

4

The Victimization of Children and Youth

A Comprehensive Overview

DAVID FINKELHOR and PATRICIA Y. HASHIMA

THE VICTIMIZATION OF CHILDREN

While the field of juvenile delinquency stands as a monument to social science, one of its most mature, theoretically and empirically developed domains, the topic of juvenile victimization—the opposite pole of the offender–victim equation—has been comparatively neglected. It is true that one can find substantial research on specific child victimization topics like child abuse or child sexual assault, but there is nothing like the integrated and theoretically articulated interest that characterizes the field of juvenile delinquency.

This neglect is ironic for a variety of reasons. For one thing, as we will demonstrate below, children are among the most highly victimized segments of the population. They suffer from high rates of the same crimes and violence adults do, and then they suffer from many victimizations relatively particular to childhood. Second, victimization has enormous consequences for children, derailing normal and healthy development trajectories. It can affect personality formation, have major mental health consequences, impact on academic performance, and also is strongly implicated in the development of delinquent and antisocial behavior. It is clear that because of several factors such as children's special developmental vulnerability to victimization, its differential character during childhood, and the presence of specialized institutions to deal with it (like child protection agencies) the victimization of children and youth deserves both more attention and specialized attention within the larger fields of criminology, justice studies, and even developmental psychology. Elsewhere we have proposed that this field be called developmental victimology (Finkelhor & Kendall-Tackett, 1997).

DAVID FINKELHOR • Crimes against Children Research Center, Family Research Laboratory, Department of Sociology, University of New Hampshire, Durham, New Hampshire 03824. PATRICIA Y. HASHIMA • Institute on Family and Neighborhood Life, Clemson University, Clemson, South Carolina 29634-0132.

Handbook of Youth and Justice, edited by White. Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers. New York, 2001.

Definitional Issues

One reason why traditional criminology may not have fully explored this area is that child victimizations do not map neatly onto conventional crime categories. While children do suffer from all the crimes that adults do, many violent and deviant behaviors that harm children are ambiguous in their status as crimes. The physical abuse of children, although technically criminal, is not frequently prosecuted and generally is handled by a different set of social control agencies from the police and criminal courts. Peer assaults, unless very serious or occurring among older children, are generally ignored by the official criminal justice system.

To encompass these complexities, we have proposed that the victimization of children in the justice area be defined as including three categories: (1) conventional crimes in which children are victims (rape, robbery, assault), which we will call "crimes"; (2) acts that violate child welfare statutes, including some of the most serious and dangerous acts committed against children like abuse and neglect, but also some less frequently discussed topics like child labor, which we will call "child maltreatment"; and (3) acts that would clearly be crimes if committed by adults against adults, but by convention are not generally of concern to the criminal justice system when they occur among or against children. These would include sibling violence and assaults between pre-adolescent peers, and these "noncriminal juvenile crime equivalents" we will call "noncrimes" for short.

Each category is a complex domain, but each has its ideal type or stereotype. When the public thinks of crimes against children, what stands out are stranger abductions and extra-family child molestations; situations of adults threatening children, in which the proper domain of protective and retributive action is clearly the police, courts, and criminal justice system. When the public thinks of child maltreatment, they tend to think of parents abusing or neglecting parental responsibilities and the appropriate domain of intervention being family courts, social work, and mental health remedies. The public also is aware that there is noncriminal violence against children and they think of peer assaults, offenses that would be handled by parents or school authorities.

Different as their stereotypes may be, however, these are not neat and distinct categories; there is substantial overlap. Child maltreatment is sometimes treated as criminal, sometimes not (see Fig. 1). Child molesting, for example, is often considered both as a crime and as a child welfare violation. Moreover, there are normative shifts that are in progress (illustrated by arrows in Fig. 1). Sibling sexual assaults once may have been viewed as neither crimes nor child maltreatment, but increasingly they are being handled by criminal justice and child welfare authorities. The abduction of children by family members is increasingly being viewed as both a crime and child maltreatment.

The noncrime category is one that often draws objections. It is seen as a watering down of the concept of victim or crime to include acts like peer or sibling assault among children.¹ But it is difficult to deny the functional equivalence, for example, between one adult hitting another, say, in a bar, and one child hitting another, say, on a playground. The fact of the young age of the victim does not remove and may in fact increase the pain, sense of violation, or risk for harm (Greenbaum, 1989). Some sibling and peer assaults are rather minor in their impact, but because even minor assaults are technically crimes among adults, the issue is really whether minor assaults, not whether child assaults, fall within the purview of victimology. This question seems to have been clearly answered in the affirmative by the design and definitions used in the National Crime Victimization Survey.

An even more problematic type of juvenile crime equivalent, however, is spanking and corporal punishment, which is a form of violence and would be considered an assault among

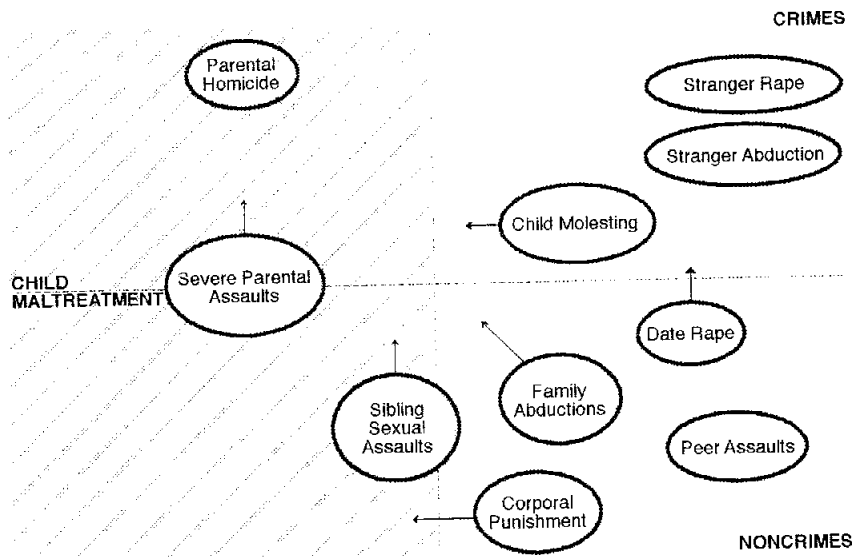


Figure 1. Child victimizations: Crimes, noncrimes, and child maltreatment.

adults. But corporal punishment is not just typically viewed as minor victimization; it is actually viewed as salutary and educational by many segments of society. However, there are signs that a normative transformation is in progress regarding corporal punishment (Greven, 1990). A majority of states have banned it in schools, several Scandinavian countries have outlawed its use even by parents, and the American Academy of Pediatrics has officially opposed its use. Social scientists have begun to study it as a form of victimization with short- and long-term negative consequences (Strassberg, Dodge, Pettit, & Bates, 1994; Straus, 1994). Some have argued that it is the template on which other violent behavior gets built. Clearly, a developmental victimology needs to take account of corporal punishment, although it may deserve individualized theoretical and empirical treatment.

Another somewhat problematic category in juvenile or developmental victimology concerns indirect victimizations, situations where children witness or are closely affected by the crime victimization of a family member or friend. These include children who are first-hand witnesses to wife abuse (Jaffe, Wolfe, & Wilson, 1990; Wolak & Finkelhor, 1998), who are deprived of a parent or sibling as a result of a homicide (Kilpatrick, Amick, & Resnick, 1990), or who are present but not injured in playground massacres or the public killing of a teacher (Nader, Pynoos, Fairbanks, & Frederick, 1990), all situations that have been studied by researchers. While indirect victimization affects adults as well as children, the latter are particularly vulnerable to effects due to their dependency on those being victimized. Since most of the acts creating indirect victimizations are crimes, these situations could be readily categorized in the "crime" category, but some, such as the witnessing of marital assault, also are treated as child welfare violations in which the child is seen as a direct, not indirect, victim.

An additional complexity in the domain of developmental victimology is that, unlike in the domain of adult victimization, specific victimization categories have been much less clearly drawn. Thus, for example, child sexual assault, child sexual abuse, and child molestation are often thought of interchangeably, but these terms also can refer to very different

portions of the problem of sexual offenses involving children. Thus child sexual abuse, when discussed in child welfare contexts, often means sexual offenses committed against children by *caretakers*, and thus might not include sexual assaults by strangers or peers. Child molestation in colloquial terms is thought of as sexual offenses committed against children by adults, and thus might exclude date rapes and sexual assaults by other juveniles. Child sexual assault is sometimes taken in its literal meaning to refer to violent and forceful sexual crimes against children, and thus excludes nonassaultive sexual crimes against children. All this suggests that the field could benefit from a great deal of definitional refinement and organization.

Methodological Limitations

Another obvious barrier that has limited the development of a field of developmental victimology is the lack of good data about such victimization. Until recently and still in the case of most states, crimes reported to the FBI with the exception of homicide were not tabulated according to the age of victim, so that crimes against children were difficult to single out. The National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) obtained information only on children aged 12 and older. Many special forms of crime victimization involving children, such as involvement in child prostitution, have not been systematically counted at all and others, like stranger abductions, were counted only periodically using methodologies that have not been tested and refined. It is interesting to note that the statistical picture is much more comprehensive and systematic in regard to the medical and health conditions of children, including even very rare conditions, than in regard to their criminal and violent victimization, even though the latter has been a major public policy preoccupation.

Children Are More Victimized Than Adults

One reality, not widely recognized about child victimization and obscured in part because of the lack of comprehensive statistics, is that children are more prone to victimization than adults. This is difficult to establish unambiguously because of the lack of comprehensive data particularly about younger children. But the proposition is clearly true for teenagers. According to NCVS, the overall violent crime victimization rate for ages 12–17 in 1994 was 2.8 higher than the rate for adults (Hashima & Finkelhor, 1999). It was three times as high for assault and twice as high for rape and robbery (Table 1). Teenagers as a group are murdered at about the same rate as adults, but the rate for 16- to 17-year-olds is 50% higher than the adult average.

Unfortunately, however, with the exception of homicide, the picture for children younger than 12 is more difficult to assess. Studies do suggest that assaults and sexual assaults are very common below age 12 (Finkelhor, 1994; Kilpatrick, 1992). Kilpatrick found that 29% of all forcible rapes occurred to females under age 11, although this age group makes up only 17% of the population. Other studies show assault rates for youth aged 10 and 11 that are just as high as for older youth (Finkelhor & Dziuba-Leatherman, 1994a), and school observation studies show a great deal of assault throughout grade school (Olweus, 1991). However, for homicide, rates for those under 12 are quite low, running about a quarter of the adult rate. The only exception is for infants, whose intentional deaths are often masked as accidents, and whose homicide rate, according to some estimates, may reach or exceed the level of the adult population (McClain, Sacks, Frochlike, & Ewigman, 1993).

It is unfortunate that few comparative statistics exist for younger children. But the rates for 12- to 17-year-olds in the NCVS are so much higher than the rate for adults that the overall

Table 1. Crime Victimization Ratio in Youth and Adults, 1994

	Rate per 1000		Risk ratio youth ÷ adult
	Youth 12-17	Adult 18+	
All violent crime ^a	116	43	2.7
Assault ^a	101	36	2.8
Simple ^a	75	26	2.9
Aggravated ^a	26	10	2.6
Rape and sexual assault ^a	3	2	1.5
Robbery ^a	12	5	2.4
Homicide ^b	0.07	0.10	0.7
Theft ^a	173	114	1.5

^aFrom Hashima & Finkelhor, 1999. Analysis based on US Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics. *National Crime Victimization Survey, 1994* [Computer file]. Conducted by US Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. 7th ICPSR ed. Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research [producer and distributor], 1996. Data table.

