlled for Structural Effects

Significant Primary Relationship	Stability Under Controlled Conditions									
	AGE		RACE		SEX		FAMILY		SES	
	W	O	W	B	M	F	Br	In	L	H
1. Abuse--> personal violence	✓	** **	*	**	** **		*	**	*	***
2. Abuse--> expr. prop. crime	✓		*	*	*		*			✓
3. Abuse--> instr. prop. crime	* ✓		*		*		*		**	✓
4. Abuse--> victimless offense	✓	*	*	*	*	*	*		*	✓
5. Abuse--> overall delinquency	* ✓	✓	✓	***	**	✓	✓	*	***	** **

KEY:

✓ indicates a sizeable percentage difference in offense frequencies between categories of abuse, where "sizeable" = a ratio of $\geq 2:1$.

* indicates a χ^2 value significant at .05 level.
 ** indicates a χ^2 value significant at .01 level.
 *** indicates a χ^2 value significant at .005 level.
 **** indicates a χ^2 value significant at .001 level.

CHAPTER 5

Conclusions

This study was undertaken for the purpose of answering the research question "does being a victim of violence in childhood place an adolescent at a higher risk of becoming involved in violent delinquency than does coming from a non-violent background?" The research project carried out in this connection constituted an empirical test, in a restricted geographical location, of the hypothesis that juvenile offenders who report histories of physical abuse will report involvement in the assaultive forms of delinquency - robbery, assault, rape, and attempted homicide - with significantly greater frequency than will non-abused juvenile offenders. For purposes of comparison, the relationships between abuse victimization and three other dimensions of delinquency - expressive property offense, instrumental property offense, and victimless offense - were measured. The theoretical position supporting the hypotheses was derived from the social learning approach to deviance, in conjunction with a developmental approach to normative socialization.

The empirical component of the study focused on a group of 120 youth who were under juvenile court supervision for delinquency or status offenses. A cross-sectional study was conducted, relying on the self-report technique to ascertain both the existence of physical abuse in their individual backgrounds

and the extent of their participation in 25 specific acts of illegal behavior. On the basis of these subjects' responses to scaled items on the questionnaires, the following findings emerged:

- Seventy-nine percent (N=95) of the delinquents had experienced at least one episode of physical abuse. Sufficient abuse to classify them as abused under the standards of this study had been experienced by 57 percent (N=68).

- The abused subjects reported more frequent involvement than the non-abused in all four specific dimensions of delinquency.

- For this sample of offenders, the degree of involvement in offenses of personal violence was over twice as high for the abused group as for the non-abused. This difference can be attributed to a statistically validated dependency between the abuse variable and the personal violence variable.

- For this sample, the degree of involvement in overall delinquency was twice as high for the abused group as for the non-abused. This difference can be attributed to a dependency between the abuse variable and the total delinquency variable.

- For this sample, the degree of involvement in victimless offenses was higher for the abused group than the non-abused. This difference can be attributed to a dependency between the abuse and victimless-offense variables.

- For this sample, the degree of involvement in expressive property offenses was twice as high for the abused group as for

the non-abused. This difference, however, can be attributed largely to the effects of variables other than abuse.

• For this sample, the degree of involvement in instrumental property offenses was higher for the abused group than for the non-abused. This difference can also be attributed in large part to the effects of the control variables.

These key findings suggest that the research question can be answered, for purposes of describing the population under study, in the affirmative. Abused adolescents appear more susceptible to delinquency.

The data further indicate that only two of the study's five research hypotheses are viable. One is the central hypothesis concerning abuse and personal violence. The other is the final hypothesis, concerning abuse and overall, or total, delinquency. The fourth hypothesis, dealing with abuse and victimless illegal activity, is refuted: its proposition was that no significant relationship would be found. The second and third hypotheses, dealing with the two forms of property crime, are neither affirmed nor refuted. The data do not yield strong support for either position. They suggest, however, that separating property offenses into two types was not useful for identifying the abuse characteristics of the sample.

Results of the study do not indicate conclusively that abused offenders typically select violent forms of delinquency over all others, as had been expected. Several other key findings, however, do support this possibility:

● For boys, involvement in all four dimensions of delinquency and in overall delinquency was significantly related to the extent of abuse they had experienced. However, the contrast was sharper, and the significance level much higher, in the personal violence area than in any other.

● Although offenders in the higher SES bracket reported more delinquency of all kinds than did those in the lower bracket, only in the personal violence area was their offense frequency significantly related to abuse.

● Although offenders from intact homes reported more delinquency of all kinds than did those from broken homes, only in the personal violence area was their offense frequency significantly related to abuse.

● Although older offenders reported more delinquency in all areas than did younger offenders, only in two areas - personal violence and victimless offense - were their offense frequencies significantly related to abuse.

These four findings suggest that abused offenders do tend to show a preference for assaultive delinquency, as might be predicted by social learning theory.

Should it have been anticipated, from learning theory, that victimless activity would be positively related to abuse? Upon re-examination of the raw data, it was discovered that most of the difference between abused and non-abused scores on the victimless offense scale could be accounted for by the frequency with which

members of the abused group reported having run away. More information might have been gained by separating substance-abuse offenses from direct forms of escapist behavior. It can be deduced from the fourth of Burgess and Akers' Social Learning propositions that runaway behavior is an avoidance technique acquired in the learning process. Especially if the abused child learns to accept the victim role, it can be expected that flight from an abusive situation will be quite common. In fact, it might even be expected, by the same logic, that abused adolescents will figuratively escape their abusive environments through the use of drugs. Precisely this conclusion was reached by Lewis and his associates in their (1983) study of abused delinquents. The victimless-offense hypothesis, it is concluded, was less theoretically sound than the others.

A few observations should be made about the effects of the control variables on the present sample. It is not unusual to find more delinquency among boys than girls, nor to observe that older offenders, having had more time to do so, report a higher offense frequency. The matter of racial differences has been controversial (Elliot and Ageton, 1980). For this sample, race appears to influence delinquency less than does any other control variable. Caution in interpretation is recommended, however, because of the extremely low offense rates reported by black subjects. It is not unusual to find these figures the same for both races, but rare to see that they are a good deal lower for blacks. As was stated in the previous chapter, the racial

comparison may be inaccurate. The possibility exists that among the sample there were more undetected educationally or otherwise handicapped blacks than whites.

