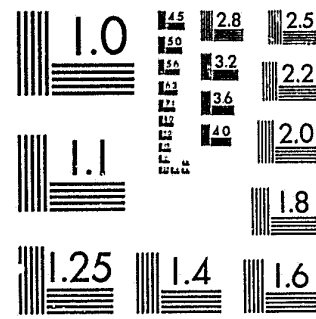


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LONG-TERM CORRELATES
OF CHILD VICTIMIZATION

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ABSTRACT:

THE LONGITUDINAL STUDY REPORTED IN THE PAPER ADDRESSES SIGNIFICANT METHODOLOGICAL GAPS IN THE STATE OF THE ART LITERATURE ON CHILD VICTIMIZATION BY UTILIZING A PROSPECTIVE RESEARCH DESIGN AND COMPARISON SAMPLES MATCHED TO 900 VICTIMS OF EARLIER CHILD ABUSE. DATA COLLECTION TECHNIQUES UTILIZED INFORMATION SOURCES OF SEVERAL COOPERATING AGENCIES--POLICE, WELFARE, AND PROBATION DEPARTMENTS, PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND JUVENILE DEPENDENCY COURT. VICTIMS AND COMPARISON SUBJECTS ARE CONTRASTED ON SOCIAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS AND ON SEVERAL LONG-TERM ADJUSTMENT FACTORS: SCHOOL ADJUSTMENT, DELINQUENCY AND ADULT CRIMINALITY. REPORTED VICTIMS WERE MORE LIKELY THAN COMPARISON SUBJECTS TO COME FROM LOW SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS, WELFARE DEPENDENT AND MOBILE FAMILIES, TO SHOW LOW ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT AND POOR SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT IN SCHOOL, AND TO BECOME DELINQUENT. POSSIBLE REASONS FOR THE FINDINGS, INCLUDING BIASED REPORTING WERE CONSIDERED, AND THE IMPLICATIONS FOR INTERVENTION STRATEGIES DISCUSSED.

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TABLE DE CONTENTS

	PAGE
TITLE PAGE	
LIST OF TABLES	
BACKGROUND	1-5
CURRENT STUDY OBJECTIVES	6-7
RESEARCH DESIGN AND SAMPLING PROCEDURES	8-13
DATA ACQUISITION METHODOLOGY	14-15
FINDINGS:	15-41
(1) DEMOGRAPHIC COMPARISONS	15-21
(2) CORRELATES OF REPEAT VICTIMIZATION	20-25
(3) MOBILITY ANALYSIS	25-27
(4) LONGITUDINAL FOLLOW-UP	27-28
A. ARREST RATES	28-29
B. INTER-GENERATIONAL VICTIMIZATION	29-31
C. SCHOOL ADJUSTMENT	31-32
D. SOCIAL AND ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT	32-37
DISCUSSION: FAMILIES WITH MULTIPLE PROBLEMS	38-41
SUMMARY: CONCLUSIONS:	41-45
BIBLIOGRAPHY	46-49

LIST DE TABLES

TABLE

1	DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE SUBJECTS BY TIME PERIOD.
2	DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE SUBJECTS BY TYPE OF VICTIMIZATION
3	DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF SAMPLE SUBJECTS
4	ETHNICITY DISTRIBUTIONS OF VICTIMS AND COMPARISONS (ETHNICITY FREE TO VARY) BY TYPE OF VICTIMIZATION (1976 AND 1978 SAMPLES)
5	PERCENTAGE OF FAMILIES HAVING RECEIVED FINANCIAL AID.
6	PHYSICAL ABUSE AND MOLEST VICTIMIZATION BY ETHNICITY CONTROLLING FOR SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS. 1978 SAMPLES.
7	REPEAT VICTIMIZATION: 1976 CASES.
8	RECIDIVISM RATES BY CASES CHARACTERISTICS
9	CURRENT SCHOOL STATUS OF 1 976 CASES MARCH 1 980
10	SCHOOL MOBILITY* BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS (1976 VICTIMS AND COMPARISON SUBJECTS).
11	ARREST RATES OF VICTIMS AND COMPARISONS CONTROLLED FOR SES
12	DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF EARLY VICTIMS NOW SUSPECTED VICTIMIZERS.
13	PERCENTAGE OF VICTIMS AND COMPARISONS WITH VARIOUS PROBLEMS NOTED IN GUIDANCE FILES.
14	PERCENTAGE OF STUDENTS RATED AVERAGE OR ABOVE BY NURSE AND COUNSELORS.
15	PERCENTAGE OF STUDENTS PROBLEMS RATED MODERATE OR SERIOUS BY NURSES AND COUNSELORS.
16	COMPOSITE RATINGS OF SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT BASES ON SCHOOL RATINGS.
17	CHARACTERISTICS OF HIGH ACHIEVERS VERSUS LOW ACHIEVERS.

CHILD VICTIMIZATION:

A LONGITUDINAL ANALYSIS

BACKGROUND

ALTHOUGH CHILD VICTIMIZATION HAS BEEN THE SUBJECT OF CONSIDERABLE RESEARCH IN RECENT YEARS, A NUMBER OF ISSUES REMAIN UNRESOLVED. THE CHARACTERISTICS OF ABUSED CHILDREN AND THEIR FAMILIES HAVE FREQUENTLY BEEN DESCRIBED (AMERICAN HUMANE ASSOCIATION, 1978; GIL, 1973; AND SOLOMON, 1973), BUT ADEQUATE COMPARISONS WITH THE GENERAL POPULATION HAVE NOT BEEN AVAILABLE. DESPITE WIDELY HELD ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT HOW VICTIMIZED CHILDREN AND THEIR FAMILIES DIFFER FROM OTHERS IN THEIR COMMUNITIES SUCH DIFFERENCES HAVE NOT BEEN EMPIRICALLY DEMONSTRATED, USING CAREFULLY SELECTED COMPARISON SAMPLES.

WHILE A NUMBER OF CLINICAL STUDIES HAVE DESCRIBED FAMILIES "AT RISK" OF REPEAT VICTIMIZATION, SUCH STUDIES USUALLY FOCUS ON PERSONALITY VARIABLES, FAMILY INTERACTION DYNAMICS, AND FACTORS NOT READILY DISCERNIBLE TO INVESTIGATORS RESPONSIBLE FOR CASE DISPOSITIONS. AS A RESULT, DECISIONS AFFECTING INTERVENTION STRATEGIES ARE FREQUENTLY BASED ON INADEQUATE KNOWLEDGE CONCERNING THE RISK OF REPEAT VICTIMIZATION. INFORMATION IS NEEDED CONCERNING THE PROBABILITY OF REPETITION BASED ON VARIABLES READILY OBSERVABLE DURING THE INITIAL INVESTIGATION.

THE IMPACT OF VICTIMIZATION ON A CHILD'S SUBSEQUENT SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT HAS BEEN DESCRIBED BY SEVERAL INVESTIGATORS. KEMPE AND HELFER (1972)

ASSERT THAT:

"ABUSED CHILDREN WHO HAVE BEEN DENIED NORMAL DEVELOPMENT EXPERIENCES HAVE GREATER DIFFICULTY IN THEIR ABILITY TO MAKE DECISIONS, USE OTHERS PRO-SOCIALLY, DEVELOP TRUST, AND (THEY) MORE EASILY BECOME DEPENDENT ON OTHERS."

SIMILARLY, MARTIN (1972) DESCRIBES DIFFICULTIES IN SCHOOL ADJUSTMENT:

"IN SCHOOL, ABUSED CHILDREN BEHAVE FEARFULLY, ARE CLINGING AND ALOOF WITH PEERS. WITH THE TEACHER, THEY OPPOSE CONTROL, ARE MANIPULATORS, UNRESPONSIVE TO PRAISE, AND APATHETIC TOWARDS THINGS MOST CHILDREN THEIR AGE ENJOY."

HOWEVER, THESE GENERALIZATIONS HAVE NOT BEEN TESTED THROUGH COMPARATIVE MEASUREMENT OF ABUSED AND NON-ABUSED CHILDREN IN SUBSTANTIAL NUMBERS.

WIDESPREAD CONCERN ABOUT THE NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES OF INTERVENTION STRATEGIES, SUCH AS COURT-ORDERED PLACEMENTS, SUGGESTS THE NEED FOR DETERMINING THE EXTENT TO WHICH CHILDREN MAKE INADEQUATE SOCIAL ADJUSTMENTS AS A RESULT OF THE INTERVENTION. ON THE OTHER HAND, THERE ARE SOME CHILDREN THAT SEEM TO ADJUST ADEQUATELY DESPITE THE VICTIMIZATION, AND POSSIBLE INTERVENING FACTORS WITH THESE YOUNGSTERS SHOULD BE STUDIED TO IDENTIFY THE SOURCE OF THEIR "INVULNERABILITY."

A NUMBER OF RESEARCHERS CONTEND THAT ABUSED CHILDREN GROW UP TO BE ABUSIVE PARENTS. SOLOMON (1973) REPORTS THAT 30% - 60% OF ABUSIVE PARENTS CLAIM TO HAVE BEEN ABUSED AS CHILDREN. STEELE AND POLLOCK (1968), AND ADAMS (1976) FOUND "MOST" ABUSING PARENTS HAD BEEN ABUSED AS CHILDREN. YOUNG (1964) THEORIZED THAT ABUSING PARENTS THEMSELVES SUFFERED AT THE HANDS OF THEIR PARENTS. GIBBONS AND WALKER (1956) CONCLUDED THAT

REJECTION, INDIFFERENCE AND HOSTILITY IN CHILDHOOD PRODUCES CRUEL PARENTS. COURT (1969) SAID THAT ABUSING PARENTS TEND TO IDENTIFY WITH THEIR OWN "SADISTIC" PARENTS AND INFLECT ON THEIR OFF-SPRING THE HURTS THEY EXPERIENCED AS CHILDREN. THESE FINDINGS WHILE LOGICAL ARE INCOMPLETE -- THEY FAIL TO INDICATE HOW MANY VICTIMIZED CHILDREN DO NOT BECOME ABUSIVE PARENTS.

ANTI-SOCIAL BEHAVIOR OUTSIDE THE FAMILY UNIT IS ALSO THOUGHT TO RESULT FROM CHILD VICTIMIZATION. CURTIS (1963) ASSERTED THAT VIOLENCE BREEDS VIOLENCE, THEORIZING THAT AN ABUSED CHILD HARBOURS EXCESSIVE HOSTILITY WITHOUT ACCEPTABLE CHANNELS OF RELEASE. BENDER AND CURRAN (1974), DUNCAN (1958), BUTTON (1973), AND EASSON AND STEINHEBER (1961) STUDIED SMALL SAMPLES OF INDIVIDUALS WHO HAD COMMITTED MURDERS OR VIOLENT ASSAULTS AND EACH CONCLUDED THAT THE PERPETRATORS HAD FREQUENTLY BEEN ABUSED AS CHILDREN. MARTIN (1972) ASSERTED THAT THE BATTERED CHILD MAY BECOME VIOLENT, BUT HE QUALIFIED THE STATEMENT BY ACKNOWLEDGING THAT IT IS NOT KNOWN HOW MANY BATTERED CHILDREN GROW UP WITHOUT POLICE OR SOCIAL AGENCY CONTACT.