^bUS Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation. *Uniform Crime Reporting Program Data: [United States] [Supplementary Homicide Reports, 1994]* [Computer file]. Compiled by the US Department of Justice, Federal Department of Investigation. ICPSR ed. Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research [producer and distributor], 1996. Data table.

crime victimization rate for all children 0-17 would still be higher than the overall rate for adults (Moone, 1994), even under the limiting (and absurd) assumption of no victimizations at all for children under 12.

Once we go beyond the national crime victimization survey definitions and methodology, the disproportionate victimization of children becomes clearer still. One major well-known weakness of the NCVS is in its counting of family violence (Garbarino, 1989). Children are enormously more vulnerable than adults to intrafamily victimization over the whole of childhood. For example, in the National Family Violence Survey, adults report that they inflict over twice as much severe violence (which includes beating up, kicking, hitting with a fist or object) against a child in their household than they do against their adult partner (Straus & Gelles, 1990). If we include less severe acts of violence like slapping, the differential is even greater. Moreover, younger children experience more family violence than older children, so this differential holds over the entire span of childhood.

Then, there are the forms of victimization in childhood that do not have direct equivalents in adulthood. These include things like neglect and family abductions, which particularly affect very young children. These forms of victimization add to the picture of a very highly victimized youth population.

One objection sometimes made to the portrait of youth as highly victimized is the idea that, on the whole, youth victimizations, even if numerous, are of a minor nature and are *less serious* (Garofalo, Siegel, & Laub, 1987). Youth victimizations, particularly as captured in the NCVS, have been characterized as school-yard fighting and the like. However, examination of the NCVS data do not bear out this benign stereotype. Youth are almost three times more likely than adults to have a crime-related injury (Table 2), and although the numbers for specific injuries are small and possibly unreliable, they suggest that youth are considerably more likely to sustain a knife, gunshot, or bullet wound or other weapon injury. Their rate of hospitalization for crime injuries is about the same as adults, possibly an indication that victimized youth avoid medical care when injured. In some other indicators of crime seriousness (Table 3),

Table 2. Crime Victimization Injuries for Youth and Adults, 1994^a

Episode characteristic	Rate per 1000	Population estimate	Percent of violent crime victims
Injury (all)			
12-17	30.2	681,160	25.9
18+	11.1	2,124,798	25.8
Bruises, cuts			
12-17	23.0	519,825	19.8
18+	8.7	1,662,030	20.2
Knife, stab wound			
12-17	0.6 ^b	14,654	0.6
18+	0.2	44,182	0.5
Gun shot, bullet wound ^b			
12-17	0.5 ^b	11,576	0.4
18+	0.1 ^b	27,820	0.3
Other weapon injury			
12-17	3.1	69,437	2.6
18+	1.3	239,017	2.9
Broken bones or teeth			
12-17	1.0 ^b	21,628	0.8
18+	0.6	115,276	1.4
Internal injuries, knocked unconscious			
12-17	0.6 ^b	12,868	0.5
18+	0.7	125,410	1.5
Other injuries			
12-17	5.5	123,646	4.7
18+	2.1	406,025	4.9
Hospitalization			
12-17	0.7 ^b	14,999	0.6
18+	0.4	67,222	0.8

^aFrom US Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1994, data file. See Table 1a for complete reference.

^bBased on fewer than 10 sample cases.

youth also are much more likely to face multiple assailants (36.1 vs. 12.1 per 1000) or to face armed assailants (9.9 vs. 5.5). The only indicator of less serious victimization for youth is that, in the case of theft, fewer of their stolen objects are worth more than \$250, partly reflecting the fact that youth tend not to own expensive things. But overall there is little support for the idea that their victimizations are less serious than those of adults.

Statistics on Child Victimization

There is no single source for statistics on child victimizations. But the public policy interest in specific kinds of victimizations has resulted in national estimates for some of them, although they are far from methodologically rigorous. The national statistics about child victimization gleaned from more than a dozen sources are arrayed in Table 4 in rough order of magnitude. The categories by which they are listed are certainly not distinct and mutually exclusive. For example, rape estimates include some sexual abuse and vice versa; assault includes some physical abuse and nonfamily abduction.

Under some victimization categories, the estimates of several different studies have been listed, sometimes showing widely divergent numbers. These differences stem from two factors

Table 3. Crime Victimization Seriousness for Youth and Adults, 1994^a

Episode characteristic	Rate per 1000	Population estimate	Percent of violent crime victims
Multiple perpetrators			
12-17	36.1	815,813	31.1
18+	12.1	2,320,576	28.2
Use, presence of firearm			
12-17	9.9	224,473	8.5
18+	5.5	1,056,088	12.8
Object stolen worth \$250+			
12-17	9.0	204,226	7.8
18+	24.2	4,629,654	56.2

^aFrom National Crime Victimization Survey, 1994. Data file.
^bPercent victims of completed theft.

in particular: the source of the report and the definition of the activity. Of the three main sources of reports—children themselves, caretakers knowledgeable about children's experiences, and agencies such as the police and child protection services—children and caretakers are likely to provide many more accounts than are available from agencies alone. This in part explains, for example, why the estimate of physical abuse from the National Family Violence Survey (a caretaker study) is more than double that of the 50 State Survey (agency statistics). Estimates also diverge because some studies used more careful or restrictive definitions.

This is far from an exhaustive inventory of all the victimizations children could be said to suffer. There are many types of even criminal victimizations for which we could identify no reliable national statistics, such as involvement in child prostitution. It also does not provide any estimates of children as secondary or indirect victims, that is, when crimes are committed against the households in which they live or other members of their household (Morgan & Zedner, 1992).

What follows are some specific notes and observations about the statistics in Table 4:

1. Sibling assaults. Sibling assaults appear to be the most common kind of violent victimization for children, affecting 80% of all children in some form and over half of all children in its more severe form (which includes hitting with an object, kicking, biting or punching, beating up, or threatening with a knife or gun).² These rates are confirmed in other smaller-scale self-report studies of children (Goodwin & Roscoe, 1990; Roscoe, Goodwin, & Kennedy, 1987). Serious sibling assaults are highest for children age 3-4, and decline with age (592 per 1000 down to 309 per 1000 for age 15-17).
2. Corporal punishment. Corporal punishment has its highest frequency for children under age 8 and declines thereafter, but a fifth of all teenagers are still being physically punished by parents (Moore, Gallup, & Schussel, 1995). Annual parent surveys have shown a steady decline over the last decade in the numbers saying that they use it on young children, with rates down about 25% since 1988 (Daro, 1995).
3. Theft, assault, robbery, and rape. These are all crimes measured by the National Crime Victimization Survey but that also have been subject to other national surveys. The NCVS estimates tend to be substantially lower than other self-report estimates. This may be in part a result of the NCVS method whose context has in the past especially emphasized people's stereotypical ideas about crime.

Table 4. Rates and Incidence of Various Childhood Victimizations

Type	Age	Rate/1000 ^a	No. victimized ^b	Year	Source ^c	Report type ^d	Notes
Sibling assault	3-17	800.0	50,400,000*	1975	NFVS-1	C	*Any violence
	3-17	530.0	33,300,000 [†]	1975	NFVS-1	C	[†] Severe violence
Corporal punishment	0-17	(570.0)	(35,910,000)	1995	Gallup	C	
Theft	11-17	(497.0)	+++	1978	NYS	S	
	12-15	95.3	+++	1993	NCS93	S	
Assault	11-17	(310.6)	+++	1978	NYS	S	
	Gr. 8	(172.0)	+++	1988	NASHS	S	
	12-17	101.2	+++	1994	NCVS94	S	
Robbery	11-17	(245.8)	+++	1978	NYS	S	
	Gr. 8	(160.9)	+++	1988	NASHS	S	
	12-17	11.7	+++	1994	NCVS94	S	
Rape/sexual assault	Gr. 8	(118.0)	+++	1988	NASHS	S	
	11-17	(78.0)	+++*	1978	NYS78	S	*Girls only
	12-17	3.4	+++	1994	NCVS94	S	
Physical abuse	0-17	(49.0)	(3,087,000)	1995	Gallup	C	
	0-17	9.1	614,108	1993	NIS-3	A	
	0-17	(3.5)	(252,900)	1993	NCCAN93	A	
Neglect	0-17	(19.9)	(1,355,100)*	1993	NIS-3	A	*Physical and emotional neglect
	0-17	(7.3)	(510,980)	1993	NCCAN93	A	
	0-17	19.0	1,197,000	1995	Gallup	C	
Sexual abuse	0-17	(2.2)	(151,611)	1993	NCCAN93	A	
	0-17	4.5	300,200	1993	NIS-3	A	
	0-17	7.9	532,200	1993	NIS-3	A	
Emotional abuse	0-17	5.6	354,100	1988	NISMART	C	
Family abductions	0-17	0.05-0.07	3200-4600*	1988	NISMART	A	*Legal definition
Nonfamily abductions	0-17	0.003-0.005	200-300 [†]	1988	NISMART	A	[†] Stereotypical kidnapping
Homicide	0-17	(0.039)	2,697	1993	UCR93	A	

^aNumbers given in parentheses did not appear in original source, but were derived from data presented therein.

^b + + +, Numbers were only computed for complete populations (i.e., age 0-17).

^cSource acronyms: NCVS94, National Crime Victimization Survey, 1994 (Data analyzed by authors); NASHS, National Adolescent Student Health Survey (American School Health Association, 1989); NCCAN93, National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect (1995); Gallup, Disciplining Children in America (Moore et al., 1996); NFVS-1, National Family Violence Survey, 1975 (Straus & Gelles, 1990); NIS-3, Third National Incidence Study of Child Abuse and Neglect, 1993 (Sedlak & Broadhurst, 1996); NISMART, National Incidence Study of Missing, Abducted, Runaway and Thrownaway Children, 1988 (Finkelhor, Hotaling, & Sedlak, 1990); NYS, National Youth Survey (Lauritsen, Sampson, & Laub, 1991); NYS78, National Youth Survey, 1978 (Ageton, 1983); and UCR93, Uniform Crime Reports, 1993 (FBI, 1995).

^dReport types: A = agency reports, C = caretaker reports, S = self-reports.

It must be kept in mind that these assault figures (as well as theft, robbery, vandalism, and rape) pertain only to older children (12 and older). However, it should not be assumed that they would necessarily be lower if younger children were included. Some smaller studies suggest that nonfamily peer assaults are as high or higher for primary school age children than for teens.