With these cautions about degree in mind, it may be safely stated that there is more delinquency among abused blacks than non-abused. Another atypical finding is that a good deal more delinquency was reported by high-SES offenders than others. This effect may contain the same distortion as the racial one.

These shortcomings, if indeed they are such, could be substantially overcome in future studies by using the structured individual interview rather than the written survey technique for gathering data. This would also eliminate the problem of missing data and improve response accuracy, by having one person guide the selection of response categories. Questions pertaining to socioeconomic status and family structure would be more easily solved in the framework of a full interview. More details about offense rates and severity of abuse could be obtained if follow-up questions could be asked of only that portion of the group who indicated very frequent involvement in a specific response.

Another limitation of the present research is that the survey instrument, while carefully designed to measure the abuse and violent delinquency constructs, was not originally envisioned as a basis for measuring the other constructs separately. The four corollary hypotheses were not yet a part of the design when the delinquency scales were developed; otherwise, the same number of

items would have been included in each. More items indicating the particular ways in which females commit crime should probably be added: prostitution, for instance.

The size of the sample, while technically adequate for statistical purposes, appears to have been a partial source of the study's lack of conclusiveness concerning the delinquency patterns of females. Victimless activity was the only dimension for which the difference between abused and non-abused girls approached significance. The finding that 79 percent of abused girls report moderate or heavy participation in victimless activity - substantially higher than their corresponding participation in other forms of delinquency - is supported by similar findings from the Mouzakitis (1981) study, which focuses exclusively on girls. In that study, 71 percent of the abused group had participated in victimless delinquency, as compared to only 16 percent in property offenses. Since the proportion of girls in a delinquent population is typically less than 30 percent, a mixed sample of about 200 youths would be needed to obtain convincing conclusions in a multivariate context. While the inclusion of girls in the present sample makes its overall conclusions generalizable to a broader segment of the delinquent population than they would be otherwise, its results serve to point out the possibility that the motives and manifestations of deviance among girls may differ so sharply from those of boys that sex-specific research is more practical.

Given its limitations, and keeping in mind the non-probability sampling technique, the present study is restricted in generalizability to the current delinquent population in the geographical area in which it was conducted. Within this area, it can be inferred that physically abused children, if they do break the law, are at twice as high a risk of committing acts of assaultive delinquency as are non-abused children. As to causality, cross-sectional investigation does not allow its assignment. This issue could have been addressed by establishing time frames for incipient abuse and incipient delinquency; this should be attempted, in the future, by using the interview technique. Even so, the theoretical premise under which the study was undertaken, as well as common logic, suggests that it is more likely than causation proceeds from abuse to delinquency than the other way around.

A wider generalizability may be realized if it is confirmed that conclusions from the present research are supported by those of the most recent similar studies. Mouzakitidis' work reinforcing conclusions about delinquent females has already been discussed. In the matter of proportions of offenders who have been physically abused, previous research has reported from 40 to 90 percent. The 57 percent level defined as abused in this study is a relatively conservative figure, probably because of an effort to approximate legally usable standards in separating abused from non-abused cases. The different modes of operationalizing the abuse variable

preclude exact comparisons of percentages, but trends can be interpreted without identifying specific cut-off points.

In the area of overall delinquency, the present research concurs in its findings with that of Geller and Ford-Somma (1984) and that of Lewis and his associates (1979). It conflicts with Brown's (1984) negative findings on the existence of a linkage between physical abuse and delinquency, but this difference may be due to his sample having been chosen from the general adolescent population. It also conflicts with Sandberg's (1985) conclusion that there is no significant difference between abused and non-abused offenders in the frequency of delinquent behavior. Unfortunately, insufficient detail has been obtained on his research to ascertain whether Sandburg used self-report or official data. Assuming that it was official, it would not necessarily yield results comparable to those of self-report studies. The abundance of supporting data from earlier scholars, including the Gluecks, Alfaro (1978), McCord (1983), Howells (1980), and Pfoutz (1981), allows a confident prediction that abused children are at a significantly higher risk of becoming delinquent than non-abused children, and strengthens the claims of the present study.

In the area of violent delinquency, the present research supports that of Geller and Ford-Somma, Guarino (1985), and Lewis and associates, and serves as a test of Steele's (1982) hypothesis that violence in the home breeds violence on the streets. The Lewis work concurs in the finding that abuse is a more important factor than family structure in explaining delinquency.

Supporting evidence is also gained from one dimension of the Sandberg (1985) study: while he did not find significant correlations between abuse and violent delinquency in general, a breakdown of his data resulted in a significant correlation between abuse and robbery. Earlier evidence from the work of Jenkins (1968) and West and Farrington (1977) provides additional credibility to the conclusions of the present research.

What have been the specific contributions of the present research project? It has further validated the findings of two other pieces of concurrent research undertaken by criminal justice practitioners. It has demonstrated the applicability of the same major conclusions about abuse and juvenile violence to youthful offenders in widely-separated geographical areas of the country. It has enhanced the credibility of the social learning theory of aggression as applied to delinquency, and suggests further investigation of the claim that there exist fairly distinct categories of delinquency. More specific valuable information dealing with the intermediary process that leads from abuse to active aggression could be gained by supplementing the self-report data acquired in this study with a survey on attitudes and motives (an original intention of this project, but set aside because of anticipated complexities at the analysis stage). This project produced empirical evidence that assaultive delinquency may be more processual than structural at root: lessons learned appear more effective than physical and economic environments in

producing crime. It is therefore logical that the content of lessons should be altered, or the child taken out of the "school", if the amount of crime is to be reduced.

There are some practical policy implications to be derived from the above discussion. When decisions are being made about returning abused children to their parents, the issue of role modeling as well as future physical harm should be considered. If the child is a delinquent who has received training in law-abiding social behavior in a good rehabilitative setting, is it reasonable to expect its success to endure if he or she is returned to a home ruled by a hostile, unpredictable, assaultive parent? Training in conflict-resolution skills, quite commonly required in neglect-abuse cases, is also indicated for the families of many delinquents.