MUCH OF THE THEORETICAL DEVELOPMENT ON WHICH INTERVENTION STRATEGIES ARE BASED HAS FOCUSED ON PSYCHOPATHOLOGICAL EXPLANATIONS--IT HAS BEEN WIDELY ASSUMED THAT ADULTS WHO ABUSED CHILDREN ARE "SICK." BENNIE AND SCLARE (1969) INDICATE THAT THE TEN PATIENTS INVESTIGATED IN THEIR STUDY OF ASSAULTIVE PARENTS WERE FOUND TO HAVE PERSONALITY DISORDERS CHARACTERIZED BY INADEQUACY AND IMPULSIVE BEHAVIOR. WALTERS (1975) REVIEWS AND CITES A NUMBER OF STUDIES DESCRIBING ABUSERS AS PSYCHOLOGICALLY IMBALANCED--SILVER, DUBLIN, AND LAURIE (1969), FONTANA (1971), AND SPINETTA AND RIGLER (1972). GIL (1971) ALSO REVIEWS A NUMBER OF STUDIES WHICH EMPHASIZE PARENT

PATHOLOGY--STEELE AND POLLOCK (1968), GALDSTRON (1965) AND NUMEROUS OTHERS.

HOWEVER, MULTIDIMENSIONAL MODELS OF CAUSATION ARE INCREASING IN SIGNIFICANCE. KEMPE AND HELFER (1972) POINT OUT THAT ABUSIVE OR NEGLECTFUL BEHAVIOR IS A COMPLEX PATTERN INVOLVING SEVERAL CAUSAL FACTORS. GIL (1971) AND GELLES (1973) HAVE FOCUSED ON THE SOCIOLOGICAL AND CONTEXTUAL VARIABLES ASSOCIATED WITH ABUSE. WHILE THERE HAVE BEEN A NUMBER OF ATTEMPTS TO IDENTIFY THE ABUSE - PRONE PARENT (PAULSON, AFIFI, CHALEF, THOMASTON, AND LIEU 1975, HELFER AND KEMPE 1976) THERE HAS BEEN LITTLE RESEARCH DIRECTED AT SITUATIONAL STRESS FACTORS WHICH MAY PRECIPITATE MALTREATMENT AND WHICH COULD PREDICT RISK OF FUTURE INCIDENTS.

MOST OF THE EARLIER CHILD VICTIMIZATION STUDIES HAVE BEEN PLAUGED BY SERIOUS DESIGN AND METHODOLOGICAL FLAWS. THESE FLAWS INVOLVED RESEARCH DESIGN, SAMPLING, AND DATA COLLECTION TECHNIQUES. RESEARCH DESIGNS WERE LARGELY RESTROSPECTIVE, GENERALIZING FROM EITHER VICTIMS OR VICTIMIZERS, EX POST FACTO, WITH FEW PROSPECTIVE DESIGNS. SAMPLING PROCEDURES HAVE BEEN INADEQUATE--OFTEN USING SMALL, UNREPRESENTATIVE SAMPLES SUCH AS VICTIMIZING PARENTS IN CLINICAL THERAPY PROGRAMS. THE VALIDITY OF DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURES WAS FREQUENTLY SUBJECT TO CHALLENGE SINCE SURVEY DATA FROM VICTIMIZERS WAS USUALLY COLLECTED RETROSPECTIVELY, IN CONJUNCTION WITH LEGAL INVESTIGATIONS, THEREBY INCREASING THE PROBABILITY OF DEMAND AND COMPLIANCE EFFECTS, AND SOCIALLY ACCEPTABLE RESPONSES. IN SUMMARY, MOST OF THE REPORTED EARLY FINDINGS CAN BE CHALLENGED ON THE BASIS OF SERIOUS METHODOLOGICAL FLAWS.

CURRENT STUDY OBJECTIVES

THE CURRENT STUDY WAS DESIGNED TO FILL SIGNIFICANT GAPS IN THE RESEARCH LITERATURE BY A CAREFULLY DESIGNED LONGITUDINAL STUDY. SPECIFICALLY, THE RESEARCH AND SAMPLING DESIGN OFFERED THESE ADVANTAGES OVER EARLIER STUDIES:

(A) A LONGITUDINAL STUDY WHICH TRACES PROSPECTIVELY, THE LONG-TERM BEHAVIORAL OUTCOMES OF VICTIMIZED CHILDREN IDENTIFIED OVER A LONGER TIME SPAN (15 YEARS IN OLDER CASES.)

(B) COMPARISON SAMPLES MATCHED TO VICTIMS ON SEVERAL IMPORTANT DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES, PERMITTING CONTRAST ON DEPENDENT VARIABLES.

(C) SUFFICIENTLY LARGE SAMPLES TO PERMIT STATISTICAL CONTROL OF IMPORTANT DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS.

(D) DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURES UTILIZING OFFICIAL RECORDS OF SECONDARY DATA SOURCES AND PERMITTING TRIANGULATION BETWEEN SEVERAL DATA SOURCES, RATHER THAN RELYING SOLELY ON SUBJECTIVE SURVEY DATA.

THE STUDY HAD THE FOLLOWING OBJECTIVES:

1. COMPARE CURRENTLY VICTIMIZED CHILDREN AND THEIR FAMILIES WITH NON-VICTIMIZED CHILDREN AND THEIR FAMILIES ON SOCIAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS.
2. IDENTIFY SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, AND FAMILY STRESS FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH REPEAT VICTIMIZATION.

3. IDENTIFY PATTERNS OF FAMILY MOBILITY ASSOCIATED WITH CHILD MALTREATMENT AND THE IMPLICATION OF SUCH MOBILITY FOR REPORTING AND INTERVENTION STRATEGIES.

4. EXAMINE THE INTERVENTION STRATEGIES USED WITH RECENT VICTIMIZATION FAMILIES.

5. TRACK CHILDREN VICTIMIZED (AS EARLY AS 1955) INTO YOUNG ADULTHOOD, STUDYING THE INCIDENCE OF DELINQUENCY, ADULT CRIMINALITY AND ABUSE OF THEIR OWN CHILDREN.

FOR DIFFERENT PROJECT OBJECTIVES WE SELECTED DIFFERENT STUDY SAMPLES.

RESEARCH DESIGN AND SAMPLING PROCEDURES

THE BASIC RESEARCH DESIGN EMPLOYED WAS THAT OF A LONGITUDINAL SURVEY WITH DATA COLLECTED AT DIFFERENT POINTS IN TIME ON BOTH VICTIMS (AND THEIR FAMILIES) AND ON MATCHED COMPARISON SUBJECTS. HOWEVER, THE SAMPLES SELECTED AND METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION VARIED WITH DIFFERENT PROJECT OBJECTIVES.

FOR THE FIRST OBJECTIVE, COMPARISON OF SOCIAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH VICTIMIZATION, 600 CASES REPORTED TO AND INVESTIGATED BY THE SAN DIEGO POLICE DEPARTMENT DURING 1976 AND 1978 WERE STUDIED.* THE DISPROPORTIONATE STRATIFIED SAMPLE WAS DELIBERATELY SELECTED AS FOLLOWS: 300 FROM 1976 AND 300 FROM 1978, INCLUDING 200 PHYSICAL ABUSE, 200 NEGLECT AND 200 SEXUAL MOLESTATION VICTIMS (100 FOR EACH YEAR.)**

THE CRITERIA FOR SELECTION OF THE 1976 AND 1978 VICTIM SAMPLES INCLUDED: (A) LOCAL RESIDENCE, (B) ENROLLMENT IN SAN DIEGO CITY SCHOOLS

FOOTNOTES:

*. IN AN EARLIER STUDY, 4,000 CASES REPORTED TO THE SAME JURISDICTION WERE COMPUTER-ANALYZED FOR DESCRIPTIVE DEMOGRAPHIC DATA. HOWEVER, NO COMPARISON SUBJECTS WERE STUDIED. (SEE BOHNSTEDT AND SMITH, 1978)

** . IT WAS NECESSARY TO AUGMENT BOTH THE 1976 AND 1978 SAMPLES FROM ADJACENT YEARS IN ORDER TO OBTAIN SUFFICIENT MOLESTATION AND NEGLECT CASES MEETING SAMPLE CRITERIA.

(TO ALLOW SELECTION OF NON-VICTIMIZED SCHOOLMATES AS COMPARISON SUBJECTS); (C) ONLY ONE VICTIM SELECTED PER FAMILY (USUALLY THE PRIME VICTIM), AND (D) CONDITIONS SERIOUS ENOUGH TO WARRANT FOLLOW-UP (INVESTIGATION, REFERRAL, OR INTERVENTION BY AN AGENCY OTHER THAN POLICE, OR A PREVIOUSLY REPORTED INCIDENT OF CHILD VICTIMIZATION).

IN ADDITION, TWO COMPARISON CASES WERE SELECTED FOR EACH VICTIM: ONE MATCHED ON THE BASIS OF AGE, GENDER AND ETHNICITY WHILE THE SECOND COMPARISON WAS MATCHED ON THE BASIS OF AGE AND GENDER BUT WITH ETHNICITY FREE TO VARY.

OBJECTIVES 2-4 UTILIZED THESE SAME SAMPLES, BUT COLLECTED DIFFERENT DATA FOR EACH OBJECTIVE: THE SAMPLE OF 300 1976 VICTIMS WAS STUDIED TO DETERMINE THE EXTENT OF REPEAT VICTIMIZATION AND SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, AND FAMILY STRESS FACTORS CORRELATED WITH RECIDIVISM. THE SAME 1976 VICTIMS AND THEIR COMPARISON SUBJECTS WERE ALSO STUDIED TO DETERMINE PATTERNS OF FAMILY MOBILITY AND THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MOBILITY AND RECIDIVISM. THE 1978 VICTIMS WERE STUDIED IN MEETING THE FOURTH OBJECTIVE, DETERMINING THE INTERVENTION STRATEGIES USED WITH RECENT VICTIMIZATION FAMILIES.