4. Physical abuse, neglect, sexual abuse, and emotional abuse. The child abuse and neglect figures are relatively crude. One source (NCCANDS) is based on compilations of official reports substantiated by state child welfare authorities but subject to great variations in state definitions and local practices. Another source, the National Incidence Study (NIS), is from a survey that attempts to include cases known to other professionals, but possibly unknown to official reporting agencies. Much child abuse, however, is not identified by professionals at all (Garbarino, 1989). Attempts have been made to estimate physical and sexual abuse from parent self-reports (Finkelhor, Moore, Hamby, & Straus, 1997; Moore et al., 1995), but in this methodology the physical abuse measure does not include a harm component that is part of the definition in the National Incidence Studies, and the sexual abuse measure includes non-caretaker abusers that would not be counted in the other methodologies.
5. Family abductions. Estimates come from a national study that interviewed caretakers (Finkelhor, Hotaling, & Sedlak, 1990) and may be biased, since only the aggrieved parent was consulted. The definition of family abduction is fairly broad and includes relatively minor events, since a child needed to have been kept or taken in violation of a custody arrangement only for a relatively short period of time. Family abductions occur most commonly to children under the age of 10.
6. Nonfamily abductions. Nonfamily abductions that meet the public stereotype of a true kidnapping (that is where the child is taken a great distance or to another state or held overnight or killed) are relatively rare. But less serious abductions occur in the course of other crimes, such as rapes and assaults, that meet the legal criteria for abductions (forcible removal into a car or building or over a short distance or forcible detention for a period as short as a half hour). These were not well estimated because the NISMART methodology relied on police records and many of these crimes are not reported to police or the abduction component is not recorded in police records. Because nonfamily abductions primarily occur in conjunction with sexual assaults, the most frequent victims, contrary to public stereotype, tend to be teenage girls.
7. Homicide. Homicides are generally considered among the most accurately counted crimes, but the homicides of particularly young children may be underestimated by 50%, according to one study (McClain et al., 1993), because of the difficulty of distinguishing them from accidents and sudden infant death syndrome. Homicide rates are highest for very young children and teenagers.

An effort to pull together the information from these and some other sources (Vital Statistics, National Fire Incident Reporting System) as part of a National Institute of Justice study (Miller, Cohen, & Wiersema, 1996) concluded that the total number of all crime victimizations to children was between 3.36 and 4.95 million per year (Table 5). Many of the component figures for this estimate are crude extrapolations, but do provide guesses for aspects of the victimization picture that have not yet been directly surveyed. For example, the analysts derived estimates for assaults to children under 12 by taking the number of assaults to youth 12-17 from the NCVS and multiplying it by a ratio. The ratio came from a comparison of 0- to 11-year-olds versus 12- to 17-year-olds treated in hospitals or emergency rooms as a

Table 5. National Institute of Justice Study
Rough Estimates of Child and Youth Victimizations

	Victimizations estimate or range	
	Ages 0-11	Ages 12-17
Homicide, excl. arson/DWI/abuse and neglect	265-1,991	265-1,991
Child abuse and neglect	397,000-487,000	482,000-562,000
Fatal	1,180	75
Sexual abuse	97,000-187,000	88,000-168,000
Physical abuse	194,000+	161,000+
Emotional abuse	105,000	233,000+
Rape, omitting sex abuse	250,000-315,000	204,000-257,000
Other assault or attempt	289,000-450,000	1,167,000-2,261,000
With injury	116,000-139,000	468,000-698,000
No injury	173,000-311,000	699,000-1,563,000
Robbery or attempt	UNK	219,000-261,000
Drunk driving	125,000	224,000
Arson with injury	2,000	1,000
Total	1,060,000-1,380,000	2,300,000-3,570,000

^aFrom Miller et al. (1996).

result of nondomestic assaults in several states. The range of the estimates in Table 5 is due primarily to different ways of counting so-called "series" victimizations, crimes in which the same thing happened to a person on multiple occasions, which tend to be difficult for survey respondents to count accurately. These researchers also tried to make the categories as mutually exclusive as possible. But the source data for these estimates and extrapolations often are very crude themselves and are based on many assumptions that are impossible to verify.

A Typology of Child Victimization by Incidence

The figures in Table 4, in spite of their methodological limitations, definitional imprecision, and variability, nonetheless can be broken into three rough and broad categories according to their order of magnitude. First there are the *pandemic* victimizations that occur to a majority of children at some time in the course of growing up. These include at a minimum assault by siblings, physical punishment by parents, and theft, and probably also peer assault, vandalism, and robbery. Second, there are what might be called *acute* victimizations. These are less frequent and occur to a minority, although perhaps sizeable minority, of children, but may be on average of a generally greater severity. Among these we would include physical abuse, neglect, and family abduction. Finally, there are the *extraordinary* victimizations that occur to only a very small number of children but that attract a great deal of attention. These include homicide, including gang homicide, child abuse homicide, and nonfamily abduction.

Several observations follow from this typology. First, there has been much more public and professional attention paid to the extraordinary and acute victimizations compared to the pandemic ones. For example, sibling violence, the most frequent victimization, is conspicuous for how little it has been studied in proportion to how often it occurs. This neglect of pandemic victimizations needs to be rectified. For one thing, it fails to reflect the concerns of children themselves. In a recent survey of 2000 children aged 10-16, three times as many were

concerned about the likelihood of their being beaten up by peers as were concerned about being sexually abused (Finkelhor & Dzuiba-Leatherman, 1995). The pandemic victimizations deserve greater attention, if only for the alarming frequency with which they occur and the influence they have on children's everyday existence.

Second, this typology can be useful in developing theory and methodology concerning child victimization. For example, different types of victimization may require different conceptual frameworks. Because they are nearly normative occurrences, the impact of pandemic victimizations may be very different from the extraordinary ones that children experience in relative isolation.

Finally, the typology helps illustrate the diversity and frequency of children's victimization. Although homicide and child abuse have been widely studied, they are notable for how inadequately they convey the variety and true extent of the other victimizations that children suffer. Almost all the figures in Table 4 have been promoted in isolation at one time or another. When we view them together, we note that they are just part of a total environment of various victimization dangers in which children live.

Why is the Victimization of Children So Common?

When the victimization of children is considered as a whole and its scope and variety are more fully appreciated, it prompts a number of interesting and important theoretical questions. The first concerns why the victimization of children is so common. Obviously this is a complex question; a complete answer will undoubtedly require the explanation of elevated risks for different categories of children for different kinds of victimization. However, some generalizations may apply. Certainly the weakness and small physical stature of many children and their dependency status put them at greater risk. They can be victimized because they cannot retaliate or deter it as effectively as those with more strength and power. The social toleration of child victimization also plays a role. Society has an influential set of institutions—the police and criminal justice system—to enforce its relatively strong prohibitions against many kinds of crime, but much of the victimization of children is considered outside the purview of this system.

Another important generalization about why children are at high risk for victimization concerns the relationship between choice and vulnerability (Lynch, 1991). *Children have comparatively little choice over whom they associate with, less choice perhaps than any segment of the population besides prisoners.* This can put them into more involuntary contact with high-risk offenders, and thus at greater jeopardy for victimization. For example, when children live in families that mistreat them, they are not free or able to leave. When they live in dangerous neighborhoods, they cannot choose on their own to move. If they attend a school with many hostile and delinquent peers, they cannot simply change schools or quit. The absence of choice over people and environments affects children's vulnerability to both intimate victimization and street crime. Some adults, like battered women and the poor, suffer similar limitations, but still many adults are able to seek divorces or change their residences in reaction to dangerous conditions. Adults also have more ready access to cars and sometimes have the option to live and work alone. Children are obliged to live with other people, to travel collectively, and to work in high-density, heterogeneous environments, which is what schools are. To put it in more abstract language, children have difficulty gaining access to the structures and mechanisms in society that help segregate people from dangerous associates and environments. This makes them more vulnerable.

Differential Character of Child Victimization

A second interesting theoretical question concerns how the victimization of children differs from the victimization of adults. Children, of course, suffer from all the victimizations that adults do (including economic crimes like extortion and fraud), but they also suffer from some that are particular to their status. The main status characteristic of childhood is its condition of dependency, which is a function, at least in part, of social and psychological immaturity. The violation of this dependency status results in forms of victimization, like physical neglect, that are not suffered by most adults (with the exception of those, like the elderly and sick, who also become dependent).

The dependency of children creates a spectrum of vulnerability. Interestingly, the victimization categories that we identified in Table 4 can be arrayed on a continuum, according to the degree to which they involve violations of children's dependency status (Figure 2). At the one extreme is physical neglect, which has practically no meaning as a victimization, except in the case of a person who is dependent and needs to be cared for by others. Similarly, family abduction is a dependency-specific victimization, because it is the unlawful removal of a child from the person who is supposed to be caring for him or her. Emotional abuse happens to both adults and children, but the sensitive psychological vulnerability of children in their dependent relationship to their caretakers is what makes society consider emotional abuse of children a form of victimization that warrants an institutional response.

At the other end of the continuum are forms of victimization that are defined without reference to dependency and that exist in very similar forms for both children and adults. Stranger abduction is prototypical in this instance, since both children and adults are taken against their will and imprisoned for ransom or sexual purposes. Homicide is similar; the dependency status of the victim does little to define the victimization. In some cases, to be sure, children's deaths result from extreme and willful cases of neglect, but there are parallel instances of adult deaths resulting from extreme and willful negligence.

Finally, there are forms of child victimization that should be located along the midsection of the dependency continuum. Sexual abuse falls here, for example, because it encompasses at least two different situations, one dependency related and one not. Some sexual abuse entails activities, ordinarily acceptable between adults, that are deemed victimizing in the case of children because of their immaturity and dependency. But other sexual abuse involves violence and coercion that would be victimizing even with a nondependent adult.

In the case of physical abuse, there also is some mixture. While most of the violent acts in

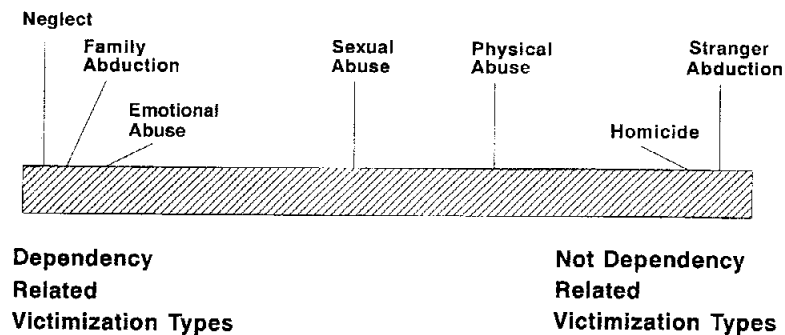


Figure 2. Dependence continuum for child victimization types.

this category would be considered victimizing even between adults, some of them, like the shaken baby syndrome, develop almost exclusively in a caretaking relationship where there is an enormous differential in size and physical control.

The dependency continuum is a useful concept in thinking about some of the unique features of children's victimizations. It also is helpful in generating some hypotheses about the expected correlates of different types of victimization at different ages.

DEVELOPMENTAL PROPOSITIONS

Childhood is such an extremely heterogeneous category—4-year-olds and 17-year-olds having little in common—that it is inherently misleading to discuss child victimization in general without reference to age. We would expect the nature, quantity, and impact of victimization to vary across childhood with the different capabilities, activities, and environments that are characteristic of different stages of development. This is the key principle of developmental victimology. Unfortunately, we do not have good studies of the different types of victimization across all the ages of childhood with which to examine such changes.

There are two plausible propositions about age and child victimization that could be a starting place for developmental victimology. One is that victimizations stemming from the dependent status of children should be most common among the most dependent, hence, the youngest children. A corollary is that as children get older, their victimization profile should come more and more to resemble that of adults.