One problem unearthed in the course of this study deserves serious consideration by legal experts. This is the need for developing a usable legal definition for the terms abuse and neglect, and disseminating this definition to all persons who come into regular contact with children - including parents. Why don't abused delinquents make the task easier for the system by reporting their abuse? They are accustomed to not being believed, and some are not aware that their maltreatment is against the law. Again, the implication is that physical abuse must be more precisely defined and more systematically prosecuted. The burden of proof should not fall on the abused child.

Critics may ask why, if abuse leads to crime, we find so many abuse victims in society who never break a law. The question is similar to one that challenges the linkage between smoking and lung cancer. No claim is made that 100 percent of the population at risk will fall prey to any condition for which a predictor has been identified. Not all poor families, nor all heavy drug users, nor all victims of violence end up involved with the justice system. But there are practical implications to be derived from research that locates salient factors in the creation of criminals, or delinquents. One is that a thorough abuse-screening program is needed when a child is first identified as a problem to the community. Another is the addressing of the abuse situation, if one is found, as a part of the disposition. This policy need not preclude other dispositional orders making the child responsible for the consequences of his or her law-breaking activity.

If the amount of overlap between abuse and juvenile crime is as extensive as statistics suggest, it is surely worthwhile to move in the direction of early intervention and consolidated treatment. The Howells and Pfoutz data enable us to predict that about half of verified physical abuse victims will end up in court for delinquency. Applying this possibility to the jurisdiction where the present study was done, as many as 750 of the abuse cases confirmed by Child Protective Services in 1984 are at risk of committing juvenile crimes sometime before the year 2000. Each year, a similar number of these delinquency "candidates" will be

accumulated. At the other end of the process, 500 to 600 delinquents come into the system each year in Douglas County. A modest empirically-based projection is that 300 have been, and may still be, abuse victims. It is in the interest of community protection as well as the salvaging of potential individual criminals that a holistic approach be taken to this two-sided problem.

In the end, it is perhaps a reason for more hope than despair that the abuse-delinquency connection has been discovered. Of all factors with a demonstrated significant linkage to serious delinquency, child abuse is unique in that its control falls directly under the authority of the same institution that deals with its consequences - the juvenile justice system.

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APPENDIX A

Nebraska Statutes on Abuse and Delinquency

JUVENILE CODE - INFANTS

(d) GENERAL PROVISIONS

43-245. Terms, defined. As used in sections 43-245 to 43-2,129, unless the context otherwise requires:

- (1) This act shall mean sections 43-245 to 43-2,129;
- (2) Parent shall mean one or both parents;
- (3) Parties shall mean the juvenile as described in section 43-247, his or her parent, guardian, or custodian;
- (4) Juvenile court shall mean the separate juvenile court where it has been established pursuant to sections 43-2,111 to 43-2,129, and the county court sitting as a juvenile court in all other counties. Nothing in sections 43-245 to 43-2,129 shall be construed to deprive the district courts of their habeas corpus, common law, or chancery jurisdiction or jurisdiction acquired in an action for divorce, legal separation, or annulment;
- (5) Traffic offense shall mean any nonfelonious act in violation of a law or ordinance regulating vehicular or pedestrian travel, whether designated a misdemeanor or a traffic infraction;
- (6) Juvenile shall mean any person under the age of eighteen; and
- (7) Age of majority shall mean nineteen years of age.

Source: Laws 1981, LB 346, § 1.

Operative date July 1, 1982.

43-246. Act, how construed. Acknowledging the responsibility of the juvenile court to act to preserve the public peace and security, sections 43-245 to 43-2,129 shall be construed to effectuate the following:

- (1) To assure the rights of all juveniles to care and protection and a stable living environment and to development of their capacities for a healthy personality, physical well-being, and useful citizenship and to protect the public interest;
- (2) To provide for the intervention of the juvenile court in the interest of any juvenile who is within the provisions of sections 43-245 to 43-2,129, with due regard to parental rights and capacities and the availability of nonjudicial resources;
- (3) To remove juveniles who are within sections 43-245 to 43-2,129 from the criminal justice system whenever possible and to reduce the possibility of their committing future law violations through the provision of social and rehabilitative services to such juveniles and their families;
- (4) To achieve the foregoing purposes in the juvenile's own home whenever possible, separating the juvenile from his or her parent only when necessary for his or her welfare or in the interest of public safety and, when temporary separation is necessary, to consider the developmental needs of the individual juvenile in all placements and to assure every reasonable effort possible to reunite the juvenile and his or her family; and
- (5) To provide a judicial procedure through which these purposes and goals are accomplished and enforced in which the parties are assured a fair hearing and their constitutional and other legal rights are recognized and enforced.

Source: Laws 1981, LB 346, § 2; Laws 1982, LB 787, § 1.

Operative date July 1, 1982.

43-247. Juvenile courts; jurisdiction. The juvenile court shall have exclusive original jurisdiction as to any juvenile defined in subdivision (1) of this section who is under the age of sixteen, as to any juvenile defined in subdivision (3) of this section, and as to the parties and proceedings provided in subdivisions (5) and (6) of this section. As used in this section, all references to the juvenile's age shall be the age at the time the act which occasioned the juvenile court action occurred. The juvenile court shall have concurrent original jurisdiction with the district court, county court, and municipal court as to any juvenile defined in subdivision (1) of this section who is age sixteen or seventeen, and any juvenile defined in subdivision (4) of this section. Notwithstanding any disposition entered by the juvenile court under the provisions of sections 43-245 to 43-2,129, the juvenile court's jurisdiction over any individual adjudged to be within the provisions of this section shall continue until the individual reaches the age of majority or the court otherwise discharges the individual from its jurisdiction.