FOR THE LAST OBJECTIVE, STUDYING LONG-TERM CORRELATES OF VICTIMIZATION, 319 VICTIMIZATION CASES INVESTIGATED BETWEEN 1955 AND 1975 WERE STUDIED. AMONG THESE CASES THERE WERE 122 CLASSIFIED AS PHYSICAL ABUSE, 163 NEGLECT AND 34 SEXUAL MOLESTATION. SINCE ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION WAS NOT AVAILABLE ON EARLY COMPARISON SUBJECTS, ONLY ONE COMPARISON WAS MATCHED FOR EACH VICTIM ON THE BASIS OF AGE AND GENDER.

IDENTIFICATION OF THE EARLY SAMPLE, INCLUDING VICTIMS INVESTIGATED

BETWEEN 1955 AND 1975, INVOLVED SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT CRITERIA. EARLY VICTIMS WERE IDENTIFIED FROM POLICE RECORDS AND SCREENED FOR: (A) LOCAL RESIDENCE AT THE TIME OF INVESTIGATION, (B) ENROLLMENT IN SAN DIEGO CITY SCHOOLS AT THE TIME OF INVESTIGATION, (C) ALL VICTIMIZED SIBLINGS WERE INCLUDED IN THE SAMPLE, (D) CONDITIONS SERIOUS ENOUGH TO WARRANT FOLLOW-UP, (E) LOCAL RESIDENCE.

THE CURRENT-AND-LOCAL RESIDENCE SCREENING, NECESSARY FOR VALIDITY OF LONGITUDINAL COMPARISONS, WAS ACCOMPLISHED WITH THE HELP OF THE CALIFORNIA MOTOR VEHICLES DEPARTMENT. USING MOTOR VEHICLES' RECORDS, WE INITIALLY SELECTED VICTIMS OVER 16 YEARS OF AGE WHO HELD A CALIFORNIA DRIVER'S LICENSE LISTING A CURRENT SAN DIEGO COUNTY RESIDENTIAL ADDRESS. LATER THE SCREENING FOR RESIDENCE WAS EXPANDED TO INCLUDE VICTIMS IDENTIFIED AS LOCAL RESIDENTS THROUGH TWO ADDITIONAL AGENCIES--CITY SCHOOLS AND COUNTY WELFARE. THIS EXPANSION ALLOWED YOUNGER AND LOWER SES VICTIMS TO BE INCLUDED IN THE STUDY.

THE FINAL STAGE IN SCREENING EARLY VICTIMS WAS TO VERIFY LOCAL SCHOOL ENROLLMENT SINCE 1970 -- A CONDITION NECESSARY FOR DATA ACQUISITION AND SELECTION OF COMPARISON SUBJECTS.

BECAUSE MOST OF THE CASES INVESTIGATED FROM 1955 TO 1967 WERE CLASSIFIED AS NEGLECT, OTHER MEANS OF IDENTIFYING EARLY VICTIMS OF PHYSICAL ABUSE AND SEXUAL MOLESTATION WERE EMPLOYED. WE THEREFORE EXTENDED THE EARLY CLOSING DATE FROM 1967 TO 1975 IN ORDER TO INCLUDE SUFFICIENT CASES LABELED AS PHYSICAL ABUSE OR SEXUAL MOLESTATION. VICTIMS YOUNGER THAN 16 YEARS OF AGE WERE INCLUDED IF THEY WERE SCHOOL ENROLLED DURING 1980.

THE SELECTION OF COMPARISON SUBJECTS FOR THE EARLY SAMPLE PROVED TO BE PARTICULARLY DIFFICULT. FIRST, THE EARLY VICTIMS REPRESENTED AN EXTENDED TIME PERIOD OF REPORTING. SECOND, SCHOOL ENROLLMENT ROSTERS WERE NOT AVAILABLE PRIOR TO 1970. THIRD, CURRENT RESIDENCE COULD NOT BE DETERMINED AT INITIAL SAMPLE SELECTION. FINALLY, ETHNICITY WAS NOT AVAILABLE FROM SCHOOL ENROLLMENT ROSTERS MAKING IT IMPOSSIBLE TO MATCH ON ETHNICITY. BECAUSE OF THESE FACTORS, DIFFERENT DECISION RULES REGARDING SELECTION OF EARLY COMPARISON SUBJECTS WERE NECESSARY.

THESE PROBLEMS WERE RESOLVED AS FOLLOWS: THE FIRST AND SECOND PROBLEMS WERE MET BY USING THE EARLIEST AVAILABLE ENROLLMENT ROSTER, 1970, AS THE BASIS FOR MATCHING ON AGE AND GENDER. THIS MEANT THAT THE EARLIEST VICTIMS WHO HAD LEFT SCHOOL PRIOR TO 1970 WERE ELIMINATED FROM THE COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS, (ALTHOUGH LONGITUDINAL FOLLOW-UP DATA WERE STILL COMPILED.) FOR THOSE FEW EARLY VICTIMS REPORTED BETWEEN 1970 AND 1975, SCHOOL ENROLLMENT ROSTERS FOR THE YEAR OF REPORTED VICTIMIZATION WERE USED. THE THIRD PROBLEM OF DETERMINING CURRENT RESIDENCE FOR COMPARISON SUBJECTS WAS MET BY SELECTING MULTIPLE (10) POTENTIAL COMPARISON SUBJECTS FOR EACH VICTIM AND THEN SCREENING FOR CURRENT RESIDENCE THROUGH THE DEPARTMENT OF MOTOR VEHICLES.

FINALLY, WE USED SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS AS A CONTROL VARIABLE SUPERIOR TO ETHNICITY IN MOST ANALYSES. THE SELECTION OF MULTIPLE POTENTIAL COMPARISON SUBJECTS ALLOWED FOR SOME MATCHING ON THE VARIABLE OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS. AMONG THE TEN POTENTIAL COMPARISON SUBJECTS FOR EACH VICTIM, SCREENING INCLUDED SELECTION OF THE COMPARISON WHOSE SCHOOL OF ENROLLMENT MOST CLOSELY MATCHED THE VICTIM'S SCHOOL ON A COMPOSITE INDEX OF

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS.

THE FINAL STEP IN SELECTION OF COMPARISON SUBJECTS ENTAILED SCREENING FOR ANY REPORTED VICTIMIZATION.

IN ALL, OVER 2,400 EARLY VICTIMS WERE SCREENED TO IDENTIFY THE 313 VICTIMS IN THE EARLY SAMPLE. HOWEVER, THIS SAMPLE IS KNOWN TO BE BIASED IN THE FOLLOWING WAYS:

1. VICTIMS LEAVING THE COMMUNITY HAVE BEEN EXCLUDED.
2. VICTIMS NOT HOLDING A CALIFORNIA DRIVER'S LICENSE, CURRENTLY ENROLLED IN SAN DIEGO SCHOOLS OR CURRENTLY RECEIVING WELFARE HAVE BEEN EXCLUDED, BECAUSE OF RESIDENTIAL TRACKING PROCEDURES.
3. CASES SEEMING LESS SERIOUS OR INVOLVING FAMILIES WITH NO MINOR CHILDREN IN 1962 WERE NOT AVAILABLE SINCE THESE CASES WERE PURGED FROM POLICE FILES IN 1962.
4. CLASSIFICATION OF ABUSE TYPE IS NOT TOTALLY RELIABLE SINCE THE EARLIEST NEGLECT CASES INCLUDED SOME ALLEGATIONS OF PHYSICAL ABUSE OR SEXUAL MOLESTATION, WHICH WERE NOT CLASSED AS SUCH.

TABLE 1 SHOWS THE DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE SUBJECTS BY TIME PERIOD AND TABLE 2 SHOWS THE DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE SUBJECTS BY TYPE OF VICTIMIZATION.

TABLE 1
DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE SUBJECTS BY TIME PERIOD

TIME PERIOD	VICTIM	COMPARISONS MATCHED ON AGED AND GENDER	COMPARISONS MATCHED ON AGE, GENDER AND ETHNICITY	TOTALS
1978 SAMPLE	312	312	312	936
1976 SAMPLE	334	334	334	1002
EARLY SAMPLE (1955-1975)	313	313	-----	626
TOTALS	959	959	646	2564

TABLE 2
DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE SUBJECTS BY TYPE OF VICTIMIZATION

	ABUSE	NEGLECT	MOLEST	TOTALS
1978 VICTIMS	105	104	103	312
1976 VICTIMS	114	119	101	334
EARLY VICTIMS	122	163	34	319
TOTALS	341	386	238	965

DATA ACQUISITION METHODOLOGY:

DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURES RELIED HEAVILY ON SECONDARY ANALYSIS OF FILES COMPILED BY COOPERATING AGENCIES, WITH APPROPRIATE SAFEGUARDS TO PROTECT CONFIDENTIALITY. POLICE DEPARTMENT FILES PROVIDED INITIAL ALLEGATIONS, DEMOGRAPHICS, PRELIMINARY DISPOSITION AND THE INVESTIGATING OFFICER'S PERCEPTION OF CONTRIBUTING FACTORS. IN LATER STAGES, POLICE FILES WERE

ALSO ACCESSED TO SCREEN COMPARISON SUBJECTS FOR POSSIBLE ALLEGATIONS OF VICTIMIZATION, AND TO IDENTIFY LONG-TERM PATTERNS OF RECIDIVISM, JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AND ADULT ARREST RECORDS. THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA CENTRAL REGISTRY ON CHILD ABUSE ALSO PROVIDED RECIDIVISM DATA.

SCHOOL ENROLLMENT ROSTERS WERE ACCESSED TO IDENTIFY MATCHED COMPARISON SUBJECTS AND THEIR DEMOGRAPHICS, AND TO DETERMINE OFFICIAL SCHOOL GUIDANCE/DISCIPLINE PROBLEMS. LATER SCHOOL NURSES AND GUIDANCE COUNSELORS RESPONDED TO A "BLIND" QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY WHICH TAPPED PROFESSIONAL PERCEPTIONS OF SOCIAL AND ACADEMIC ADJUSTMENT FOR BOTH VICTIMS AND COMPARISON SUBJECTS (WITHOUT IDENTIFYING VICTIMS.) ..

WELFARE RECORDS IDENTIFIED CASE DISPOSITION, INTERVENTION STRATEGIES UTILIZED, AND ADDITIONAL DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS, INCLUDING FAMILY WELFARE DEPENDENCY. JUVENILE COURT RECORDS PROVIDED ADDITIONAL DISPOSITION DATA, SUCH AS PETITION FINDINGS, PLACEMENTS, AND COURT DISPOSITION FOR THOSE CASES RESULTING IN A DEPENDENCY PETITION. JUVENILE COURT RECORDS WERE ALSO SCREENED IN THE FOLLOW-UP PHASE FOR DELINQUENCY AND ADULT DEPENDENCY ACTIONS, FOR BOTH VICTIMS AND COMPARISONS.