We can examine such propositions in a crude way with the data that are available. In fact, we do see (Table 6) that the types of victimization that are most concentrated in the under-12 age group are the dependency-related ones (see the Dependency Continuum in Fig. 2), particularly family abduction and physical neglect. Victimization like homicide and stranger abduction, which we grouped at the nondependency end of the continuum, involve a greater percentage of teenagers. However, not everything falls neatly into place; sexual abuse seems anomalously concentrated among teenagers, too. We believe this to be an artifact of the NIS data on sexual abuse, which was based on reported cases only, and thus undercounted sexual abuse of young children.³ When we look at sexual abuse, based on data from retrospective self-reports, we find that 64% of victimizations occur before age 12 (Finkelhor et al., 1990), a pattern more consistent with the hypothesis and the place of sexual abuse on the dependency continuum.

Table 6. Victimization of Younger Children

Type of victimization	Percent under 12 of all juvenile victims	Source ^a
Family abduction	81	NISMART
Physical neglect	70	NIS-2
Emotional abuse	58 ^b	NIS-2
Physical abuse	56	NIS-2
Homicide	43 ^c	UCR
Sexual abuse	40	NIS-2
Stranger abduction	27	NISMART

^aNIS-2, National Study of the Incidence and Severity of Child Abuse and Neglect, 1986 (Sedlak, 1991). See Table 4 for other source acronyms.

^bReflects the midpoint of two divergent estimates.

^cAge group for this category is under 10.

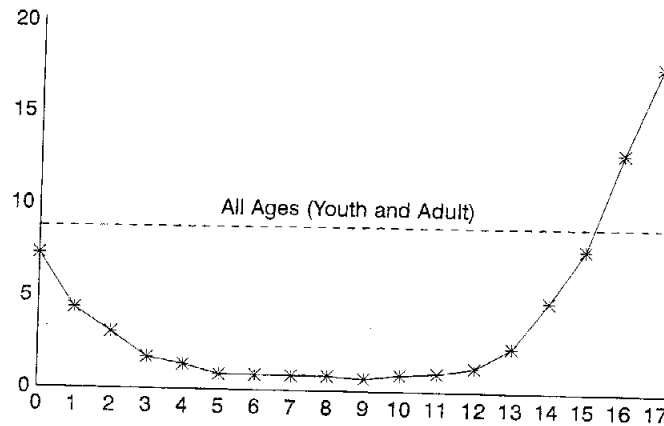


Figure 3. Homicide rates for youth aged 0 to 17, per 100,000 US children. *Source:* Supplemental Homicide Reports (1991–1992), Federal Bureau of Investigation, analysis by author.

For additional insights about development and victimization, we also can look at child homicide, the type of victimization to which a developmental analysis has been most extensively applied (Christoffel, 1990; Christoffel et al., 1983; Crittenden & Craig, 1990; Jason, 1983; Jason, Carpenter, & Tyler, 1983). Child homicide has a conspicuous bimodal frequency, with high rates for the very youngest and the oldest children (Fig. 3). But the two peaks represent very different phenomena. The homicides of young children are primarily committed by parents, by choking, smothering, and battering. In contrast, the homicides of older children are committed mostly by peers and acquaintances, most often with the use of firearms (Figs. 4 and 5).

Although the analysts do not agree entirely on the number and age span of the specific developmental categories for child homicides, a number of propositions are clear. There is a distinct group of neonaticides: children killed in the first day or few weeks of life. The proportion of female and rural perpetrators is unusually high in this group (Jason et al., 1983).

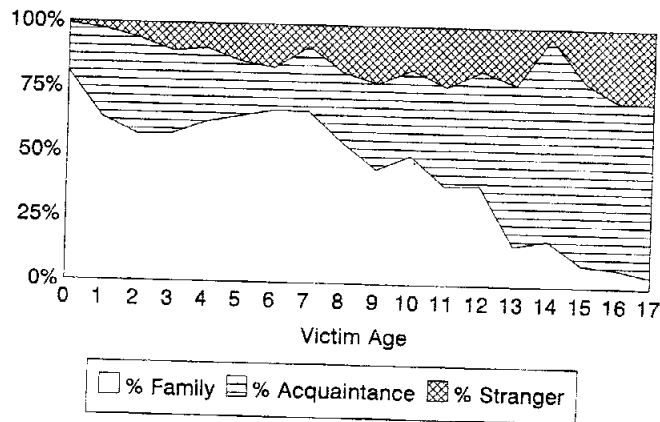


Figure 4. Relationship of child homicide victims to perpetrators. *Source:* See Figure 3.

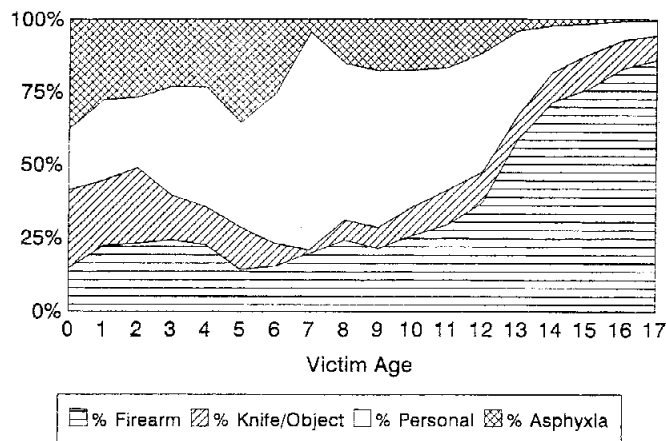


Figure 5. Homicide weapon by victim age. Source: See Figure 3.

Homicide at this age is generally considered to include many isolated parents dealing with unwanted children.

After the neonatal period, there follows a period through about age 5 in which homicides are still primarily committed by caretakers using "personal weapons," but the motives and circumstances are thought to be somewhat different. These appear to be mostly cases of fatal child abuse that occur as a result of parents' attempts to control child behavior or reactions to some of its aversive qualities (Christoffel, 1990; Crittenden & Craig, 1990). Because of their small size and physical vulnerability, many children at this age die from acts of violence and force by adults that would not be fatal to an older child.

As children become of school age, the rate of child homicide declines and the nature of child homicide becomes somewhat different. Among school-age children, killings by parents and caretakers gradually decline and those by peers and acquaintances rises. There are more firearm deaths. Children are targeted by suicidal parents killing their whole families. Children are killed in sexual assaults and as innocent victims in robberies and arsons.

Then at age 13, the homicide picture changes again and rapidly. The rate for boys diverges sharply from that for girls. Acquaintances become the predominant killers. Gangs and drugs are heavily involved, and the rate for minority groups—African Americans, Hispanic Americans, and Asian Americans—soars.

These trends clearly suggest that the types of homicide suffered by children are related to the nature of their dependency and to the level of their integration into the adult world. They provide a good case for the importance and utility of a developmental perspective on child victimizations and a model of how such an approach could be applied to other types of victimization.

Intrafamily Victimization

Unlike many adults, children do not live alone; they live mostly in families, so another plausible principle of developmental victimology is that more of the victimization of children occurs at the hands of relatives. The findings on homicide suggest this as a developmental trend: that younger children have a greater proportion of their victimizations at the hands of

intimates and correspondingly fewer at the hands of strangers. This is because they live more sheltered lives, spend more time in the home and around family, and have fewer of the characteristics that might make them suitable targets for strangers, such as money and valuable possessions.

An additional possible principle is that the identity of perpetrators may vary according to the type of victimization and its place on the dependency continuum (Fig. 2). Victimization that are more dependency related should involve more perpetrators who are parents and family members. As shown in Table 7, parents are 100% of the perpetrators of neglect (Sedlak, 1991)—the most dependency-related victimization—but only 28% of the perpetrators of homicide (Federal Bureau of Investigations, 1992). This pattern occurs because the responsibilities created by children's dependency status fall primarily on parents and family members. They are the main individuals in a position to violate those responsibilities in a way that would create victimization. Thus, when a sick child fails to get available medical attention, it is the parents who are charged with neglecting the child, even if the neighbors also did nothing.

Gender and Victimization

Developmental victimology needs to take account of gender as well. On the basis of the conventional crime statistics available from the NCVS and Uniform Crime Report, boys would appear to suffer more homicide (2.3 to 1), more assault (1.7 to 1), and more robbery (2 to 1) than girls, while girls suffer vastly more rape (8.1 to 1) (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1992; Federal Bureau of Investigations, 1992). But this primarily pertains to the experience of adolescents and does not consider age variations.

Because gender differentiation increases as children get older, a developmental hypothesis might predict that the pattern of victimization would be less gender specific for younger children. That is, because younger boys and girls are more similar in their activities and physical characteristics, there might be less difference between gender in the rate of victimization.

This pattern does indeed appear to be the case at least for homicide, the type of victimization for which we have the best data. Rates of homicide are quite similar for younger boys and girls, even up to age 13, after which point the vulnerability of boys increases dramatically (Fig. 6).

This increased differentiation with age also is apparent for physical abuse, at least based on one data set. Caretaker reports from the National Family Violence Survey show more abuse of boys after age 5, rising particularly high in later adolescence. But data from another source, the NIS, based on reported cases, do not support this conclusion, showing girls to be the

Table 7. Childhood Victimization Perpetrated by Parents

Type of victimization	Percent victimized by parent	Source ^a
Physical neglect	100	NIS-2
Emotional abuse	100	NIS-2
Physical abuse	90	NIS-2
Abductions	80	NISMART
Sexual abuse	51	NIS-2
Homicide	28	UCR

^aSee Tables 4 and 6 for source acronyms.

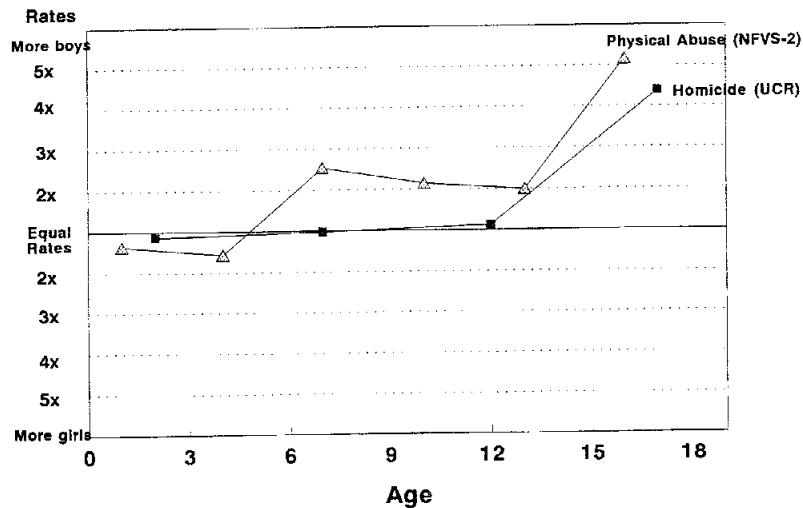


Figure 6. Gender differences in victimization rates.

predominant victims of physical abuse during adolescence. It could be that the physical abuse of adolescent boys is particularly underdetected by professionals (on whose observations the NIS is based).

The developmental pattern in gender differentiation may apply to some forms of victimization but not others. Some victimization types may have unique gender patterns reflecting their particular dynamics. Issues of reporting and disclosure also may influence gender patterns. More research on this issue is needed.