The juvenile court in each county as herein provided shall have jurisdiction of:

(1) Any juvenile who has committed an act other than a traffic offense which would constitute a misdemeanor or an infraction under the laws of this state, or violation of a city or village ordinance;

(2) Any juvenile who has committed an act which would constitute a felony under the laws of this state;

(3) Any juvenile (a) who is homeless or destitute, or without proper support through no fault of his or her parent, guardian, or custodian; or who is abandoned by his or her parent, guardian, or custodian; who lacks proper parental care by reason of the fault or habits of his or her parent, guardian, or custodian; whose parent, guardian, or custodian neglects or refuses to provide proper or necessary subsistence, education, or other care necessary for the health, morals, or well-being of such juvenile; whose parent, guardian, or custodian neglects or refuses to provide special care made necessary by the mental condition of the juvenile; who is in a situation or engages in an occupation dangerous to life or limb or injurious to the health or morals of such juvenile; or (b) who, by reason of being wayward or habitually disobedient, is uncontrolled by his or her parent, guardian, or custodian; who deports himself or herself so as to injure or endanger seriously the morals or health of himself, herself, or others; or who is habitually truant from home or school;

(4) Any juvenile who has committed an act which would constitute a traffic offense as defined in section 43-245;

(5) The parent, guardian, or custodian who has custody of any juvenile described in this section;

(6) The proceedings for termination of parental rights as provided in sections 43-245 to 43-2,129;

(7) The proceedings for termination of parental rights as provided in section 42-364.

Source: Laws 1981, LB 346, § 3; Laws 1982, LB 215, § 2; Laws 1982, LB 787, § 2.

(e) LAW ENFORCEMENT PROCEDURES

43-248. Temporary custody of juvenile without warrant; when. A juvenile may be taken into temporary custody by any officer of the peace without a warrant or order of the court (1) when in the presence of the officer the juvenile has violated a state law or municipal ordinance, (2) when a felony has been committed and the officer has reasonable grounds to believe such juvenile committed it, (3) when such

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a state agency or institution, transmitted by such state agency or institution quarterly to the Director of Administrative Services for credit to the proper fund. If the parent willfully fails or refuses to pay such sum, the court may proceed against him or her as for contempt, or execution shall issue at the request of any person, agency, or institution treating or maintaining such juvenile. The court may afterwards, because of a change in the circumstances of the parties, revise or alter the order of payment for support, study, or treatment.

Source: Laws 1981, LB 346, § 46; Laws 1982, LB 787, § 20.
Operative date July 1, 1982.

43-291. Termination of parental rights; proceedings. Facts may also be set forth in the original petition, a supplemental petition, or motion filed with the court alleging that grounds exist for the termination of parental rights. After a petition, a supplemental petition, or motion has been filed, the court shall cause to be endorsed on the summons and notice that the proceeding is one to terminate parental rights, shall set the time and place for the hearing, and shall cause summons and notice, with a copy of the petition, supplemental petition, or motion attached, to be given in the same manner as required in other cases before the juvenile court.

Source: Laws 1981, LB 346, § 47.
Operative date July 1, 1982.

43-292. Termination of parental rights; grounds; appointment of guardian ad litem. The court may terminate all parental rights between the parents or the mother of a juvenile born out of wedlock and such juvenile when the court finds such action to be in the best interests of the juvenile and it appears by the evidence that one or more of the following conditions exist:

- (1) The parents have abandoned the juvenile for six months or more immediately prior to the filing of the petition;
- (2) The parents have substantially and continuously or repeatedly neglected the juvenile and refused to give the juvenile necessary parental care and protection;
- (3) The parents, being financially able, have willfully neglected to provide the juvenile with the necessary subsistence, education, or other care necessary for his or her health, morals, or welfare or have neglected to pay for such subsistence, education, or other care when legal custody of the juvenile is lodged with others and such payment ordered by the court;
- (4) The parents are unfit by reason of debauchery, habitual use of intoxicating liquor or narcotic drugs, or repeated lewd and lascivious behavior, which conduct is found by the court to be seriously detrimental to the health, morals, or well-being of the juvenile;
- (5) The parents are unable to discharge parental responsibilities because of mental illness or mental deficiency and there are reasonable grounds to believe that such condition will continue for a prolonged indeterminate period; or
- (6) Following a determination that the juvenile is one as described in subdivision (3)(a) of section 43-247, reasonable efforts, under the direction of the court, have failed to correct the conditions leading to the determination.

When termination of the parent-juvenile relationship is sought under subdivision (5) of this section, the court shall appoint a guardian ad litem for the alleged incompetent parent. The court may, in any other case, appoint a guardian ad litem, as may be deemed necessary or desirable, for any party. The guardian ad litem shall be paid a reasonable fee set by the court and paid from the general fund of the county.

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Source: Laws 1981, LB 346, § 48.
Operative date July 1, 1982.

43-293. Termination of parental rights; effect; adoption; consent. When the parental rights have been terminated under section 43-292 and the care of the juvenile is awarded to the Department of Public Welfare, the department shall have authority to consent to the legal adoption of such juvenile and no other consent shall be required to authorize any court having jurisdiction to enter a legal decree of adoption of such juvenile. When the care of such juvenile is awarded to an individual or association and the parental rights have been terminated by the juvenile court, such individual or association may consent, only when authorized by order of such juvenile court, to the legal adoption of such juvenile and no other consent shall be required to authorize any court having jurisdiction to enter a legal decree of adoption of such juvenile, except that the Department of Public Welfare, an individual, or an association to whom the care of a juvenile has been committed by a juvenile court prior to July 13, 1967, shall have authority to consent to the legal adoption of such juvenile, without an order terminating parental rights. An order terminating the parent-juvenile relationship shall divest the parent and juvenile of all legal rights, privileges, duties, and obligations with respect to such juvenile. The order terminating parental rights shall be final and may be appealed in the same manner as other final judgments of a juvenile court.

Source: Laws 1981, LB 346, § 49.
Operative date July 1, 1982.