THE DEPARTMENT OF MOTOR VEHICLES (DMV) FACILITATED SAMPLE SELECTION BY SCREENING CURRENT RESIDENCE OF EARLY VICTIMS AND COMPARISON SUBJECTS. (DMV RECORDS ALSO PROVIDED ADDITIONAL VALUABLE DATA ON TRAFFIC VIOLATIONS, TO BE REPORTED IN FUTURE PAPERS.)

FINALLY, CONTENT ANALYSIS WAS PERFORMED ON PROBATION FILES FOR SUSPECTS WHO WERE CHARGED WITH CRIMINAL OFFENSES. THESE DATA WERE UTILIZED IN PILOT-TESTING CONCEPTIONS AND INSTRUMENTATION PERTAINING TO THE MULTIPLE

PROBLEM FAMILY.

OBVIOUSLY, THE SUCCESS OF THIS RESEARCH PROJECT DEPENDED EXTENSIVELY ON THE COOPERATION OF VARIOUS PARTICIPATING AGENCIES. ELABORATE PRECAUTIONS WERE TAKEN TO PRESERVE THE CONFIDENTIALITY OF DATA SOURCES, AND IN SOME INSTANCES, AGENCY PERSONNEL COMPLETED DATA ACQUISITION FORMS DESIGNED BY THE RESEARCH STAFF.

ADDITIONAL PROGRAMMING CHALLENGES AROSE IN COMPUTERIZING EXTENSIVE RECORDS FROM DIFFERENT AGENCIES ON INDIVIDUAL SUBJECTS, AND CROSS-REFERENCING DATA FROM DIFFERENT SOURCES, STRAINING THE CAPABILITIES OF EXTENSIVE UNIVERSITY EQUIPMENT. SOLUTIONS TO THESE TECHNICAL PROBLEMS CONSTITUTE THE SUBJECT OF ANOTHER TECHNICAL PAPER.

FINDINGS

BECAUSE THE FINDINGS RELATING TO EACH OBJECTIVE ARE EXTENSIVE, AND ARE REPORTED ELSEWHERE, THIS PAPER WILL PRESENT ONLY SOME OF THE MAJOR FINDINGS. THE FINDINGS PRESENTED BELOW COVER EACH OBJECTIVE.

1. DEMOGRAPHIC COMPARISONS
2. CORRELATES OF REPEAT VICTIMIZATION
3. MOBILITY ANALYSIS
4. LONGITUDINAL FOLLOW-UP

DEMOGRAPHIC COMPARISONS: (OBJECTIVE 1)

OUR FIRST OBJECTIVE WAS TO COMPARE VICTIMS AND THEIR FAMILIES WITH MATCHED, NON-VICTIMIZED CHILDREN AND THEIR FAMILIES. TABLE 3 PRESENTS DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE VICTIMS. SINCE AGE AND GENDER WERE MATCHING FACTORS, THE COMPARISON SAMPLES WERE VIRTUALLY IDENTICAL ON THESE DIMENSIONS. ETHNICITY DISTRIBUTIONS WERE THE SAME FOR VICTIMS AND THE COMPARISONS WHO WERE MATCHED ON THAT FACTOR, BUT THERE WERE DIFFERENCES IN ETHNICITY OF VICTIMS AND THOSE COMPARISONS FOR WHOM ETHNICITY WAS FREE TO VARY. AS SHOWN IN TABLE 4 PHYSICAL ABUSE VICTIMS ARE MORE LIKELY THAN COMPARISONS TO BE BLACKS (35% VS. 14%) AND LESS LIKELY TO BE ANGLOS (51% VS. 35%); MOLESTATION VICTIMS ARE ALSO MORE LIKELY THAN COMPARISONS TO BE BLACKS (23% VS. 12%). ALTHOUGH NEGLECT VICTIMS WERE SLIGHTLY MORE LIKELY TO BE BLACK THAN COMPARISONS, (21% VS. 13%) THE DIFFERENCE WAS NOT STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT AT THE .05 LEVEL.

TABLE 3
DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS
OF SAMPLE SUBJECTS

	ABUSE	NEGLECT	MOLESTATION	TOTALS
GENDER:				
1978 VICTIMS				
MALE	58%	54%	09%	
FEMALE	42	46	91	179
1976 VICTIMS				
MALE	50%	46%	09%	
FEMALE	50	54	91	195
EARLY VICTIMS				
MALE	55%	49%	24%	154 48%
FEMALE	45	52	77	165 52%
MEAN AGE AT VICTIMIZATION:				
1978 VICTIMS	11.0	10.3	11.9	
1976 VICTIMS	10.7	09.6	12.1	
EARLY VICTIMS	08.7	05.2	11.4	

TABLE 3
DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS
OF SAMPLE SUBJECTS (CONT.)

ETHNICITY	ABUSE	NEGLECT	MOLESTATION	
1978 VICTIMS				
ANGLO	50%	61%	63%	
BLACK	37	26	22	
HISPANIC	12	11	05	
OTHER	01	03	10	
	-----	-----	-----	
	100%	100%	100%	
	(N=105)	(N=104)	(N=103)	
1976 VICTIMS				
ANGLO	52%	70%	62%	
BLACK	33	16	24	
HISPANIC	14	13	10	
OTHER	02	01	04	
	-----	-----	-----	
	101%	100%	100%	
	(N=114)	(N=119)	(N=101)	
EARLY VICTIMS*				
ANGLO	47%	49%	68%	50%
BLACK	37	37	15	35
HISPANIC	15	14	18	14
OTHER/MISSING	2	1	--	1

*NOT ALWAYS AVAILABLE

TABLE 4
ETHNICITY DISTRIBUTIONS OF VICTIMS AND COMPARISONS
(ETHNICITY FREE TO VARY) BY TYPE OF VICTIMIZATION
(1976 AND 1978 SAMPLES)

ETHNICITY	ABUSE		NEGLECT		MOLESTATION	
	VICTIM	COMPARISON	VICTIM	COMPARISON	VICTIM	COMPARISON
ANGLO	51%	65%	65%	65%	63%	68%
BLACK	35%	14%	21%	13%	23%	12%
HISPANIC	13%	12%	12%	13%	7%	14%
OTHER	1%	9%	2%	9%	7%	6%
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
	100%	100%	101%	100%	100%	100%
	(N=219)	(N=219)	(N=223)	(N=223)	(N=204)	(N=204)

A SECOND DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLE INDICATING SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS WAS ALSO CORRELATED WITH VICTIMIZATION. WE OPERATIONALLY DEFINED LOW SES AS HAVING RECEIVED FINANCIAL AID WITHIN THE LAST FIVE YEARS. AS TABLE 5 SHOWS, VICTIM FAMILIES WERE MUCH MORE LIKELY TO BE CLASSIFIED AS LOW SES THAN COMPARISON SUBJECTS MATCHED ON ETHNICITY. (THESE DATA REFER TO 1978 SUBJECTS ONLY SINCE FINANCIAL AID DATA WAS AVAILABLE ONLY ON 1978 SUBJECTS.)

TABLE 5: PERCENTAGE OF FAMILIES HAVING RECEIVED FINANCIAL AID
(1978 SAMPLE ONLY)

ETHNICITY	ABUSE			NEGLECT			MOLESTATION		
	VICT.	COMP*	N	VICT.	COMP*	N	VICT.	COMP*	N
ANGLO	29%	2%	52	35%	8%	63	20%	6%	65
BLACK	54	5	39	44	22	27	39	13	23
HISPANIC	46	23	13	46	22	11	40	0	5

*MATCHED ON ETHNICITY

EARLIER STUDIES HAVE REPORTED CONFLICTING FINDINGS REGARDING ETHNICITY AND VICTIMIZATION. SEVERAL EARLIER STUDIES FOUND ETHNICITY LINKED TO VICTIMIZATION, AS DID OUR PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS. HOWEVER, THE RECENT NATIONAL CHILD ABUSE INCIDENCE STUDY (1978) FOUND NO SUCH RELATIONSHIP. SINCE LOW SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS (SES) HAS BEEN SHOWN BY OTHER INVESTIGATORS (GIL, 1971; GELLES, 1973 AND OTHERS) TO BE LINKED TO REPORTED VICTIMIZATION, AND SINCE SES AND ETHNICITY ARE ALSO CORRELATED, WE EXAMINED ETHNICITY CONTROLLING FOR SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS.

TABLE 6 SHOWS THAT ETHNIC DISTRIBUTIONS ARE NOT SIGNIFICANTLY DIFFERENT FOR ABUSE AND MOLESTATION VICTIMS AND THEIR COMPARISON SUBJECTS WHEN SES IS CONTROLLED. WHILE BLACKS SHOW HIGHER PERCENTAGES OF REPORTED VICTIMIZATION THE DIFFERENCE IS NOT STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT WHEN SES IS CONTROLLED. THE PERCENTAGE OF BLACK VICTIMS IS NOT SIGNIFICANTLY DIFFERENT FROM THE PERCENTAGE OF BLACK COMPARISONS FOR EITHER THE LOW OR MIDDLE SES GROUPS. THE ETHNICITY RELATIONSHIP NOTED IN TABLE 4 IS A RESULT OF THE GREATER RATIO OF VICTIMS TO COMPARISONS CLASSIFIED AS LOW SES (147/33) VERSUS THOSE CLASSIFIED AS MIDDLE SES (61/175) SHOWN IN TABLE 6.

TABLE 6
PHYSICAL ABUSE AND MOLEST VICTIMIZATION
BY ETHNICITY CONTROLLING FOR SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS,
(1978 SAMPLE ONLY)

ETHNICITY	LOW SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS		MIDDLE SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS	
	VICTIMS	COMPARISON	VICTIMS	COMPARISON
ANGLO	55%	58%	59%	70%
BLACK	32%	21%	25%	13%
HISPANIC	9%	18%	8%	11%
OTHER	4%	3%	8%	6%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(N=147)	(N=33)	(N=61)	(N=175)

A LATER SECTION EXAMINES POSSIBLE REPORTING BIASES AND PRESENTS SOME INTERPRETATIONS OF THESE DATA.

CORRELATES OF REPEAT VICTIMIZATION: (OBJECTIVE #2)

RESEARCH STAFF SCREENED POLICE DEPARTMENT FILES FOR SUBSEQUENT REPORTS OF VICTIMIZATION INVOLVING THE STUDY SAMPLE OF CASES INVESTIGATED IN 1976. APPROXIMATELY ONE-QUARTER OF EITHER THE PERPEIRATORS, THE VICTIMS, OR THEIR FAMILIES WERE INVOLVED IN ANOTHER INCIDENT OF VICTIMIZATION BY 1980. ABOUT 15% WERE INVOLVED IN ONE SUCH INCIDENT AND 10% IN TWO OR MORE.