ROUTINE ACTIVITIES THEORY AND CHILDREN

Routine activities theory (RAT), a popular conceptual framework in the victimology field, has been applied to the analysis of youth victimization as it has to other issues. The theory predicts that victimization risk will be governed by lifestyle and routine activities that in particular increase proximity and exposure to crime (e.g., living in a high-crime neighborhood, being out at night), reduce guardianship (e.g., the protective presence of others), and enhance target attractiveness (e.g., owning expensive appliances). The application to youth has tended to focus on how increased *exposure* and decreased *guardianship* heighten youth vulnerability. Young people are viewed as engaging in risky behaviors, such as staying out late, going to parties, and drinking, that compromise the guardianship provided by parents and adults and expose them to more possibilities for victimization (Jensen & Brownfield, 1986). Much of the RAT approach to youth victimization has stressed particularly its connection to delinquent activities (Lauritsen, Laub, & Sampson, 1992; Lauritsen, Sampson, & Laub, 1991). Delinquency is seen as a lifestyle that puts a person in close proximity to other offenders—aggressive or delinquent companions or rival gang members—and also greatly reduces guardianship because delinquents tend to avoid conventional social environments and through their activities also largely forfeit their claims on the protection of police and other authorities

(Sparks, 1982). Empirical research has confirmed that delinquents are indeed more prone to victimization than other youth (Lauritsen et al., 1991, 1992).

However, this perspective on youth victimization has some obvious limitations. For one thing, many youth who get victimized have no involvement in delinquency. Delinquent activities primarily are the domain of adolescents, particularly adolescent boys. But even young children get assaulted, kidnapped, and sexually abused (Finkelhor & Dziuba-Leatherman, 1994b) without any connection to delinquent behavior. Moreover, the lifestyle and routine activities theories were designed for and always have been best at explaining variations in stereotypical street crime like stranger assaults and robberies. But much of youth victimization occurs at the hands of acquaintances and family members. This is particularly true for younger children (Finkelhor & Dziuba-Leatherman, 1994b).

These acquaintance and intrafamily victimization are not well suited to the RAT concepts. For example, routine activities studies often operationalize guardianship as the amount of time routinely spent within the family household on the assumption that this activity is protective. However, for a child at risk of parental violence, time spent in the family household is not protective. Nor does being out at night, another popular lifestyle variable, increase exposure to parental violence. In fact, for intrafamily victimization it is not entirely clear that time "exposed" outside or inside the family makes much difference at all.

Thus, it is not surprising that theories developed to explain many specific forms of acquaintance and family victimization among youth have virtually ignored routine activities theory and have relied on other concepts besides exposure and guardianship. For example, in trying to account for who becomes the target of bullying, observers have noted that these tend to be children with avoidant-insecure attachment relationships with primary caregivers, who lack trust, have low self-confidence, expect hostility from others, and are socially isolated (Smith, Bowers, Binney, & Cowie, 1993). Bullied boys tend to be physically weaker and may be more likely to have physical impairments (Olweus, 1993). Something about the behavior of these children, both their physical and psychological vulnerability and perhaps a relational style irritating to other children, seems to attract victimization. Interestingly, as opposed to lacking guardianship, this literature suggests that some victims of bullies if anything tend to be overprotected by parents and bullied in part because of it (Smith et al., 1993).

The literature on parental assault on children also takes a very different tack from the lifestyles approach. This literature tends to equate victimization risk primarily with family and parental attributes, like family stress, isolation, alcoholic and violence-prone caretakers, and parents who have victimization histories and unrealistic expectations of their children (National Research Council, 1993). To the extent that victim factors play a role, particularly in the case of adolescents, the parental assault literature notes that such youth may be more at risk if they are disobedient, uncooperative, or temperamental or have problems or impairments that are a burden or source of disappointment for caregivers (Berdie, Berdie, Wexler, & Fisher, 1983; Garbarino, 1989; Libby & Bybee, 1979; Schellenbach & Guernsey, 1987).

A still different victimization literature, the one on child sexual assault, notes even some other risk factors. For this form of victimization, girls are at substantially greater risk than boys (Finkelhor, 1994). Also at risk are children from stepparent families and children whose parents fight or are distant and punitive (Finkelhor, 1993). Finkelhor (1984) has hypothesized that risk for sexual abuse is increased by factors that reduce parental supervision as well as those that create emotional deprivation. Emotional deprivation makes children and youth vulnerable to the offers of attention and affection that sexual predatory offenders sometimes use to draw children into sexual activities.

A challenge for the field of developmental victimology is to find ways to blend the theo-

retical approaches relevant to specific forms of child victimization together with the insights of routine activities theory, to the extent that they apply. Elsewhere, Finkelhor, and Asdigian (1996) have proposed a framework for beginning this task.

EFFECTS OF CHILD VICTIMIZATION

Inflicted injuries, neglect, and criminal acts are responsible for the deaths of more than 2000 children per year, and homicide is currently one of the five leading causes of child mortality in the United States (Goetting, 1990; Martinez-Schnell & Waxweiler, 1989). Victimization also results in a substantial toll of nonfatal injuries that are more difficult to count accurately. The NIS estimated that, as a result of abuse or neglect over the course of one year, 565,000 children suffered serious injuries (i.e., life-threatening conditions, long-term physical, mental or emotional impairment) and 822,000 others suffered moderate injuries (i.e., observable injuries or impairments that lasted for at least 49 hours)(Sedlak & Broadhurst, 1996). From the NCVS, one can estimate that approximately 700,000 teenagers aged 12 to 17 sustained physical injury due to an assault in a single year (Table 2). Another national survey of 10- to 16-year-olds suggests that the annual number of injured youth is on the order of 2.8 million, with 250,000 needing medical attention (Finkelhor & Dziuba-Leatherman, 1994a). A Massachusetts study suggests that each year 1 in every 42 teenage boys receives hospital treatment for an assault-related injury (Guyer, Lescohier, Gallagher, Hausman, & Azzara, 1989).

Children's level of development undoubtedly influences the nature and severity of injuries resulting from victimization, although few analyses have taken such a developmental approach. An obvious example is the greater vulnerability of small children to death and serious harm as a result of blows inflicted by hands and other so-called "personal objects." Another obvious example is the higher likelihood of older children exposed to sexual abuse-related HIV infection, because older children suffer more penetrative abuse (Kerns & Ritter, 1992).

In addition to physical injury, there is a growing literature documenting that victimization has grave short- and long-term effects on children's mental health as well. For example, sexually victimized children appear to be at substantially increased lifetime risk for virtually all categories of psychiatric disorder (Table 8), a finding supported by Saunders, Villepontoux, Lipovsky, Kilpatrick, and Veronen (1992). Scott (1992) estimates that about 8% of all psychiatric cases within the population at large can be attributed to childhood sexual assault.

Although they do not involve such specific epidemiological assessments, other studies

Table 8. Increased Risk for Psychiatric Disorders among Victims of Child Sexual Abuse^a

Disorder	Risk ratio ^b	Disorder	Risk ratio
Any disorder	3.8	Alcohol abuse or dependence	2.1
Any affective disorder	2.4	Phobia	3.4
Drug abuse or dependence	5.2	Depression	3.4

^aFrom Scott (1992).

^bOnly risks significantly different from risk for nonvictims are included.

also have demonstrated increased rates of mental health morbidity for other types of childhood victimization including physical abuse (Kolko, 1992), emotional abuse (Briere & Runtz, 1990), and physical punishment (Straus & Gelles, 1992). A national survey has demonstrated that victimized youth have higher levels of posttraumatic stress disorder and depression, that a wide variety of specific forms of victimization result in such effects, and that such effects are independent of prior levels of symptoms (Boney-McCoy & Finkelhor, 1995, 1996). A number of other studies also show the traumatic impact of violence exposure and in particular its serious effects on those from ethnic minority communities and communities with higher violence rates (DuRant, Getts, Cadenhead, Emans, & Woods, 1995; Martinez & Richters, 1993; Singer, Anglin, Song, & Lunghofer, 1995).

In addition to general mental health impairments, a proposition that has been established across various types of victimization is that a history of such victimization increases the likelihood that someone will become a perpetrator of crime, violence, or abuse. Although this popular shibboleth has been criticized and qualified (Kaufman & Ziegler, 1987), evidence to support it comes from a wide variety of methodologies—longitudinal follow-ups (McCord, 1983; Widom, 1989a), studies of offender populations (Hanson & Slater, 1988; Lewis, Shanok, Pincus, & Glaser, 1979), and surveys of the general population (Straus, Gelles, & Steinmetz, 1980)—and concerns a wide variety of perpetrations, including violent crime, property crime, child abuse, wife abuse, and sexual assaults (for review, see Widom, 1989b). An important qualification is that victims are not necessarily most prone to repeat their own form of victimization. But the proposition that childhood victims are more likely to grow up to victimize others is firmly established.

Theory about post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) is being applied to and may be a unifying concept for understanding common psychological effects of a wide variety of child victimizations (Eth & Pynoos, 1985). Terr (1990) has made some effort to cast PTSD in a more developmental framework, but its application is mostly anecdotal.

Sexual abuse is the only area in which a developmental approach to the psychological impact of victimization has advanced on the basis of empirical studies (Kendall-Tackett, Williams, & Finkelhor, 1993). For example, in reaction to sexual abuse, symptoms of sexualization seem to appear more frequently among preschool than among school-age girls who seem more aware of appropriate and inappropriate sexual conduct (Friedrich et al., 1992). This is the direction the entire area of child victimization needs to take.

One of the challenges for a field of developmental victimology is to document how victimization at different stages of development can have different kinds of effects (Trickett & Putnam, 1993). Such developmentally specific effects can be related to four different aspects of development, according to a formulation Shirk (1988) made in regard to physical abuse and elaborated by Finkelhor and Kendall-Tackett (1997): (1) differences in the developmental tasks children are facing at the time of victimization; (2) differences in cognitive abilities affecting the appraisals children make about the victimizations; (3) differences in the forms of symptom expression available to the child at that stage of development; and (4) differences in the social context for children of different stages, which affects how their environment and social network may respond to the victimization. In the following, we elaborate briefly on these dimensions.

A number of models in the developmental literature point to pivotal tasks that children need to accomplish at various ages (Egeland & Sroufe, 1981; Erikson, 1968) and the related idea that there are sensitive periods during which developmental tasks or processes are particularly vulnerable to disturbance (MacDonald, 1985). Several specific examples exist in the research literature of attempts to document how victimization can interfere with such

stage-specific processes. For example, young children victimized at an early age by their primary caretakers seem to suffer a big developmental impact in the form of insecure attachments to caregivers (Carlson, Cicchetti, Barnett, & Braunwald, 1989; Crittenden, 1988; Egeland & Sroufe, 1981). Children victimized during preschool years, when children experiment with normal dissociative skills, may be those who become most likely to use dissociation as a defense mechanism and to develop a pattern of dissociation that becomes chronic (Kirby, Chu, & Dill, 1993). Sexual abuse and other trauma can hasten the onset of puberty (Herman-Giddens, Sandler, & Friedman, 1988; Putnam & Trickett, 1993).

A second developmental component to the impact of victimization concerns how children's beliefs about what happened may mediate the experience of victimization (Rutter, 1989). It has been found that victims seem to be more affected by crime in which they believed they were going to die or be seriously injured, or in which they felt helpless and out of control (Kilpatrick et al., 1989; Resnick, 1993). But this cognitive appraisal process works very differently among children, who know much less about the world or make assumptions different from those of adults (Dalenberg, Bierman, & Furman, 1984), and these cognitive appraisal skills, including those that apportion responsibility and blame for bad events, change over the course of development.