43-294. Termination of parental rights; custodian; rights; obligations. The custodian appointed by a juvenile court shall have charge of the person of the juvenile and the right to make decisions affecting the person of the juvenile, including medical, dental, surgical, or psychiatric treatment, except that consent to a juvenile marrying or joining the armed forces of the United States may be given by a custodian, other than the Department of Public Welfare, with approval of the juvenile court, or by the department, as to juveniles in its custody, without further court authority. The authority of a custodian appointed by a juvenile court shall terminate when the individual under legal custody reaches nineteen years of age, is legally adopted, or the authority is terminated by order of the juvenile court. When an adoption has been granted by a court of competent jurisdiction as to any such juvenile, such fact shall be reported immediately by such custodian to the juvenile court. If the adoption is denied, the jurisdiction over the juvenile shall immediately revert to the court which authorized placement of the juvenile for adoption. Any association or individual receiving the care or custody of any such juvenile shall be subject to visitation or inspection by the Department of Public Welfare, or any probation officer of such court or any person appointed by the court for such purpose, and the court may at any time require from such association or person a report or reports containing such information or statements as the judge shall deem proper or necessary to be fully advised as to the care, maintenance, and moral and physical training of the juvenile, as well as the standing and ability of such association or individual to care for such juvenile.

Source: Laws 1981, LB 346, § 50.
Operative date July 1, 1982.

43-295. Juvenile court; continuing jurisdiction; exception. Except when the care of the juvenile is awarded to the Department of Public Welfare, together with termination of parental rights, or the juvenile has been legally adopted, the

28-709. Contributing to the delinquency of a child; penalty; definitions.

Constitutionality of this section will not be considered when raised for the first time on appeal. *State v. Hiross*, 211 Neb. 319, 318 N.W.2d 291 (1982).

28-710. ~~Abuse or neglect, other terms, defined.~~ As used in sections 28-710 to 28-727, unless the context otherwise requires:

- (1) Department shall mean the Department of Social Services;
- (2) Law enforcement agency shall mean the police department or town marshal in incorporated municipalities and the office of the sheriff in unincorporated areas; and
- (3) Abuse or neglect shall mean knowingly, intentionally, or negligently causing or permitting a minor child or an incompetent or disabled person to be: (a) Placed in a situation that endangers his or her life or physical or mental health; (b) cruelly confined or cruelly punished; (c) deprived of necessary food, clothing, shelter, or care; (d) left unattended in a motor vehicle, if such minor child is six years of age or younger; or (e) sexually abused.

Source: Laws 1977, LB 38, § 149; Laws 1979, LB 505, § 1; Laws 1982, LB 522, § 3.
Operative date July 1, 1983.

28-711. ~~Child, incompetent or disabled person subjected to abuse or neglect; report; contents; toll-free number.~~ (1) When any physician, medical institution, nurse, school employee, social worker, or any other person has reasonable cause to believe that a child or an incompetent or disabled person has been subjected to abuse or neglect, or observes such person being subjected to conditions or circumstances which reasonably would result in abuse or neglect, he or she shall report such incident or cause a report to be made to the proper law enforcement agency or to the department on the toll-free number established by subsection (2) of this section. Such report may be made orally by telephone, with the caller giving his or her name and address, and shall be followed by a written report, and to the extent available shall contain the address and age of the abused or neglected person, the address of the person or persons having custody of the abused or neglected person, the nature and extent of the abuse or neglect, or the conditions and circumstances which would reasonably result in such abuse or neglect, any evidence of previous abuse or neglect including the nature and extent, and any other information which in the opinion of the person may be helpful in establishing the cause of such abuse or neglect and the identity of the perpetrator or perpetrators. Law enforcement agencies receiving any reports of abuse or neglect under this subsection shall notify the state central registry on the next working day by phone or mail.

(2) There shall be established a single, statewide toll-free number within the department to be used by any person any hour of the day or night, any day of the week to make reports of abuse or neglect to the department. Reports of abuse or neglect not previously made to or by a law enforcement agency shall be made immediately to such agency by the department.

Source: Laws 1977, LB 38, § 150; Laws 1979, LB 505, § 2; Laws 1982, LB 522, § 4.
Operative date July 1, 1983.

28-713. Department of Social Services, investigate cases of abuse or neglect; social services, provide; report or summary. (1) The department shall investigate each case of alleged abuse or neglect and shall provide such social services as are necessary and appropriate under the circumstances to protect the abused or neglected person and preserve the family.

(2) The department ~~may~~ make a request for further assistance from the law enforcement agency or take such legal action as may be appropriate under the circumstances.

(3) The department shall make a written report or a case summary to the proper law enforcement agency in the county and to the state Abused and Neglected Child, Incompetent and Disabled Person Registry of all reported cases of abuse or neglect and action taken with respect to all such cases on forms provided by the department.

Source: Laws 1977, LB 38, § 152; Laws 1979, LB 505, § 4; Laws 1982, LB 522, § 5.
Operative date July 1, 1983.

28-723. Subject of report; request to amend, expunge, or remove information; denied; hearing; decision; appeal. At any time subsequent to the completion of the department's investigation, a subject of a report may request the department to amend, expunge identifying information from, or remove the record of the report from the register. If the department refuses to do so or does not act within thirty days, the subject shall have the right to a fair hearing within the department to determine whether the record of the report should be amended, expunged, or removed on the grounds that it is inaccurate or that it is being maintained in a manner inconsistent with this act. Such fair hearing shall be held within a reasonable time after the subject's request and at a reasonable place and hour. In such hearings, the burden of proving the accuracy and consistency of the record shall be on the department. A juvenile court finding of child abuse or child neglect shall be presumptive evidence that the report was not unfounded. The hearing shall be conducted by the head of the department or his or her designated agent, who is hereby authorized and empowered to order the amendment, expunction, or removal of the record to make it accurate or consistent with the requirements of this act. The decision shall be made in writing, at the close of the hearing, or within thirty days thereof, and shall state the reasons upon which it is based. Decisions of the department may be appealed under the provisions of sections 84-909 to 84-916.

Source: Laws 1979, LB 505, § 11; Laws 1982, LB 522, § 6.
Operative date July 1, 1983.

Note: "This act" includes sections 28-710, 28-711, 28-712, 28-713, 28-715, and 28-718 to 28-727.