TABLE 7
REPEAT VICTIMIZATION: 1976 CASES

REPEAT INCIDENTS	ABUSE	NEGLECT	MOLEST
NONE	76%	68%	77%
ONE	12%	21%	16%
TWO	8%	8%	6%
THREE AND ABOVE	4%	3%	1%
	-----	-----	-----
	100%	100%	100%
	(N=114)	(N=119)	(N=101)

IN SEEKING CORRELATES OF REPEAT VICTIMIZATION WE EXAMINED CASE CHARACTERISTICS, FAMILY, SUSPECT AND VICTIM CHARACTERISTICS, AND FINALLY POLICE DISPOSITION. RECIDIVISM DATA ARE REPORTED IN TABLE 8. NEGLECT CASES HAD THE HIGHEST RECIDIVISM RATE, 32%, AS COMPARED TO ABUSE AND NEGLECT, 24% AND 23% RECIDIVISM, RESPECTIVELY. FAMILIES WITH A PRIOR RECORD OF VICTIMIZATION WERE TWICE AS LIKELY TO HAVE SUBSEQUENT REPORTED INCIDENTS AS THOSE WITH NO PRIOR RECORD--43% IN THE "TOTAL" COLUMN AS COMPARED TO 20%.

TABLE 8: RECIDIVISM RATES BY CASE CHARACTERISTICS

	ABUSE	NEGLECT	MOLEST	TOTAL
	24%	32%	23%	26%
PRIORS				
NO PRIORS	18%	25%	14%	20%
ONE PRIORS	40%	42%	57%	43%
TWO PRIORS	50%	45%	40%	45%
THREE OR MORE PRIORS	--	62%	100%	77%
TYPE OF INJURY				
BURNS	33%			33%
BROKEN BONES	33%			33%
HEAD INJURIES	25%			33%
NEGLECT	**	33%		33%
BRUISES	24%			23%
LACERATIONS	14%			20%
	-----	-----	-----	-----
	(N=114)	(N=119)	(N=101)	(N=334)
	ABUSE	NEGLECT	MOLEST	TOTAL
	24%	32%	23%	26%
FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS				
FAMILY STRUCTURE:				
MOM/DAD	13%	**	12%	12%
MOM/STEP DAD	27%	**	18%	26%
MOM ALONE	12%	37%	31%	30%
SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS				
LOW	30%	47%	37%	38%
MED	19%	21%	17%	19%

** TOO FEW CASES TO ANALYZE.

TABLE 8 (CONTINUED) RECIDIVISM RATES BY SUSPECT AND VICTIMS CHARACTERISTICS

	SUSPECT CHARACTERISTICS			
	ABUSE	NEGLECT	MOLEST	TOTAL
RELATIONSHIP:				
FATHER	17%	10%	19%	16%
MOTHER	23%	35%	**	32%
STEPFATHER	44%	**	25%	26%
RELATIVE	25%	**	20%	22%
UNRELATED	40%	**	29%	29%
AGE:				
YOUNG	24%	35%	27%	29%
MEDIUM	29%	33%	16%	29%
OLD	18%	28%	23%	23%
SEX:				
FEMALE	-----	-----	-----	-----
MALE	-----	-----	-----	-----
RACE:				
ANGLO	21%	29%	21%	24%
BLACK	17%	32%	33%	25%
HISPANIC	33%	43%	15%	31%

	VICTIM CHARACTERISTICS			TOTAL
	ABUSE	NEGLECT	MOLEST	
AGE:				
YOUNGER (LESS OR EQUAL 12)	26%	34%	24%	29%
OLDER (GREATER THAN 12)	14%	17%	24%	19%
SEX:				
MALE	30%	36%	--	31%
FEMALE	17%	28%	25%	24%

** TOO FEW CASES TO ANALYZE.

BY TYPE OF INJURY, THE MORE SEVERE INJURIES, (I.E. BURNS, BROKEN BONES, HEAD INJURIES) HAD HIGHER RATES OF SUBSEQUENT OFFENSES (33%) THAN THE LESS SERIOUS INJURIES (BRUISES 23% AND LACERATIONS, 20%).

EXAMINING FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS, WE FOUND THAT FAMILY STRUCTURE AND SES WERE LINKED TO RECIDIVISM. FIRST, BY FAMILY STRUCTURE, MOTHERS LIVING ALONE HAD THE HIGHEST RATE OF SUBSEQUENT INCIDENTS, 30% IN THE "TOTAL" COLUMN, AS COMPARE TO INTACT FAMILIES WITH 12% RECIDIVISM. HOWEVER, THIS PATTERN VARIED BY TYPE OF CRIME WITH NEGLECT AND MOLESTATION CASES HAVING HIGHER RATES OF RECIDIVISM FOR MOTHERS LIVING ALONE, 37% AND 31% RESPECTIVELY. IN PHYSICAL ABUSE CASES, THE HIGHEST RECIDIVISM RATE, 27%, WAS FOUND IN MOTHER/STEPFATHER HOUSEHOLDS.

LOW SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS (AS RATED BY POLICE INVESTIGATING OFFICERS) WAS ALSO ASSOCIATED WITH HIGHER RATES OF REPEAT VICTIMIZATION--38% AS COMPARED TO 19% FOR MIDDLE SES. THE PATTERN WAS MOST PRONOUNCED AMONG NEGLECT CASES WHERE LOW SES FAMILIES SHOWED 47% RECIDIVISM.

RECIDIVISM RATES REGARDING SUSPECT AND VICTIM CHARACTERISTICS REQUIRE SOME INTERPRETATION. SUBSEQUENT INCIDENTS INVOLVING ANY FAMILY OR HOUSEHOLD MEMBER ARE CONSIDERED REPEAT INCIDENTS IN POLICE DEPARTMENT FILES, ALTHOUGH OTHER FAMILY MEMBERS MAY BE INVOLVED AS EITHER SUSPECT OR VICTIM IN THE SUBSEQUENT INCIDENT. NEVERTHELESS, IT MAY BE INSTRUCTIVE TO REVIEW RECIDIVISM PATTERNS BY INITIAL VICTIM AND SUSPECT CHARACTERISTICS IN ORDER TO ASSESS THE RISK OF FUTURE REPEAT INCIDENTS. ANALYZING SUSPECT CHARACTERISTICS, FAMILY RECIDIVISM RATES WERE HIGHER FOR INITIAL INCIDENTS INVOLVING MOTHERS AND UNRELATED SUSPECTS, YOUNGER SUSPECTS AND HISPANIC SUSPECTS. EXAMINING PRELIMINARY DISPOSITION AND THE INVESTIGATIONS VICTIM CHARACTERISTICS OF THE INITIAL INCIDENT, INITIAL INCIDENTS INVOLVING YOUNGER VICTIMS HAD HIGHER RECIDIVISM RATES THAN THOSE WITH OLDER VICTIMS AND THIS HELD FOR EVERY TYPE OF CRIME. FEMALE VICTIMS HAD LOWER RECIDIVISM RATES THAN MALE VICTIMS, ESPECIALLY IN ABUSE INCIDENTS. SINCE RACE OF VICTIMS WAS NEARLY ALWAYS IDENTICAL WITH THAT OF SUSPECTS, IT IS NOT PRESENTED.

MOBILITY ANALYSIS: (OBJECTIVE 3)

THE BEST MEASURE OF FAMILY MOBILITY AVAILABLE TO US WAS BASED ON SCHOOL ENROLLMENT RECORDS. SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES WERE ALSO OBSERVED BETWEEN VICTIMS AND COMPARISONS ON SCHOOL MOBILITY. TABLE 9 SHOWS THAT NEARLY TWO-THIRDS OF THE 1976 VICTIMS HAD LEFT THE SCHOOL DISTRICT THREE YEARS LATER, AS COMPARED TO LESS THAN HALF OF THE COMPARISON SUBJECTS LEAVING. FURTHERMORE, THIS PATTERN HELD TRUE FOR ALL THREE TYPES OF CRIME.

ONE-FOURTH OF THE VICTIMS HAD TRANSFERRED TO ANOTHER DISTRICT AND ANOTHER ONE-FOURTH WERE LISTED AS WHEREABOUTS UNKNOWN. THIS LAST CATEGORY COULD INCLUDE FAMILIES WHO MOVED BUT FAILED TO NOTIFY SCHOOL AUTHORITIES FOR TRANSFER OF RECORDS, AS WELL AS DROPOUTS. THE RESIDUAL CATEGORY "OTHER" INCLUDES EXEMPTIONS, (FOR HEALTH, EMOTIONAL, PREGNANCY AND FAMILY HARDSHIP REASONS) EXPULSIONS, (USUALLY FOR SCHOOL ASSAULTS AND VIOLENCE) AND MISCELLANEOUS OTHER REASONS, AND AGAIN INDICATES SUBSTANTIAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN VICTIMS AND COMPARISON SUBJECTS.

TABLE 9: CURRENT SCHOOL STATUS OF 1976 CASES
MARCH 1980

	ABUSE		NEGLECT		MOLESTATION	
	VICTIMS	COMPAR.	VICTIMS	COMPAR.	VICTIMS	COMPAR.
CURRENTLY ENROLLED	38%	59%	41%	53%	35%	56%
GRADUATED	1%	1%	4%	8%	7%	16%
TRANSFERRED OUT OF DISTRICT	28%	2%	21%	15%	32%	10%
WHEREABOUTS UNKNOWN	27%	17%	25%	19%	21%	12%
OTHER	7%	2%	9%	5%	5%	6%
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
	101%	101%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(N=104)	(N=102)	(N=107)	(N=103)	(N=97)	(N=88)

WE HYPOTHESIZED THAT HIGHER MOBILITY WOULD BE POSITIVELY CORRELATED WITH LOW SES., AND SOUGHT TO TEST THAT HYPOTHESES. SINCE WELFARE DATA WAS NOT AVAILABLE ON 1976 SUBJECTS, ANOTHER MEASURE OF SES WAS CONSTRUCTED FROM SCHOOL INDICATORS OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS (FREE AND REDUCED COST LUNCHES MADE AVAILABLE TO LOWER SES STUDENTS). TABLE 14 CONFIRMS THE EARLIER FINDING RELATING SES TO VICTIMIZATION. TWICE AS MANY VICTIMS WERE CLASSIFIED LOW SES ON THE SCHOOL SES VARIABLE, AS COMPARISON SUBJECTS. TABLE 14 ALSO SHOWS THE SES DISTRIBUTIONS OF 1976 VICTIMS AND COMPARISON SUBJECTS USING THE SCHOOL SES VARIABLE, AND THE PERCENTAGES WHO HAD LEFT THE SCHOOL DISTRICT ARE SHOWN AS SCHOOL MOBILITY.

TABLE 10: SCHOOL MOBILITY* BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS
(1976 VICTIMS AND COMPARISON SUBJECTS).