Third, in addition to stage-specific vulnerabilities and cognitive appraisals, another domain highlighted by Shirk (1988) is developmental differences in symptom expression. Whatever the stage at which a child may have been victimized or whatever appraisals a child may make, the subjective distress from that victimization will usually be expressed within a vocabulary of behaviors or symptoms specific to the current stage of development. Thus, distress expressed by preschool age children in the form of disruptive behavior in preschool may take the form of self-blame or depression at a later stage. Shirk labels this process "developmental symptom substitution."

Finally, reactions to victimization are affected by developmental differences in the environments children inhabit. For example, a young child who suffers a sexual assault is much less likely to be blamed by friends and family than a teenage victim. This can increase the impact and make recovery more difficult. In understanding how children respond to victimization over the course of development, these processes need to be better described, documented, and related to the child victimization literature.

Economic Costs of Juvenile Victimization

In a recent effort to estimate the economic effects of victimization on individuals and households (Miller et al., 1996), child and youth victimizations were estimated to cost about \$164 billion per year, about 36% of the \$450 billion national total. This estimate did not include costs for collective criminal justice and crime prevention efforts (police, courts, etc.), but it did include a monetary estimate for an individual's quality of life losses. Medical expenses related to children's victimization were estimated to be about \$8.7 billion, about half the national total, and more than 1% of all US medical spending. Other tangible victimization-related losses like property damage and mental health and social service care for juveniles came to about \$15.3 billion. Crimes against children were among the most costly of all crimes. For example, child sexual abuse incurred an average cost of \$5800 in mental health care (the highest of any crime) and \$1100 in social services. The study estimated that as much as 5-10% of the mental health care expenditures in the United States may be attributable to child abuse. Child abuse also entailed very major quality of life costs, estimated at \$52,000 per victimization, compared to other victimizations.

Legal Issues

Legal interventions vary considerably for different types of juvenile victimizations. Some are crimes and some are not; some are subject to civil interventions, and in many cases the relation to the law is very complex. The reasons for these variations are not always entirely straightforward, nor have they received much consideration in the literature on jurisprudence. (Black's [1976] propositions on the behavior of law appear to apply only marginally to juvenile victimizations.) Although practices are changing, to some extent the variations do correspond to the distinctions made out at the outset of this chapter among the categories of crimes, juvenile noncrime equivalents, and child welfare violations.

Crime

Certain stereotypical crimes against children (in particular, stranger abductions, sexual molestation, and nonfamily homicides) are readily incorporated within conventional operation of the criminal justice system and are taken very seriously by its major players. Public and political concern about these kinds of crimes has led in recent years to efforts to try to increase the aggressiveness and punitiveness of the criminal justice system in regard to such crimes.

However, when violence against children contain elements that shade away from these stereotypes, it quickly raises problems for criminal justice system. Some of the main factors that raise difficulties include: (1) when the perpetrator (assailant, molester or abductor) is a family member or member of child's social network; (2) when the perpetrator is not an adult; or (3) when a child's abilities or characteristics interfere with their credibility or testimonial capacities.

This has led to charges that crimes against children are both too aggressively or too passively handled within the criminal justice system. Some have argued that public hysteria over a crime against children makes it difficult for offenders to be treated fairly (Nathan & Snedeker, 1995). Others have argued that the immaturity of children, their difficulties in providing credible testimony, or their low social status means that police and prosecutors ignore or do not fully pursue such cases (Armstrong, 1994). However, studies that have compared the adjudication of crimes against children, particularly sexual abuse cases, with those against adults, have found few dramatic differences. The prosecution rates for crimes against children, the level of guilty verdicts, and the severity of sentences overall do not appear to be out of line with those for adult crimes (Boston Globe Spotlight Team, 1987; Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1989; Chapman & Smith, 1987; Cross, 1995). This topic is in need of much more thorough research, but currently available evidence suggests that although the concerns of critics may apply in particular cases, crimes against children taken as a whole do not seem to receive especially severe or lenient handling.

Juvenile Crime Equivalents

In contrast to clear-cut crimes, there is a class of violent acts and victimizations, as we indicated earlier, that tend to be frankly noncriminal when they involve child actors. These particularly involve violence involving child assailants: peer assaults, sibling assaults, and to some extent, sexual victimizations perpetrated by other children. Although children suffer from high rates of victimization by other children, the major overt reason for the noncriminalization of such juvenile crime hinges on the different legal framework that has historically surrounded juvenile offenders. Modern jurisprudence holds that juvenile offenders, in contrast

to adult offenders, are developmentally immature, and thus (1) not (or less) accountable for criminal acts, and (2) more amenable to rehabilitation (Melton, 1989; Mnookin & Weisberg, 1989; Snyder & Sickmund, 1995). Based on this logic, the justice system has removed the adjudication of violence involving juvenile perpetrators from the criminal law and placed it into a special system.

While this logic explains why juvenile and family courts have been given jurisdiction over juvenile perpetrators, it does not fully explain why so much child-on-child violence is completely ignored by police and other agents of social control. There appear to be other less clearly formulated social assumptions that help explain the exclusion of child-on-child violence from formal systems of social control. These assumptions may include, for example: (1) that these forms of victimization are an unavoidable part of childhood, not particularly harmful to child victims, or that child victims are more resilient than adult victims; (2) that culpability in these events is more shared between the offender and the victim (they are fights rather than assaults); (3) that the problem is so pervasive that it would be overwhelming for any portion of the legal system to regulate; (4) that formal methods of sanctioning or intervening in juvenile violence would not be understood by those involved or would cause more harm than good; (5) that violence by children against other children rarely threatens the adult community; and (6) that children need to learn to be independent and protect and defend themselves without outside, adult intervention, a notion highly valued in independence-oriented American culture.

Interestingly, the management of and research on child-on-child violence usually focuses on issues concerning the juvenile offenders, generally ignoring the implications for juvenile victims. This is regrettable because there are many important victimology issues. There is the question, for example, of whether it matters to a child victim's sense of justice whether his or her assailant is adjudicated in criminal court, juvenile court, or simply sanctioned informally.

In part because of the possibly increasing frequency and severity of some child-on-child violence, there has been a trend to bring more formal sanctions to bear. One avenue that has been tried is through suits brought against school systems asking that they use their power of *in loco parentis* to more reliably ensure students' safety (Davis, 1994; Greenfield, 1993; Milani, 1995). Another avenue, specifically for student-inflicted sexual harassment, has been to bring suits against schools for violating nondiscrimination statutes (Savage, 1996). These approaches have had a mixed record of success in state and federal courts (Stein, 1999). Still a third avenue has been the growing trend toward allowing prosecution of juveniles in criminal court. Many states have enacted laws that sentence juvenile offenders to penalties similar to those for adults who are convicted of the same offense and make transfer of juveniles to criminal court easier or even automatic (Grisso, 1996).

Child Maltreatment

Much of what is considered child maltreatment is covered under criminal codes but not frequently investigated or prosecuted by the criminal justice system (Tjaden & Thoennes, 1992). Those most frequently investigated by police or filed for criminal proceedings tend to be sexual abuse cases. Physical abuse is much less prosecuted than sexual abuse and neglect is rarely prosecuted at all (Smith, 1995; Tjaden & Thoennes, 1992).

The noncriminalization or nonprosecution of child maltreatment seems to be related in part to the sanctity of parental and family relationships, a widely held distaste for government intruding on family matters, a belief that priority should be given to the preservation of the family unit, and the presumption that criminal justice intervention will do more harm than

good. Of course, these arguments do not fully explain why sexual abuse involving family perpetrators gets prosecuted more than physical abuse. One factor may be that sexually abusive parents tend to be more exclusively men, and the legal system may not view the child's relation to the father equivalent to the child's relation to her or his mother. But perhaps another reason why sexual abuse is prosecuted more than physical abuse is because sexual behavior toward children is not acceptable in any circumstance, whereas the use of physical force is viewed as acceptable or even salutary in some instances. For example, in the state of New Hampshire, the law specifically states:

A parent, guardian or other person responsible for the general care and welfare of a minor is justified in using force against such minor when and to the extent that he reasonably believes it necessary to prevent or punish such minor's misconduct. (Criminal Code Section 627: 6, I)

In fact, all 50 states permit corporal punishment as a method for parents to discipline their children (Edwards, 1996). Thus, adults charged with physically assaulting children have a large gray area for defending their actions as falling within the reasonable right to discipline a child. Although there was some movement to deprive nonparental adults of such rights through anticorporal punishment laws, in response to the rise in school violence a number of states, like Michigan, have reinstated the permission for school personnel (Papakirk, 1993).

Nonetheless, the assumption that criminal prosecution of caregivers is detrimental to the family bond or to the welfare of the child has been increasingly challenged. In many parts of the country, advocates for sexual abuse victims have argued that prosecution of parental perpetrators actually enhances both the protection of the child and willingness of the parent to change (Harshbarger, 1987; Myers, 1985-1986). There also may be a national trend toward more termination of parental rights (Bross, 1995). The Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994 (Public Law 103-322) allowed for more prosecution of noncustodial family abductors (Title 18, Section 1201). Finally, in some states the felony murder statutes have been amended to permit child abuse homicide as a basis for first-degree felony murder convictions (McMillen, 1995; Rainey & Greer, 1995). This all suggests that family relationship is becoming less of a barrier to full criminal prosecution.

As can be seen from this brief review, the legal policies affecting the criminal justice system's relationship to child victims are based on many untested and in some cases poorly articulated assumptions about children, their development, and their relationships with family and social institutions. If we want to institute effective procedures to facilitate justice for children, the topic of juvenile victims and the criminal justice system deserves more empirical and theoretical research.

RESEARCH NEEDS

The research needs in this field of child victimization are vast and urgent, given the size of the problem and the seriousness of its impact, and they range from studies of risk factors to studies of treatment efficacy to studies of criminal justice policy. But in the limited space of this review, we will mention only three important points.

First, if we are to take it seriously, we need much better statistics to document and analyze the scope, nature and trends of child victimization. The National Crime Survey records crime victimizations only from age 12 and older. The Uniform Crime Reports in the past has made no age information available about crimes, with the exception of homicide (something that is changing under a new system, but the full national implementation of this system is still a long

way off). The national data collection system about child abuse fails to include all states and has severe methodological limitations, which means that the information cannot be aggregated nationally or compared across states (National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect, 1992). We need comprehensive yearly national and state figures on all officially reported crimes and forms of child abuse committed against children. These need to be supplemented by regular national studies to assess the vast quantity of unreported victimization, including family violence, child-to-child, and indirect victimization. While there are methodological challenges in such efforts, studies like the ones referenced in this chapter demonstrate that this is feasible.

Second, we need theory and research that cuts across and integrates the various forms of child victimization. A good example is the work on posttraumatic stress disorder in children, which has been applied to the effects of various victimizations: sexual abuse, stranger abduction, and the witnessing of homicide (Boney-McCoy & Finkelhor, 1995, 1996; Eth & Pynoos, 1985; Terr, 1990). Similar cross-cutting research could be done on other subjects, such as what makes children vulnerable to victimization or how responses by family members buffer or exacerbate the impact of victimization. To be truly synthesizing, this research needs to study the pandemic victimizations, not just the acute and extraordinary victimizations, which have been the main focus in the past.

Finally, the field needs a more developmental perspective on child victimization. This would begin with an understanding of the mix of victimization threats that face children of different ages. It would include the kind of factors that place children at risk and the strategies for victimization avoidance that are appropriate at different stages of development. It also would differentiate how children at different stages react and cope with the challenges posed by victimization.