28-725. Records, report; confidential; violation; penalty. All records of the department concerning reports of noninstitutional child abuse or neglect, including reports made to the department or central register, and all records of the department generated as a result of such reports, shall be confidential and shall not be disclosed except as specifically authorized by this act or other applicable law. Permitting, assisting, or encouraging the unauthorized release of any information contained in such reports or records shall be a Class V misdemeanor.

Source: Laws 1979, LB 505, § 13; Laws 1982, LB 522, § 8.
Operative date July 1, 1983.

Note: "This act" includes sections 28-710, 28-711, 28-712, 28-713, 28-715, and 28-718 to 28-727.

28-726. Records; access; persons, officials, agencies; enumerated. Except as provided in this section and section 28-722, no person, official, or agency shall have access to such records unless in furtherance of purposes directly connected with the administration of this act. Such persons, officials, and agencies having access to such records shall include but not be limited to:

(1) A law enforcement agency investigating a report of known or suspected abuse or neglect;

(2) A county attorney in preparation of an abuse, neglect, or termination petition;

(3) A physician who has before him or her a person whom he or she reasonably suspects may be abused or neglected;

(4) An agency having the legal responsibility or authorization to care for, treat, or supervise an abused or neglected child, incompetent, or disabled person, or a parent, guardian, or other person responsible for the abused or neglected child, incompetent, or disabled person's welfare who is the subject of a report; and

(5) Any person engaged in bona fide research or auditing. No information identifying the subjects of the report shall be made available to the researcher or auditor.

Source: Laws 1979, LB 505, § 14; Laws 1982, LB 522, § 9.
Operative date July 1, 1983.

Note: "This act" includes sections 28-710, 28-711, 28-712, 28-713, 28-715, and 28-718 to 28-727.

28-707. Child abuse; penalty. (1) A person commits child abuse if he or she knowingly, intentionally, or negligently causes or permits a minor child to be:

(a) Placed in a situation that endangers his or her life or health; or

(b) Cruelly confined or cruelly punished; or

(c) Deprived of necessary food, clothing, shelter, or care.

(2) The statutory privilege between patient and physician and between husband and wife shall not be available for excluding or refusing testimony in any prosecution for a violation of this section.

(3) Child abuse is a Class I misdemeanor if the offense is committed negligently.

(4) Child abuse is a Class IV felony if the offense is committed knowingly and intentionally.

Source: Laws 1977, LB 38, § 146; Laws 1982, § 1.
Effective date July 17, 1982.

28-708. Abuse of an incompetent or disabled person; penalty.

(1) A person commits abuse of an incompetent or disabled person if he or she knowingly, intentionally, or negligently causes or permits an incompetent person or a disabled person to be:

(a) Placed in a situation that endangers his or her life or health; or

(b) Cruelly confined or cruelly punished; or

(c) Deprived of necessary food, clothing, shelter, or care.

(2) The statutory privilege between patient and physician and between husband and wife shall not be available for excluding or refusing testimony in any prosecution for a violation of this section.

(3) Abuse of an incompetent or disabled person is a Class I misdemeanor if the offense is committed negligently.

(4) Abuse of an incompetent or disabled person is a Class IV felony if the offense is committed knowingly and intentionally.

Source: Laws 1977, LB 38, § 147; Laws 1982, LB 347, § 11.
Effective date July 17, 1982.

APPENDIX B
The Survey Instrument

1985 JUVENILE JUSTICE PROJECT

This survey is part of a study being done at U.N.O. to find out more about how people live and get along with each other. A lot of young people are being asked to help. Your answers are very important, because it takes a lot of information from many different sources to get things started that can help solve problems between people a few years from now.

This is an anonymous questionnaire: NO NAMES are to be written on it, and no one will ever know which paper was yours. All the answers that are the same will be counted, and then the questionnaires will be destroyed. It is like taking part in a poll, or voting in an election - a secret ballot. Please answer as honestly as you can.

Part I

1. Age on last birthday _____ (date of birth: _____)
2. Sex: male female
3. Race: Black White Other
4. With whom have you lived most of your life? Both natural parents
one parent alone other _____
5. Which adults in your home are employed? _____
What are their jobs? (1) _____
(2) _____
(3) _____
6. Did your mother graduate from high school? _____
7. Did your father graduate from high school? _____

Part II

Everyone's life is a mixture of good and bad experiences. People who like us may be very nice at times, but still treat us unkindly at other times. The next set of questions is about things that might have happened to you at any time in your life- even when you were very small, or as recently as yesterday. The person who did them could be one of your parents or foster parents; another adult who was left in charge; grandparent; an older brother, sister, or person who was living in your house.' Do not count things done to you by younger brothers and sisters, friends, or adults who just happened to be at the house as visitors.

Please make a checkmark by the best answer to each question.

1. Has anyone hit you with a stick or other hard object? Never
once or twice fairly often very often
2. Has anyone shaken you very hard or thrown you against the floor or wall? Never once or twice fairly often very often
3. Have you been hit with a belt or extension cord? Never
once or twice fairly often very often

4. Has anyone thrown things at you to hurt you? Never
 once or twice fairly often very often
5. Have you ever been tied up? Never
 once or twice fairly often very often
6. Have you been kicked? Never
 once or twice fairly often very often
7. Have you been hit on the face or head with fists? Never
 once or twice fairly often very often
8. Has anyone threatened you with a knife or gun? Never
 once or twice fairly often very often
9. Have you been held down and forced to have sex? Never
 once or twice fairly often very often
10. Have you been burned (on purpose) with hot water or a cigarette?
 Never once or twice fairly often very often
11. Have you been beaten so badly that you had bruises? Never
 once or twice fairly often very often
12. Have you been hurt so badly that you started to bleed? Never
 once or twice fairly often very often
13. Have you been choked or strangled? Never
 once or twice fairly often very often
14. Has anyone attacked you with a knife or a gun? Never
 once or twice fairly often very often
15. Have you been beaten, cut, or hurt in any of the above ways badly
 enough to need hospital care? Never once or twice
 several times

Part III

Here is a list of things young people sometimes do that can result in trouble for themselves or others. Please mark the ones you have done at any time in the past. It does not matter whether or not you were "caught"- we are just interested in how you handle these situations. Remember, again, that all the information you give is confidential and anonymous.