	LOW SOCIO-ECONOMIC		MIDDLE SOCIO-ECONOMIC	
	VICTIMS	COMP.	VICTIMS	COMP.
ABUSE	35%	38%	80%	42%
	(N=46)	(N=21)	(N=61)	(N=81)
NEGLECT	49%	29%	64%	50%
	(N=49)	(N=17)	(N=61)	(N=86)
MOLESTATION	50%	39%	72%	46%
	(N=30)	(N=23)	(N=67)	(N=65)
TOTAL	44%	36%	72%	46%
SUBJECTS	(N=125)	(N=61)	(N=189)	(N=232)

* NO LONGER ENROLLED ON SCHOOL ROSTER.

ANALYZING MOBILITY BY SES, TABLE 10 SHOWS THAT OVER-ALL, VICTIMS WERE MORE LIKELY TO HAVE LEFT THE SCHOOL DISTRICT THAN WERE COMPARISON SUBJECTS, AND THIS HELD TRUE FOR NEARLY EVERY CATEGORY. (THE EXCEPTION IS LOW SES ABUSE, BUT EVEN HERE THE MOBILITY RATES ARE SIMILAR.)

HOWEVER, CONTRARY TO OUR INITIAL HYPOTHESIS, MIDDLE SES VICTIMS WERE MUCH MORE LIKELY TO HAVE LEFT THE SCHOOL DISTRICT (72%) THAN EITHER LOW SES VICTIMS (44%) OR COMPARISON SUBJECTS OF EITHER CLASS.

IN A SEPARATE PAPER WE WILL EXAMINE THE IMPLICATIONS OF MOBILITY PATTERNS FOR INTERVENTION STRATEGIES.

LONGITUDINAL FOLLOW-UP (OBJECTIVE 4)

THE LONGITUDINAL FOLLOW-UP DATA ON EARLY VICTIMS AND COMPARISONS PRESENTED HERE ADDRESSES FOUR DEPENDENT VARIABLES:

(A) CRIMINAL ARREST RECORDS

(B) INTERGENERATIONAL VICTIMIZATION,

(C) SCHOOL ADJUSTMENT PROBLEMS AND

(D) SOCIAL AND ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

(A) CRIMINAL ARREST RECORDS

WE TESTED WHETHER VICTIMS ARE MORE LIKELY TO BE ARRESTED FOR CRIME OR DELINQUENCY THAN ARE COMPARISONS AND INDEED THEY ARE. WE FOLLOWED-UP EARLY VICTIMS FROM THE TIME OF THEIR INVESTIGATION (BETWEEN 1955 AND 1975) TO 1980; AND WE FOLLOWED EACH COMPARISON FOR THE SAME LENGTH OF TIME AS HIS OR HER RESPECTIVE VICTIM. OF THE 319 VICTIMS, 34% WERE ARRESTED AND OF THE 319 COMPARISONS, 23% WERE ARRESTED. SINCE WE HAVE ALREADY LEARNED THAT VICTIMS ARE MORE LIKELY TO BE LOW SES THAN COMPARISONS, WE TESTED TO SEE IF THAT DIFFERENCE MIGHT "ACCOUNT" FOR THE DIFFERENCE IN ARREST RATES. THESE DATA ARE PRESENTED IN TABLE 11.

TABLE 11: ARREST RATES OF VICTIMS AND COMPARISONS CONTROLLED FOR SES

	LOW SES	MED SES	TOTAL
VICTIMS	39% (N=192)	26% (N=127)	34% (N=319)
COMPARISONS	32% (N=121)	17% (N=198)	23% (N=319)

TABLE 11 SHOWS THAT AMONG LOW SES VICTIMS AND COMPARISONS THE ARREST RATES ARE NOT SIGNIFICANTLY DIFFERENT, (39% VERSUS 32%). HOWEVER, AMONG MEDIUM SES CASES THE VICTIMS ARE MORE LIKELY TO BE ARRESTED (26%) THAN ARE THE COMPARISONS (17%). THESE FINDINGS CLOSELY PARALLEL THOSE DISCUSSED ABOVE, THAT SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS IS AN IMPORTANT CONTROL VARIABLE IN ANALYZING CORRELATES OF VICTIMIZATION.

THE ABOVE FIGURES DO NOT DIFFERENTIATE JUVENILE DELINQUENCY RECORDS FROM ADULT ARRESTS, NUMBER OF ARREST, AND TYPE OF OFFENSES ALTHOUGH THAT DATA HAS BEEN, COLLECTED AND COMPUTERIZED AND AWAITS ANALYSIS. IT IS OUR SUBJECTIVE IMPRESSION THAT VICTIMS WERE MORE OFTEN INVOLVED IN REPEAT ARRESTS FOR MORE SERIOUS OFFENSES.

(B) INTERGENERATIONAL VICTIMIZATION

WE ALSO DETERMINED THAT 10 OF THE EARLY VICTIMS WHO WERE NOW ADULTS HAD BEEN REPORTED AS SUSPECTS IN MORE RECENT CHILD ABUSE INVESTIGATIONS AND THEIR DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS ARE REPORTED IN TABLE 12. THESE 10 NOW-ADULT SUSPECTS OF VICTIMIZATION CAN BE DESCRIBED AS 80% FEMALE, BETWEEN THE AGES OF 18-24, 70% BLACK, AND 70% LO SES (RECEIVING WELFARE WITHIN THE PAST FIVE YEARS). WE ARE CURRENTLY SEEKING ADDITIONAL INFORMATION ON THESE 10 CASES WHICH WILL DIFFERENTIATE SUSPECTS FROM NON-SUSPECTS CONTROLLING FOR DEMOGRAPHICS. NONE OF OUR COMPARISON SUBJECTS WERE REPORTED AS ADULT

SUSPECTS.

TABLE 12: DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF EARLY VICTIMS NOW SUSPECTED VICTIMIZERS.

ADULT SUSPECTS

CURRENT AGE: 18-24
 SEX: 80% FEMALE
 ECONOMIC STATUS: 70% WELFARE
 ETHNICITY: 70% BLACK
 AGE AT ORIGINAL REPORTED VICTIMIZATION: PRIMARILY 4-9
 TYPE ORIGINAL CRIME REPORTED: 70% NEGLECT

WE HAD HYPOTHESIZED MORE ADULT SUSPECTS AMONG EARLY VICTIMS. HOWEVER AGE WAS UNDOUBTEDLY A FACTOR AFFECTING OUR INTER-GENERATIONAL REPEAT VICTIMIZATION ANALYSIS. THE CURRENT DATA FILES INCLUDE MANY EARLY VICTIMS JUST NOW APPROACHING ADULTHOOD AND WE ARE ARRANGING FOR FURTHER LONGITUDINAL TRACKING.

(C) SCHOOL ADJUSTMENT PROBLEMS

IN ADDITION TO PROBLEMS WITH THE JUSTICE SYSTEM WE CHECKED THE LONG-TERM FOLLOW-UP SAMPLE FOR PROBLEMS IN SCHOOL. WE REVIEWED SCHOOL GUIDANCE FILES FOR 76 EARLY VICTIMS AND THEIR MATCHED COMPARISONS CURRENTLY UNDER THE AGE OF EIGHTEEN (GUIDANCE FILES OF STUDENTS OVER 18 ARE AUTOMATICALLY DESTROYED). TABLE 15 SHOWS THE RESULTS OF CONTENT ANALYSES APPLIED TO THE NARRATIVE INFORMATION RECORDED BY DISTRICT COUNSELORS IN GUIDANCE FILES.

TABLE 13: PERCENTAGE OF VICTIMS* AND COMPARISONS* WITH VARIOUS PROBLEMS NOTED IN GUIDANCE FILES.

	VICTIMS	COMPARISONS
BEHAVIOR PROBLEMS	21%	9%
EXPULSIONS/SUSPENSIONS	17%	5%
FAMILY PROBLEMS	16%	7%
ACADEMIC PROBLEMS	12%	13%
PSYCHOLOGICAL PROBLEMS	12%	7%
ATTENDANCE PROBLEMS	11%	5%
ASSAULTS/FIGHTINGS	9%	1%
OTHER PROBLEMS	9%	7%
NO PROBLEMS	--	15%
	-----	-----
	N=76	N=76

* N=76 VICTIMS AND 76 COMPARISONS
 ** PERCENTAGES ARE NON-ADDITIVE SINCE SEVERAL PROBLEMS MAY HAVE BEEN NOTED.

TABLE 17 SHOWS THAT VICTIMS MORE OFTEN HAVE THE PROBLEMS MENTIONED IN GUIDANCE FILES THAN DO COMPARISONS EXCEPT FOR ACADEMIC AND "OTHER" PROBLEMS. ALTHOUGH THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN VICTIMIZATION AND SCHOOL PROBLEMS DOES NOT NECESSARILY IMPLY THAT THE LATTER WAS CAUSED BY THE FORMER. FAMILY MILIEU PROBABLY "ACCOUNT FOR" BOTH VICTIMIZATION AND SCHOOL PROBLEMS.

IN ADDITION, GUIDANCE FILES MENTIONED CANDIDACY FOR SPECIAL EDUCATION FOR 28% OF THE VICTIMS AND 14% OF COMPARISONS. FURTHERMORE, ALL 28% OF THE VICTIMS WERE ACTUALLY PLACED IN REMEDIAL PROGRAMS WHILE ONLY 1% OF THE COMPARISONS WERE SO PLACED.

(D) SOCIAL AND ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

BECAUSE ALL OF THE ABOVE DEPENDENT VARIABLES ARE NEGATIVE INDICATORS; I..E. REPRESENT SOCIAL DEVIANCE, WE SOUGHT ADDITIONAL MEASURES WHICH COULD

REFLECT NORMATIVE ADJUSTMENT AS WELL. IN DOING SO, WE SURVEYED SCHOOL NURSES AND DISTRICT COUNSELORS REGARDING THEIR PROFESSIONAL PERCEPTIONS OF THE CHILD'S ACADEMIC AND SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT, AS WELL AS FAMILY DYNAMICS. THIS SURVEY WAS LIMITED TO CHILDREN CURRENTLY ENROLLED IN SCHOOL. NURSES IDENTIFIED AND RATED 237 SUBJECTS FROM THE 1978 SAMPLE WHO WERE CURRENTLY ENROLLED. (98 WERE VICTIMS AND 139 WERE COMPARISONS SUBJECTS, ALTHOUGH THIS IDENTIFICATION WAS NOT PROVIDED TO RESPONDENTS.) SIMILARLY, COUNSELORS IDENTIFIED AND RATED 166 SUBJECTS STILL ENROLLED. (59 VICTIMS AND 107 COMPARISON SUBJECTS) TABLE 16 SHOWS THE RESULTS OF THESE RATINGS.