CONCLUSION

It is ironic that until recently the problem of children as aggressors has had more attention in social science than children as victims, reflecting perhaps the priorities of the adult world. It is encouraging that as the needs of children are more fully recognized, this balance is finally changing.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The authors would like to gratefully acknowledge the Boy Scouts of America for financial support, the Franklin Pierce Law Center of Concord, New Hampshire, for assistance in legal research and Kelly Foster for help in preparing the manuscript.

APPENDIX

Sources of Data

	Acronym Survey
NCS90	National Crime Survey (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1992)
NCS93	National Crime Survey (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1995)
UCR	Uniform Crime Reports (Federal Bureau of Investigations, 1992)
UCR93	Uniform Crime Reports (Federal Bureau of Investigations, 1995)

NFVS-1	National Family Violence Survey, 1975 (Straus & Gelles, 1990)
NFVS-2	National Family Violence Resurvey, 1985 (Straus & Gelles, 1990)
NIS-2	National Study of the Incidence and Severity of Child Abuse and Neglect, 1986 (Sedlak, 1991)
NIS-3	Third National Incidence Study of Child Abuse and Neglect, 1993 (Sedlak & Broadhurst, 1996)
NYS	National Youth Survey (Lauritsen, Sampson, & Laub, 1991)
NYS78	National Youth Survey 1978 (Ageton, 1983)
NASHS	National Adolescent Student Health Survey (American School Health Association, 1989)
OJJDP 92	Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (Moone, 1994)
NCCAN 93	National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect (National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect, 1995)
NISMART	National Incidence Study of Missing, Abducted, Runaway and Thrownaway Children, 1988 (Finkelhor, Hotaling, & Sedlak, 1990)

ENDNOTES

1. For example, in an effort to understand more about school-related victimizations, Garofalo, Siegel, and Laub (1987) obtained and read the narrative descriptions of the episodes occurring to youth aged 12 to 17 years recorded by National Crime Survey interviewers. The descriptions of many of the episodes sounded to these authors less serious than what is usually thought of as crime and they concluded that the victimizations of juveniles tended to be less serious than victimizations of adults:

The average person might not view the incidents as "real crimes." Scuffles, threats, arguments can end up being designated as assaults ... 72% of the narratives contained additional information about injury and most served to confirm its minor nature. For example, "while on school grounds respondent accidentally spilled milk on another student who turned on the respondent with great anger and hit her on the head with clenched fist. Offender's ring caused pain and a lump to form." (p. 332)

It is interesting how the fact that these were children and that the issue was spilled milk can contribute to the diminution of the sense of seriousness of an act of violence. I think it unlikely that a scenario of an adult customer accidentally spilling beer on another customer in a bar, which was responded to by a clenched fist punch on the head resulting in a lump, would move most observers to comment on the minor nature of the injury and the inappropriateness of designating this a crime.

2. The 1975 Family Violence Survey actually gathered its information about sibling assault *perpetrations* rather than victimizations. This means the figures may be underestimates, since for every sibling perpetrator there was at least one, but possibly several, sibling victims.
3. The undercount stems from two problems: (1) Most sexual abuse reports, unlike other forms of child maltreatment, start from children's own disclosures, which are more difficult for younger children to make. (2) Much sexual abuse goes on for extended periods of time before being disclosed and the age data in the NIS is based on age at the time of report, not age at onset.

REFERENCES

- Ageton, S. S. (1983). *Sexual assault among adolescents*. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books.
- American School Health Association. (1989). *The national adolescent student health survey: A report on the health of America's youth*. Kent, OH: Author.
- Armstrong, L. (1994). *Rocking the cradle of sexual politics: What happened when women said incest*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

- Berdie, J., Berdie, M., Wexler, S., & Fisher, B. (1983). *An empirical study of families involved in adolescent maltreatment*. San Francisco, CA: URSA Institute.
- Black, D. (1976). *The behavior of law*. New York: Academic Press.
- Boney-McCoy, S., & Finkelhor, D. (1995). The psychosocial impact of violent victimization on a national youth sample. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 63*, 726-736.
- Boney-McCoy, S., & Finkelhor, D. (1996). Is youth victimization related to PTSD and depression after controlling for prior symptoms and family relationships? A longitudinal study. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 64*, 1406-1416.
- Boston Globe Spotlight Team. (1987, November 8-11). Child sexual abuse: The crime of the 80's. *Boston Globe*, p. 7.
- Briere, J., & Runtz, M. (1990). Differential adult symptomatology associated with three types of child abuse histories. *Child Abuse and Neglect, 14*, 357-364.
- Bross, D. C. (1995). Terminating the parent-child legal relationship as a response to child sexual abuse. *Loyola University Chicago Law Journal, 26*, 287-319.
- Bureau of Justice Statistics. (1989). *Redesign of the national crime survey*. Washington, DC: US Department of Justice.
- Bureau of Justice Statistics. (1992). *National crime survey*. Washington, DC: US Department of Justice.
- Bureau of Justice Statistics. (1995). *Criminal victimization in the United States, 1993: A national crime victimization survey report (NCJ-134126)*. Washington, DC: US Department of Justice.
- Carlson, V., Cicchetti, D., Barnett, D., & Braunwald, K. (1989). Disorganized/disoriented attachment relationships in maltreated infants. *Developmental Psychopathology, 25*, 525-531.
- Chapman, J. R., & Smith, B. E. (1987). *Child sexual abuse: An analysis of case processing*. Washington, DC: American Bar Association.
- Christoffel, K. K. (1990). Violent death and injury in US children and adolescents. *American Journal of Diseases of Children, 144*, 697-706.
- Christoffel, K. K., Anzinger, N. K., & Amari, M. (1983). Homicide in childhood: Distinguishable pattern of risk related to developmental levels of victims. *The American Journal of Forensic Medicine and Pathology, 4*(2), 129-137.
- Crittenden, P. A., & Craig, S. E. (1990). Developmental trends in the nature of child homicide. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 5*, 202-216.
- Crittenden, P. M. (1988). Distorted patterns of relationship in maltreating families: The role of internal representational models. *Journal of Reproductive & Infant Psychology, 6*, 183-199.
- Cross, T. P. (1995). Criminal justice outcomes of prosecution of child sexual abuse: A case flow analysis. *Child Abuse and Neglect, 19*, 1431-1442.
- Dalenberg, C., Bierman, K., & Furman, W. (1984). A re-examination of developmental changes in causal attributions. *Developmental Psychology, 20*, 575-583.
- Daro, D. (1995). *Public opinion and behaviors regarding child abuse prevention: The results of NCPA's 1995 Public Opinion Poll (Working Paper 840)*. Chicago: The National Center on Child Abuse Prevention Research: The National Committee to Prevent Child Abuse.
- Davis, K. M. (1994). Reading, writing, and sexual harassment: Finding a constitutional remedy when school fail to address peer abuse. *Indiana Law Journal, 69*, 1123-1163.
- DuRant, R. H., Getts, A., Cadenhead, C., Limans, S. J., & Woods, E. R. (1995). Exposure to violence and victimization and depression, hopelessness, and purpose in life among adolescents living in and around public housing. *Developmental and Behavioral Pediatrics, 16*(4), 233-237.
- Edwards, I. P. (1996). Corporal punishment and the legal system. *Santa Clara Law Review, 36*, 983-1001.
- Egeland, B., & Sroufe, L. A. (1981). Developmental sequelae of maltreatment in infancy. *New Directions for Child Development, 11*, 77-92.
- Erikson, E. (1968). *Identity, youth and crisis*. New York: Norton.
- Eth, S., & Pynoos, R. S. (1985). *Post-traumatic stress disorder in children: Progress in psychiatry*. Washington, DC: American Psychiatric Press.
- Federal Bureau of Investigations. (1992). *Crime in the United States, 1991: Uniform Crime Reports*. Washington, DC: US Department of Justice.
- Federal Bureau of Investigations. (1995). *Crime in the United States, 1993: Uniform Crime Reports*. Washington, DC: US Department of Justice.
- Finkelhor, D. (1984). *Child sexual abuse: New theory and research*. New York: Free Press.
- Finkelhor, D. (1993). Epidemiological factors in the clinical identification of child sexual abuse. *Child Abuse and Neglect, 17*, 67-70.
- Finkelhor, D. (1994). Current information on the scope and nature of child sexual abuse. *The Future of Children, 4*(2), 31-53.

- Finkelhor, D., & Asdigian, N. L. (1996). Risk factors for youth victimization: Beyond a lifestyles theoretical approach. *Violence and Victims, 11*, 3-20.
- Finkelhor, D., & Dziuba-Leatherman, J. (1994a). Children as victims of violence: A national survey. *Pediatrics, 94*, 413-420.
- Finkelhor, D., & Dziuba-Leatherman, J. (1994b). Victimization of children. *American Psychologist, 49*, 173-183.
- Finkelhor, D., & Dziuba-Leatherman, J. (1995). Victimization prevention programs: A national survey of children's exposure and reactions. *Child Abuse and Neglect, 19*, 125-135.
- Finkelhor, D., & Kendall-Tackett, K. (1997). A developmental perspective on the childhood impact of crime, abuse and violent victimization. In D. Cicchetti & S. Toth (Eds.), *Developmental perspectives on trauma: Theory, research, and intervention* (pp. 1-32). New York: Plenum Press.
- Finkelhor, D., Hotaling, G. T., & Sedlak, A. (1990). *Missing, abducted, runaway and throwaway children in America: First report*. Washington, DC: Juvenile Justice Clearinghouse.
- Finkelhor, D., Moore, D., Hamby, S., & Straus, M. (1997). Sexually abused children in a national survey of parents: Methodological issues. *Child Abuse and Neglect, 21*, 1-9.
- Friedrich, W. N., Grambasch, P., Damon, L., Hewitt, S. K., Koverola, C., Lang, R., & Wolfe, V. (1992). Child Sexual Behavior Inventory: Normative and clinical comparisons. *Psychological Assessment, 4*, 303-311.
- Garbarino, J. (1989). Troubled youth, troubled families: The dynamics of adolescent maltreatment. In D. Cicchetti & V. Carlson (Eds.), *Child maltreatment: Theory and research of the causes and consequences of child abuse and neglect* (pp. 685-706). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Garofalo, J., Siegel, L., & Laub, J. (1987). School-related victimizations among adolescents: An analysis of National Crime Survey (NCS) narratives. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology, 3*, 321-338.
- Goetting, A. (1990). Child victims of homicide: A portrait of their killers and the circumstances of their deaths. *Violence and Victims, 5*, 287-296.
- Goodwin, M. P., & Roscoe, B. (1990). Sibling violence and agnostic interactions among middle adolescence. *Adolescence, 98*, 451-467.
- Greenbaum, S. (1989). *School bullying and victimization NSSC resource paper*. Malibu, CA: National School Safety Center.
- Greenfield, A. M. (1993). Annie get your gun 'cause help ain't comin': The need for constitutional protection from peer abuse in public schools. *Duke Law Journal, 43*, 588-624.
- Greven, P. (1990). *Spare the child: The religious roots of punishment and the psychological impact of physical abuse*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Grisso, T. (1996). Society's retributive response to juvenile violence: A developmental perspective. *Law and Human Behavior, 20*, 229-247.
- Guyer, B., Lescossier, I., Gallagher, S. S., Hausman, A., & Azzara, C. V. (1989). Intentional injuries among children and adolescents in Massachusetts. *New England Journal of Medicine, 321*, 1584-1589.
- Hanson, R. L., & Slater, S. (1988). Sexual victimization in the history of sexual abusers: A review. *Annals of Sex Research, 4*, 485-499.
- Harshbarger, S. (1987). Prosecution is an appropriate response in child sexual abuse cases. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 2*, 108-112.
- Hashima, P. Y., & Finkelhor, D. (1999). Violent victimization of youth versus adults in the National Crime Victimization Survey. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 14*(8), 799-819.
- Herman-Giddens, M. E., Sandler, A. D., & Friedman, N. E. (1988). Sexual precocity in girls: An association with sexual abuse? *American Journal of Diseases of the Child, 142*, 431-433.
- Jaffe, P. G., Wolfe, D. A., & Wilson, S. K. (1990). *Children of battered women*. Newbury Park: Sage.
- Jason, J. (1983). Child homicide spectrum. *American Journal of Diseases of Children, 137*, 578-581.
- Jason, J., Carpenter, M. M., & Tyler, C. W. J. (1983). Underrecording of infant homicide in the United States. *American Journal of Public Health, 73*, 195-197.
- Jensen, G. F., & Brownfield, D. (1986). Gender, lifestyles, and victimization: Beyond routine activity theory. *Violence and Victims, 1*, 85-99.
- Kaufman, J., & Ziegler, E. (1987). Do abused children become abusive parents? *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 57*, 186-192.
- Kendall-Tackett, K. A., Williams, L. M., & Finkelhor, D. (1993). Impact of sexual abuse on children: A review and synthesis of recent empirical studies. *Psychological Bulletin, 113*, 164-180.
- Kerns, D. L., & Ritter, M. L. (1992). Medical findings in child sexual abuse cases with perpetrator confessions (Abstract). *American Journal of Diseases of Children, 146*, 494.
- Kilpatrick, D. (1992). *Rape in America: A report to the nation*. Charleston, SC: Crime Victims Research and Treatment Center.
- Kilpatrick, D. G., Saunders, B. E., Amick-McMullan, A., Best, C. L., Veronen, L. J., & Resnick, H. S. (1989). Victim