Make a checkmark next to the best answer to each question.

1. Have you ever run away? Never once or twice
 several times quite often
2. Have you ever skipped school? Never once or twice
 several times quite often
3. Have you drunk beer, wine, or liquor? Never once or twice
 several times quite often

4. Have you ever smoked pot? Never once or twice
several times quite often
5. Have you used any other drugs? (include prescription drugs not given you
because of an illness, as well as hard drugs) Never
once or twice several times quite often
6. Have you ever shoplifted? Never once or twice
several times quite often
7. Have you stolen money from a family member or friend? Never
once or twice several times quite often
8. Have you stolen money from a stranger, or from desks, lockers, etc?
Never once or twice several times quite often
9. Have you stolen drugs (pills, etc.) to get high? Never
once or twice several times quite often
10. Have you stolen anything in order to sell it? Never
once or twice several times quite often
11. Have you ever stolen a car or motorcycle? Never
once or twice several times quite often
12. Have you ever sold any drugs? Never once or twice
several times quite often
13. Have you damaged anyone else's property on purpose? Never
once or twice several times quite often
14. Have you thrown rocks or shot BBs at moving cars? Never
once or twice several times quite often
15. Have you broken up furniture, dishes, windows, etc. (on purpose)?
Never once or twice several times quite often
16. Have you broken into a building in order to destroy things? Never
once or twice several times quite often
17. Have you set a fire or an explosion inside a building? Never
once or twice several times quite often
18. Have you ever taken part in a gang fight? Never
once or twice several times quite often
19. Have you ever hit a parent or teacher (not in self-defense)? Never
once or twice several times quite often
20. Have you ever beaten anyone up (not in self-defense)? Never
once or twice several times quite often
21. Have you carried any hidden weapon, other than a pocket knife? Never
once or twice several times quite often
22. Have you ever used force to steal something from a person? Never
once or twice several times quite often
23. Have you ever used a knife or gun to steal something from a person?
Never once or twice several times quite often
24. Have you ever used force to make someone have sex? Never
once or twice several times quite often
25. Have you attacked anyone with the idea of seriously injuring, or
possibly killing, that person? Never once or twice
several times quite often

Please go back and read over your answers to be sure you didn't skip any
by mistake. Thank you for your time!

APPENDIX C

Source Scales and Questionnaires

Abuse Scales

(sources)

1. Geller and Ford-Somma's "Things That Have Happened to You" questionnaire:

How many times did someone in your family hit you with a belt or extension cord?
How many times did someone in your family burn you with hot water on purpose?
How many times did someone in your family burn you with a cigarette on purpose?
How many times did someone in your family tie you up?
How many times did someone in your family hit you with a stick or other hard object?
How many times did someone in your family threaten you with a knife or gun?
How many times did someone in your family use a knife or gun against you?
How many times did someone in your family beat you so badly it left bruises?
How many times did someone in your family hurt you so badly you started to bleed?
How many times did someone in your family beat you so badly you had to go to the hospital?

(Geller & Ford-Somma, 1984, Appendix D)

2. Gelles' "Types of Parent-to-Child Violence": force and violence items from the Conflict Tactics Scale:

Incident committed by parent against child

Threw something
Pushed/Grabbed/Shoved
Slapped or Spanked
Kicked/Bit/Hit with Fist
Hit with Something
Beat up
Threatened with Knife/Gun
Used Knife or Gun

(Gelles, 1980; p.41)

3. Sapp and Carter's "Which of the following do you consider to be PHYSICAL child abuse?" questions:

Spanking child with wooden paddle
Spanking child with coathanger or other such object.
Shaking child
Spanking child with hand
Slapping child's face with hand
Biting child
Striking child with fist
Spanking child with belt
Shaking child violently
Holding or placing child in very hot water
Pinching child

(Sapp & Carter, 1978; p.12)

4. Sapp and Carter's "Which of the following do you consider to be SEXUAL child abuse?" questions:

Forcing a child into sexual activity with another child
Forcing or enticing a child to engage in sexual activity
A parent having sexual intercourse with his own child

Delinquency Questionnaire from the National Youth Survey
Elliott, D.S & Ageton, S.S., 1980)

SELF-REPORTED DELINQUENCY AND DRUG-USE ITEMS AS
EMPLOYED IN THE NATIONAL YOUTH SURVEY

How many times in the last year have you:

1. purposely damaged or destroyed property belonging to your *parents* or other family members.
2. purposely damaged or destroyed property belonging to a *school*.
3. purposely damaged or destroyed *other property* that did not belong to you (not counting family or school property).
4. stolen (or tried to steal) a *motor vehicle*, such as a car or motorcycle.
5. stolen (or tried to steal) something worth more than \$50.
6. knowingly bought, sold or held stolen goods (or tried to do any of these things).
7. thrown objects (such as rocks, snowballs, or bottles) at cars or people.
8. run away from home.
9. lied about your age to gain entrance or to purchase something; for example, lying about your age to buy liquor or get into a movie.
10. carried a hidden weapon other than a plain pocket knife.
11. stolen (or tried to steal) things worth \$5 or less.
12. attacked someone with the idea of seriously hurting or killing him/her.
13. been paid for having sexual relations with someone.
14. had sexual intercourse with a person of the opposite sex other than your wife/husband.
15. been involved in gang fights.
16. sold marijuana or hashish ("pot," "grass," "hash").
17. cheated on school tests.
18. hitchhiked where it was illegal to do so.
19. stolen money or other things from your *parents* or other members of your family.
20. hit (or threatened to hit) a *teacher* or other adult at school.
21. hit (or threatened to hit) one of your *parents*.
22. hit (or threatened to hit) other *students*.
23. been loud, rowdy, or unruly in a public place (disorderly conduct).

24. sold hard drugs, such as heroin, cocaine, and LSD.

25. taken a vehicle for a ride (drive) without the owner's permission.

26. bought or provided liquor for a minor.