TABLE 14

PERCENTAGE OF STUDENTS RATED AVERAGE OR ABOVE BY NURSES AND COUNSELORS

RATING FACTORS:	NURSES RATINGS VICTIMS	NURSES RATINGS COMP.	COUNSELOR RATINGS VICTIMS	COUNSELOR RATINGS COMP.
ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT	62%	76%	54%	78%
EMOTIONAL STABILITY	67%	86%	76%	92%
PEER/SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT	67%	86%	80%	88%
HEALTH STATUS	67%	86%	*	*

*COUNSELORS DID NOT RATE HEALTH STATUS

TABLE 14 SHOWS A GREATER PERCENTAGE OF COMPARISONS THAN VICTIMS WITH POSITIVE RATINGS ON EVERY COUNT. IT IS IMPORTANT TO NOTE THAT COUNSELORS AND NURSES DID NOT KNOW WHICH OF THE SUBJECTS WERE VICTIMS AND WHICH WERE COMPARISON SUBJECTS.

THE SAME STUDENTS WHO WERE RATED ON POSITIVE SCHOOL OUTCOMES IN TABLE 14 WERE ALSO RATED ON PROBLEMS AS SHOWN IN TABLE 15. SOME OF THESE DIMENSIONS OVERLAP WITH THE FACTORS ON WHICH POSITIVE ADJUSTMENT ARE SHOWN IN TABLE 14, BUT THE RESPONSES ARE CONSISTENT REGARDLESS OF WHETHER THE

QUESTIONS WERE PHRASED IN POSITIVE OR NEGATIVE TERMS.

TABLE 15

PERCENTAGE OF STUDENT PROBLEMS RATED MODERATE OR SERIOUS BY NURSES AND COUNSELORS

PROBLEMS:	NURSES VICTIMS	NURSES COMPARISONS	COUNSELORS VICTIMS	COUNSELORS COMPARISONS
CHRONIC HEALTH	28	19	25*	9*
EPISODIC HEALTH	41	21		
ATTENDANCE	28	19	24	7
DISCIPLINE	40	25	20	15
SPECIAL EDUCATION	37	16	34	13
ACADEMIC PROBLEMS	**	**	63	33
BEHAVIOR PROBLEMS	**	**	41	25

*COUNSELORS DIDN'T DISCRIMINATE BETWEEN EPISODIC AND CHRONIC HEALTH.
** NURSES DIDN'T RATE ACADEMIC AND BEHAVIOR PROBLEMS.

WHILE THE ABOVE ANALYSIS CONSIDERS ITEM RATINGS INDIVIDUALLY, WE ALSO CONSTRUCTED A COMPOSITE VARIABLE OF STUDENT SCHOOL ADJUSTMENT BASED ON THE RATING OF ALL ITEMS, BY BOTH NURSES AND COUNSELORS. THE COMPOSITE VARIABLE SCHOOL ADJUSTMENT INCLUDES NOT ONLY ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT BUT ALSO PEER/SOCIAL, PHYSICAL HEALTH AND EMOTIONAL STABILITY. TABLE 16 PRESENTS SCHOOL ADJUSTMENT DATA ON 102 VICTIMS RATED BY EITHER SCHOOL NURSES OR COUNSELORS, AND INDICATES THAT ROUGHLY 21% OF VICTIMS WERE RATED WELL-ADJUSTED WITH NO PROBLEMS NOTED ON ANY DIMENSION. WE HAVE CALLED THESE VICTIMS "HIGH ACHIEVERS". THE SECOND AND THIRD COLUMNS REPRESENT THOSE WITH MIXED AND NEGATIVE RATINGS, RESPECTIVELY, AND REQUIRE SOME INTERPRETATION. THE LARGEST PROPORTION OF VICTIMS, 58%, FELL IN THE CATEGORY OF MIXED RATINGS, ALTHOUGH MANY OF THEM MAY HAVE BEEN RATED AS HAVING SERIOUS PROBLEMS ON ONE OR MORE DIMENSIONS. (WE FEEL THIS CATEGORY NEEDS REDEFINITION TO MORE PRECISELY IDENTIFY WHICH OF THESE HAVE SEVERAL SERIOUS PROBLEMS). THE FINAL CATEGORY OF LOW ACHIEVERS, 22%, RECEIVED NO POSITIVE RATINGS.

TABLE 16: COMPOSITE RATINGS OF SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT BASED ON SCHOOL RATINGS

HIGH ADJUSTMENT	MIXED RATINGS	LOW ADJUSTMENT
21% (N=21)	58% (N=59)	22% (N=22)

WE BELIEVE THE 21% RATED AS "POSITIVE ACHIEVERS" MERIT FURTHER STUDY TO IDENTIFY INTERVENING OR MITIGATING FACTORS WHICH MAY HAVE MINIMIZED THE NEGATIVE IMPACT OF VICTIMIZATION AND/OR THE FAMILY CONTEXT IN WHICH IT OCCURRED. TABLE 17 PRESENTS SOME PRELIMINARY DATA CONTRASTING THESE "HIGH ACHIEVERS" TO "LOW ACHIEVERS" ON KNOWN DIMENSIONS. TABLE 17 SHOWS THAT HIGH ACHIEVERS WERE MORE LIKELY TO BE FEMALE, OLDER AT THE TIME OF REPORTED VICTIMIZATION, AND HISPANIC OR ANGLO. THEY WERE LESS LIKELY TO BE ABUSE VICTIMS, TO HAVE A PETITION FILED, OR TO HAVE A PRIOR REPORTED INCIDENT. IT APPEARS THAT THE HIGH ACHIEVERS MAY BE THE LESS SERIOUS CASES, BUT WE ARE CONTINUING OUR ANALYSIS OF SCHOOL/SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT TO DIFFERENTIATE THE LESS VULNERABLE, AND TO COMPARE THEM TO NON-VICTIMIZED COUNTERPARTS. THE RESULTS OF THAT ANALYSIS WILL BE INCLUDED IN FUTURE REPORTS.

TABLE 17: CHARACTERISTICS OF HIGH ACHIEVERS VERSUS LOW ACHIEVERS.

	HIGH ACHIEVERS	LOW ACHIEVERS
TYPE OF VICTIMIZATION		
ABUSE	17%	24%
NEGLECT	23	26
MOLESTATIONS	23	13
AGE AT REPORTED VICTIMIZATION		
12 AND UNDER	20%	24%
ABOVE 10	24	16
SEX		
MALE	17%	22%
FEMALE	24	22
RACE		
ANGLO	24%	19%
BLACK	16	30
HISPANIC	30	10
CASE DISPOSITION AT INVESTIGATION:		
FILED/NO INVESTIGATION	33%	6%
INVESTIGATED/CLOSED	21	26
PETITION FILED	9	37
PRIOR INCIDENTS:		
NONE	27%	11%
PRIOR	14	35

A NUMBER OF AUTHORS HAVE SUGGESTED THAT THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS AND REPORTED VICTIMIZATION MAY BE ARTIFACTUAL, SINCE LOW SES FAMILIES (PARTICULARLY THOSE RECEIVING WELFARE AID) MAY BE MORE SUBJECT TO SCRUTINY BY PUBLIC AGENCIES. CONVERSELY, ANY FORM OF DEVIANCE IN MORE AFFLUENT FAMILIES IS LESS VISIBLE TO PUBLIC AGENCIES. WHILE VICTIMIZATION REPORTED TO OFFICIAL AGENCIES MAY REPRESENT ONLY A SMALL FRACTION OF ACTUAL INCIDENTS, REPORTED INCIDENTS ARE WHAT CONSTITUTE THE INTERVENTION CASELOAD OF PUBLIC AGENCIES, AND MERIT STUDY FOR THAT REASON.

WHILE RECOGNIZING THE LIMITATIONS OF STATISTICS BASED ON REPORTED CASES WE NEVERTHELESS COULD NOT DENY THE MASSIVE EVIDENCE LINKING COOPERATING AGENCIES TO THE SAME FAMILIES. EARLY IN THE PROCESS OF

COLLECTING DATA FROM CASE FILES OF COOPERATING AGENCIES, WE FORMED SUBJECTIVE IMPRESSIONS THAT MANY OF THE VICTIM FAMILIES IN OUR SAMPLE WERE KNOWN EXTENSIVELY TO SEVERAL COOPERATING AGENCIES FOR A VARIETY OF PHYSICAL, SOCIAL, FINANCIAL AND EMOTIONAL PROBLEMS.

DISCUSSION: FAMILIES WITH MULTIPLE PROBLEMS

THROUGHOUT THE PRECEDING ANALYSES WE HAVE FREQUENTLY FOUND SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS AN IMPORTANT CONTROL VARIABLE. WHILE RECOGNIZING THE POSSIBLY ARTIFACTUAL NATURE OF DATA RECORDED BY PUBLIC AGENCIES, INCLUDING THE GREATER VISIBILITY OF FINANCIALLY DEPENDENT FAMILIES, WE ALSO FORMED SUBJECTIVE IMPRESSIONS GLEANED FROM CASE FILE NARRATIVES. AN EARLIER REPORT OBSERVED THAT MANY OF THE VICTIM FAMILIES IN OUR STUDY SAMPLE APPARENTLY RECEIVED MULTIPLE SERVICES FROM A VARIETY OF COOPERATING AGENCIES.

THE BACKGROUND SECTION REPORTED OTHER AUTHORS WHO HAVE FREQUENTLY NOTED RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS AND VICTIMIZATION. GIOVANNONI, PURVINE AND BECERRA (1979) REPORT THAT "THE EXTENT OF SOCIAL DEVIANCE IN THESE FAMILIES (THE VICTIMIZING FAMILIES STUDIED) WAS EXTRAORDINARILY HIGH". THEY CONCLUDE THAT: "IN A GOOD PROPORTION OF PROTECTIVE CASES, CHILD MISTREATMENT DOES NOT OCCUR IN ISOLATION FROM OTHER FORMS OF SOCIAL DEVIANCE".

AFTER EXAMINING EARLIER LITERATURE BY GEISMAR, POLANSKY, AND ANDERSON AND SHAEFER ON SOCIALLY DISORGANIZED FAMILIES, WE DECIDED TO PILOT-TEST THE CONCEPT OF FAMILIES WITH MULTIPLE SOCIAL PROBLEMS, IN CONNECTION WITH TRACING THE DISPOSITIONS OF 1978 VICTIMIZATION INCIDENTS. TO DETERMINE CASE OUTCOMES WE READ SOCIAL HISTORIES IN CASE FILES MAINTAINED BY THE PROBATION DEPARTMENT. THESE RECORD CHECKS WERE CONFINED TO 33 CASES IN WHICH CRIMINAL CHARGES WERE SOUGHT, MOST OF WHICH INVOLVED MOLESTATION INCIDENTS.

THESE FAMILIES HAD A VARIETY OF DIFFICULTIES--ONE HAD AN AUTISTIC CHILD, ONE VICTIM WAS BORDERLINE RETARDED, ONE SIBLING WAS HOSPITALIZED FOR INTENSIVE PSYCHIATRIC TREATMENT, ONE MOTHER WAS A SEVERE EPILEPTIC AND ALSO UNDERGOING PSYCHIATRIC TREATMENT, ANOTHER MOTHER ATTEMPTED SUICIDE, AND SEVERAL REPORTED BIRTHS OUT OF WEDLOCK.

THE PERPETRATORS THEMSELVES SUFFERED NUMEROUS PROBLEMS--SEVEN OF THEM WERE UNEMPLOYED, AND ELEVEN MORE WERE IN SERIOUS FINANCIAL DIFFICULTY (ONE DUE TO EXCESSIVE GAMBLING). PREVIOUS CRIMINAL RECORDS WERE RECORDED FOR 18 OF THE 33, AND 16 WERE DIVORCED OR SEPARATED. FOUR OF THE PERPETRATORS HAD ATTEMPTED SUICIDE, TWO MORE HAD THREATENED TO DO SO, AND FIVE OTHERS HAD SEVERE EMOTIONAL PROBLEMS. MEDICAL DIFFICULTIES PLAGUED 10 OF THE MEN, FOR EXAMPLE, ONE HAD AN AMPUTATED LEG, AND ANOTHER HAD A SERIOUS HEART CONDITION. EIGHT HAD PROBLEMS WITH DRUGS OR ALCOHOL.

WITH REGARD TO VIOLENCE--16 HAD BEATEN THEIR WIVES AND FOUR HAD ASSAULTED GIRLFRIENDS AS WELL. ONE OF THE MEN NOT ONLY ASSAULTED HIS WIFE, BUT ALSO THREATENED TO KILL HIS MOTHER-IN-LAW AND A FEMALE NEIGHBOR IF THEY REPORTED HIS MOLESTATION. CASES SUCH AS THESE WERE RELATIVELY COMMON AMONG

THE FAMILIES WHOSE FILES WE REVIEWED.

ALTHOUGH OUR PILOT-TEST OF THE CONCEPT OF MULTI-PROBLEM FAMILIES WAS LIMITED TO THOSE CASES IN WHICH CRIMINAL CHARGES WERE SOUGHT, THE DATA ARE CONSISTENT WITH EARLIER STUDIES OF DISORGANIZED FAMILIES. THE DATA SHOULD NOT BE INTERPRETED TO SUGGEST THAT ALL VICTIMIZING FAMILIES HAVE MULTIPLE PROBLEMS, SINCE WE REVIEWED ONLY THE MOST SERIOUS DISPOSITIONS. FURTHERMORE, GIOVANNONI ET AL DISTINGUISHED A MINORITY OF VICTIMIZING FAMILIES "IN MORE COMFORTABLE CIRCUMSTANCES". OUR OWN DATA INDICATE THAT ONE-QUARTER OF OUR STUDY FAMILIES HAD NOT RECEIVED WELFARE AID.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS, FAMILY STRUCTURE, SOCIAL DEVIANCE AND SOCIAL STRESS ASSOCIATED WITH CHILD VICTIMIZATION ARE COMPLEX AND INTERRELATED AND WILL BE DISCUSSED FURTHER IN FUTURE REPORTS.

SUMMARY: CONCLUSIONS:

SUMMARIZING THE MAJOR FINDINGS REPORTED ABOVE, WE HAVE DEMONSTRATED THAT:

(1) VICTIMIZED CHILDREN FREQUENTLY MAKE POOR SOCIAL ADJUSTMENTS IN SCHOOL, COMPARED TO THEIR NON-VICTIMIZED COUNTERPARTS.

(2) VICTIMS OF CHILD MALTREATMENT ARE MORE LIKELY TO ACQUIRE DELINQUENT AND CRIMINAL RECORDS THAN THEIR NON-VICTIMIZED COUNTERPARTS, BUT THIS RELATIONSHIP DIMINISHES WHEN SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS IS CONTROLLED.

(3) SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS IS AN IMPORTANT CONTROL VARIABLE IN

UNDERSTANDING FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH CHILD VICTIMIZATION. WHILE 73% OF VICTIM FAMILIES WERE OF MARGINAL ECONOMIC STATUS, THE REMAINING 27% WERE FINANCIALLY INDEPENDENT AT THE TIME OF THE STUDY.

(4) PILOT DATA DERIVED FROM SOCIAL HISTORY NARRATIVES ON 33 CASES RECEIVING THE MOST SERIOUS DISPOSITIONS, SHOW THAT THESE FAMILIES SUFFERED A VARIETY OF SOCIAL, PHYSICAL, EMOTIONAL AND FAMILY DIFFICULTIES. THE CONCEPT OF SOCIALLY DISORGANIZED, MULTI-PROBLEM FAMILIES IS AN APPROPRIATE DESIGNATION FOR THIS SUBSET. HOWEVER, THE MORE SERIOUS DISPOSITION COULD HAVE RESULTED FROM A LONG HISTORY OF CHRONIC PROBLEMS.

(5) SOME POSITIVE ACHIEVING VICTIMS SHOWED NO INDICATIONS OF NEGATIVE SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT OR IMPAIRED ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT, DESPITE THE REPORTED VICTIMIZATION.

(6) VICTIM FAMILIES HAD A HIGH RATE OF RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY, AS EVIDENCED BY SCHOOL ENROLLMENT RECORDS.

WE INTERPRET THESE DATA TO MEAN THE FOLLOWING:

(1) THE APPARENT ASSOCIATION BETWEEN SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS, VICTIMIZATION AND REPETITION OF VICTIMIZATION PROBABLY REFLECTS THE ENTIRE FAMILY SOCIAL CONTEXT AND SOURCES OF ADDITIONAL SOCIAL STRESS. INADEQUATE ECONOMIC RESOURCES, FAMILY INSTABILITY AND CONFLICT, SINGLE-PARENT AND DISRUPTED HOUSEHOLDS ARE FREQUENTLY CITED IN THE LITERATURE AS SOURCES OF SOCIAL STRESS LINKED TO CHILD VICTIMIZATION. IT IS NOT SES SO MUCH AS THE ENTIRE FAMILY DISORGANIZATION, OF WHICH MARGINAL ECONOMIC STATUS MAY BE ONLY ONE FACTOR, WHICH SHOULD BE THE FOCUS OF ATTENTION.

(2) THE LONG-TERM NEGATIVE CORRELATES OF VICTIMIZATION IDENTIFIED IN THIS STUDY CAN BEST BE UNDERSTOOD AS PRODUCTS OF THE ENTIRE FAMILY DISORGANIZATION, NOT JUST AS CONSEQUENCES OF THE VICTIMIZATION INCIDENTS, PER SE.

(3) IT FOLLOWS LOGICALLY, THAT SERVICE PROGRAMS AIMED NARROWLY AT PARENTAL VICTIMIZING BEHAVIOR WOULD BE EXPECTED TO BE LESS SUCCESSFUL IN REDUCING VICTIMIZATION AND ITS NEGATIVE CORRELATES, THAN INTERVENTION STRATEGIES WHICH CONSIDER THE ENTIRE FAMILY MILIEU AND THE SITUATIONAL CONTEXT IN WHICH CHILD MALTREATMENT OCCURS,

(4) LITERATURE ON SOCIALLY DISORGANIZED FAMILIES WITH CHRONIC, MULTIPLE PROBLEMS PROVIDES LITTLE REASON FOR OPTIMISM IN ACHIEVING SHORT-TERM CHANGE IN SUCH FAMILIES. RATHER, ADDITIONAL SUPPORT SERVICES AIMED AT THE VULNERABLE CHILDREN IN SUCH FAMILIES MAY BE ESSENTIAL TO ASSURE POSITIVE SOCIAL ADJUSTMENTS, WHILE CONTINUING LONG-TERM INTERVENTION STRATEGIES AIMED AT STRENGTHENING THE FAMILY UNIT AND/OR ENHANCING PARENTING SKILLS.

WE BELIEVE THAT SCHOOL-BASED SETTINGS MAY PROVIDE THE MOST APPROPRIATE AND LEAST STIGMATIZING INSTITUTION FOR SUPPORTIVE SERVICES TO VULNERABLE CHILDREN AND THEIR FAMILIES. SUCH SERVICES SHOULD UTILIZE INTER-AGENCY COOPERATION AND MULTI-DISCIPLINARY PROFESSIONALS, AND BE PROVIDED IN THE CONTEXT OF SERVICES APPROPRIATE FOR ALL PARENTS AND CHILDREN IN ENHANCING POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT, RATHER THAN IDENTIFIED "PROBLEM" CHILDREN AND PARENTS. THIS RECOMMENDATION HAS BEEN FURTHER ELABORATED IN OTHER REPORTS.

(5) THE EVIDENCE THAT SOME POSITIVE ACHIEVING VICTIMS SURVIVE VICTIMIZATION AND THE ATTENDANT FAMILY CONTEXT WITH NO RECORDED NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES SUGGESTS THE PRESENCE OF MITIGATING FACTORS, AT LEAST IN SOME CASES. FURTHER STUDY IS NEEDED TO DETERMINE FAMILY CONTEXT VARIABLES, INTERVENTION STRATEGIES AND OTHER CASE VARIABLES WHICH MAY HAVE INSULATED THESE CHILDREN FROM NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES.

(6) THE HIGH RATE OF GEOGRAPHIC MOBILITY AMONG VICTIMIZING FAMILIES SUGGESTS THE NEED FOR TRACKING FROM PREVIOUS GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION TO NEW RESIDENCE. RATES OF REPEAT VICTIMIZATION ARE KNOWN TO BE SERIOUS UNDERESTIMATES, DUE TO INADEQUATE IDENTIFICATION AND REPORTING, BUT THESE DIFFICULTIES ARE FURTHER COMPOUNDED BY HIGH GEOGRAPHIC MOBILITY.

IN CONCLUSION, WE ARE GRATEFUL TO NCCAN AND COOPERATING AGENCIES FOR THE OPPORTUNITY TO HAVE CONDUCTED THIS STUDY. WE HOPE THAT THE FINDINGS PRESENTED WILL CONTRIBUTE TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF MORE SUCCESSFUL INTERVENTION STRATEGIES AND WILL STIMULATE OTHER RESEARCHERS TO CONTINUE SEEKING ANSWERS TO CHALLENGING QUESTIONS. WE WILL CONTINUE TO REPORT ON FURTHER ANALYSIS OF THE ABOVE DATA IN FUTURE PAPERS.

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