27. had (or tried to have) sexual relations with someone against their will.

28. used force (strong-arm methods) to get money or things from other *students*.

29. used force (strong-arm methods) to get money or things from a *teacher* or other adult at school.

30. used force (strong-arm methods) to get money or things from *other people* (not students or teachers).

31. avoided paying for such things as movies, bus or subway rides, and food.

32. been drunk in a public place.

33. stolen (or tried to steal) things worth between \$5 and \$50.

34. stolen (or tried to steal) something at school, such as someone's coat from a classroom, locker, or cafeteria, or a book from the library.

35. broken into a building or vehicle (or tried to break in) to steal something or just to look around.

36. begged for money or things from strangers.

37. skipped classes without an excuse.

38. failed to return extra change that a cashier gave you by mistake.

39. been suspended from school.

40. made obscene telephone calls, such as calling someone and saying dirty things.

How often in the last year have you used:

41. alcoholic beverages (beer, wine and hard liquor).

42. marijuana—hashish ("grass," "pot," "hash").

Delinquency Scales from the Seattle Survey
(Hindelang et al, 1981)

MEASURING DELINQUENCY

<i>Official Offenses</i>	<i>Self-Report Items</i>
<u>Persons Offense</u>	
Assault/fighting	Hit a teacher or school official
Assault with weapon	Beat someone up so badly they probably needed a doctor
Threats	Forced another person to have sex relations with you when they didn't want to
Threats with weapon	Picked a fight with someone you didn't know
Maiming/aggravated assault	Jumped someone and beat them up
Rape/attempted rape	Cursed or threatened an adult to let them know who was boss
Murder	Hit one of your parents
Sex offenses/morals with victim	
Indecent liberties	
Menacing	
<u>Weapons Offense</u>	
Carrying a concealed weapon	Pulled weapon on someone to show you meant business
Discharging a weapon	Carried a weapon with intention to use in fight
Possession/unlawful use of dangerous weapon	
Weapons (unspecified)	
<u>Vehicle Larceny</u>	
Attempted vehicle theft	Taken gasoline from car without permission
Car prowl/car break-in	Taken expensive part of car without permission
	Taken tape deck or CB radio from car
	Broken into a locked car to get something
<u>Shoplifting</u>	
Shoplifting	Caught shoplifting by clerk or owner
	Taken things (\$10 to \$50) without paying
	Taken things (more than \$50) without paying
	Taken things (less than \$2) without paying
<u>Other Larcenies</u>	
Theft/larceny (unspecified)	Taken things from wallet or purse
Grand larceny	Grabbed purse and ran with it
Petty larceny	Tried to pass a check by forging name
Purse snatch/wallet snatch	Sold something you had stolen yourself
Mail theft	Taken things from a desk/locker at school
Meter/coin box theft	Used slug/fake money in machine
Siphoning gas	Broken into parking meter/coin box
Tiltap	Bought something you knew was stolen

Official Offenses

Self-Report Items

Attempted larceny

Kept money you collected for team, charity
Taken mail from someone's mailbox and open
Taken material from a construction site

Vandalism

Property destruction

Intentionally started a building on fire

Property damage

Purposely broken a car window

Vandalism

Broken the windows of an empty house

Mischief

Broken the windows of a school

Arson

Let the air out of car or truck tires

Attempted arson

Break up furniture in public housing

Slashed seats in bus, movie house, etc.

Puncture/slash tires of a car

Destroyed mailboxes

Destroyed things at a construction site

Fired BB gun at person, passing cars,
or windows of buildings

Drugs

Marijuana consumption

Sold illegal drugs

Marijuana possession

Smoked marijuana

Marijuana sale

Taken angel dust, LSD, or mescaline

Narcotics (unspecified)

Taken barbiturates or methedrine

Narcotics possession

without prescription

Narcotics use

Used heroin

Narcotics possession and use

Used cocaine

Narcotics sale

Glue sniffing

VUSCA

Suspicion of narcotics

Alcohol Offenses

Consumption (unspecified)

Pretended to be older to buy

Possession (unspecified)

booze/cigarettes

Possession and consumption

Drunk beer or wine

(unspecified)

Drunk whiskey, gin, vodka, or other

Alcohol consumption

"hard" liquor

Alcohol possession

Gone to school when drunk or high

Alcohol possession and consumption

Drive a car when drunk or high

Illegal purchase of alcohol

Illegal sale of alcohol

Incorrigible, Runaway, School Misbehavior

Incorrigible, unable to adjust

Been suspended or expelled from school

Runaway

Been sent out of classroom

Occupational Status Scale from the Seattle Study

MEASURING DELINQUENCY

WHITE-COLLAR

- 021 = Semi-skilled (store clerk, mailman, salesman)
- 022 = Skilled (secretary, bookkeeper, court clerk)
- 023 = Entertainer (actor, athlete, model)
- 024 = Professional (doctor, social worker, teacher)
- 025 = Manager (executive, superintendent, editor, senator)

SELF-EMPLOYED

- 031 = Professional (lawyer, architect, dentist)
- 032 = Craftsman (carpenter-contractor, jeweler, mechanic)
- 033 = Merchant (grocery or variety store owner)
- 034 = Large business (factory or department store owner)

OTHER

- 041 = Housewife (taking care of own home—not for pay)
- 042 = Don't know
- 043 = Don't care (not used)
- 044 = None
- 045 = Deceased (not used)
- 088 = No parent (father and/or mother)
- 089 = Retired

SES OCCUPATIONAL DICHOTOMY USED IN ANALYSIS

OCCUPATION STATUS CODE

- 1 = 11, 12, 13, 14, 21, 41, 44 (low)
- 2 = 15, 22, 23, 24, 25, 31, 32, 33, 34 (high)
- 3 = 88 (no parent)
- 4 = 89 (retired)
- 9 = 42, 43, 98, 99 (missing value)

OCCDI—OCCUPATION DICHOTOMY OF PRINCIPAL PARENT

- If Father's Occupation = 3, 4, 9 OCCDI = Mother's Occupation
- If Mother's Occupation = 3, 4, 9 OCCDI = Missing