- and crime factors associated with the development of crime-related post-traumatic stress disorder. *Behavior Therapy*, 20, 199–214.
- Kilpatrick, D. G., Amick, A. A., & Resnick, H. S. (1990). *The impact of homicide on surviving family members: Final report* (Grant No: 87-IJ-CX-0017). Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice.
- Kirby, J. S., Chu, J., & Dill, D. L. (1993). Correlates of dissociative symptomatology in patients with physical and sexual abuse histories. *Comprehensive Psychiatry*, 34(4), 258–263.
- Kolko, D. J. (1992). Characteristics of child victims of physical violence: Research findings and clinical implications. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 7, 244–276.
- Lauritsen, J. L., Sampson, R. J., & Laub, J. H. (1991). The link between offending and victimization among adolescents. *Criminology*, 29, 265–292.
- Lauritsen, J. L., Laub, J. H., & Sampson, R. J. (1992). Conventional and delinquent activities: Implications for the prevention of violent victimization among adolescents. *Violence and Victims*, 7, 91–108.
- Lewis, D. O., Shanok, S. S., Pincus, J. H., & Glaser, G. H. (1979). Violent juvenile delinquents: Psychiatric, neurological, psychological and abuse factors. *Journal of the American Academy of Child Psychiatry*, 18, 307–319.
- Libby, P., & Bybee, R. (1979). The physical abuse of adolescents. *Journal of Social Issues*, 35, 101–126.
- Lynch, J. P. (1991). Victim behavior and the risk of victimization: Implications of activity-specific victimization rates. In G. Kaiser, H. Kury, & H. J. Albrecht (Eds.), *Victims and criminal violence* (pp. 543–566). Freiburg, Germany: Eigenverlag Max-Planck-Institute.
- MacDonald, K. (1985). Early experience, relative plasticity, and social development. *Developmental Review*, 5, 99–121.
- Martinez, P., & Richters, J. E. (1993). The NIMH community violence project: II. Children's distress symptoms associated with violence exposure. In D. Reiss, J. E. Richters, M. Radke-Yarrow, & D. Scharff (Eds.), *Children and violence* (pp. 22–35). New York: Guilford Press.
- Martinez-Schnell, B., & Waxweiler, R. J. (1989). Increases in premature mortality due to homicide—United States, 1968–1985. *Violence and Victims*, 4, 287–293.
- McClain, P. W., Sacks, J. J., Froehlike, R. G., & Ewigman, B. G. (1993). Estimates of fatal child abuse and neglect. United States, 1979 through 1988. *Pediatrics*, 91, 338–343.
- McCord, J. (1983). A forty year perspective of effects of child abuse and neglect. *Child Abuse and Neglect*, 7, 265–270.
- McMillen, J. P. (1995). Prosecuting child abuse homicides in Iowa: A proposal for change. *Drake Law Review*, 43, 129–151.
- Melton, G. B. (1989). Taking Gault seriously: Toward a new juvenile court. *Nebraska Law Review*, 68, 146–181.
- Milani, A. A. (1995). Harassing speech in the public schools: The validity of schools' regulation of fighting words and the consequences if they do not. *Akron Law Review*, 28, 187–235.
- Miller, T. R., Cohen, M. A., & Wiersma, B. (1996). *Victim costs and consequences* (Research report 90-IJ-CX-0050): Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice.
- Mnookin, R. H., & Weisberg, D. K. (1989). *Child, family and state: Problems and materials on children and the law* (2nd ed.). Boston: Little, Brown and Company.
- Moone, J. (1994). *Juvenile victimization: 1987–1992* (Fact Sheet 17). Washington, DC: Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, US Department of Justice.
- Moore, D. W., Gallup, G. H., & Schussel, R. (1995). *Disciplining children in America: A Gallup poll report*. Princeton, NJ: The Gallup Organization.
- Morgan, J., & Zedner, L. (1992). *Child victims: Crime, impact, and criminal justice*. Oxford, England: Clarendon Press.
- Myers, J. (1985–1986). The legal response to child abuse. In the best interest of children? *Journal of Family Law*, 24(149), 179–181.
- Nader, K., Pynoos, R., Fairbanks, L., & Frederick, C. (1990). Children's PTSD reactions one year after a sniper attack at their school. *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 147, 1526–1530.
- Nathan, D., & Snedeker, M. (1995). *Satan's silence: Ritual abuse and the making of a modern American witch hunt*. New York: Basic Books.
- National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect. (1992). *National child abuse and neglect data system (Working Paper No. 1): 1990 summary data component* (DHHS Publication No. (ACF) 92-30361): Washington, DC: Department of Health and Human Services.
- National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect. (1995). *Child maltreatment 1993: Reports from the states to the National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect*. Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office.
- National Research Council. (1993). *Understanding child abuse and neglect*. Washington, DC: National Academy Press.
- Olweus, D. (1991). Bully/victim problems among schoolchildren: Basic facts and effects of a school based intervention program. In D. J. Pepler & K. H. Rubin (Eds.), *The development and treatment of childhood aggression* (Vol. xvii, pp. 411–448). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

- Olweus, D. (1993). Bullies on the playground: The role of victimization. In C. H. Hart (Ed.), *Children of playgrounds: Research perspectives and applications* (pp. 85-128). Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Papakirk, J. (1993). Michigan's new corporal punishment amendment: Where the good act giveth, did the amendment taketh away? *Thomas M. Cooley Law Review*, 10, 383-407.
- Putnam, F. W., & Trickett, P. K. (1993). Child sexual abuse: A model of chronic trauma. In D. Reiss, J. E. Richters, & M. Radke-Yarrow (Eds.), *Children and violence* (pp. 82-95). New York: Guilford Press.
- Rainey, R. H., & Greer, D. C. (1995, January/February). Criminal charging alternatives in child fatality cases. *The Prosecutor*, 16-18.
- Resnick, P. A. (1993). The psychological impact of rape. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 8(2), 223-255.
- Roscoe, B., Goodwin, M., & Kennedy, D. (1987). Sibling violence and agonistic interactions experienced by early adolescents. *Journal of Family Violence*, 2(2), 121-137.
- Rutter, M. (1989). The role of cognition in child development and disorder. In S. Chess, A. Thomas, & M. E. Hertzog (Eds.), *Annual progress in child psychiatry and child development: 1988* (pp. 77-101). New York: Brunner/Mazel.
- Saunders, B. E., Villepontoux, L. A., Lipovsky, J. A., Kilpatrick, D. G., & Veronen, L. J. (1992). Child sexual assault as a risk factor for mental disorders among women: A community survey. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 7, 189-204.
- Savage, D. G. (1996, October 8). High court lets stand harassment suit barrier. *Los Angeles Times*, pp. A1.A23.
- Schellenbach, C. J., & Guernsey, L. F. (1987). Identification of adolescent abuse and future intervention prospects. *Journal of Adolescence*, 10(1), 1-12.
- Scott, K. D. (1992). Childhood sexual abuse: Impact on a community's mental health status. *Child Abuse and Neglect*, 16, 285-295.
- Sedlak, A. J. (1991). *National incidence and prevalence of child abuse and neglect: 1988—Revised report*. Rockville, MD: Westat.
- Sedlak, A. J., & Broadhurst, D. D. (1996). *Third national incidence study of child abuse and neglect*. Washington, DC: US Department of Health and Human Services.
- Shirk, S. R. (1988). The interpersonal legacy of physical abuse of children. In M. B. Straus (Ed.), *Abuse and victimization across the life span* (pp. 57-81). Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Singer, M. I., Anglin, T. M., Song, L. Y., & Lunghofer, L. (1995). Adolescents' exposure to violence and associated symptoms of psychological trauma. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 273(6), 477-482.
- Smith, B. E. (1995). *Prosecuting child physical abuse cases: A case study in San Diego*. Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice.
- Smith, P. K., Bowers, L., Binney, V., & Cowie, H. (1993). Relationships of children involved in bully/victim problems at school. In S. Duck (Ed.), *Learning about relationships* (pp. 184-205). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Snyder, H. N., & Sickmund, M. (1995). *Juvenile offenders and victims: A national report*. Washington, DC: Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention.
- Sparks, R. F. (1982). *Research on victims of crime*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.
- Stein, N. (1999). *Classrooms and courtrooms: Facing sexual harassment in K-12*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Strassberg, Z., Dodge, K. A., Pettit, G. S., & Bates, J. E. (1994). Spanking in the home and children's subsequent aggression toward kindergarten peers. *Development and Psychopathology*, 6, 445-461.
- Straus, M. A. (1994). *Beating the devil out of them: Corporal punishment in American families*. New York: Lexington Books.
- Straus, M. A., & Gelles, R. J. (1990). *Physical violence in American families: Risk factors and adaptations to violence in 8,145 families*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Press.
- Straus, M. A., & Gelles, R. J. (1992). *Physical violence in American families: Risk factors and adaptations to violence in 8,145 families*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Press.
- Straus, M. A., Gelles, J., & Steinmetz, S. K. (1980). *Behind closed doors*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Terr, L. (1990). *Too scared to cry*. New York: Harper/Collins.
- Tjaden, P. G., & Thoennes, N. (1992). Predictors of legal intervention in child maltreatment cases. *Child Abuse and Neglect*, 16, 807-821.
- Trickett, P. K., & Putnam, F. W. (1993). Impact of child sexual abuse on females: Toward a developmental psychobiological integration. *Psychological Science*, 4, 81-87.
- Widom, C. S. (1989a). The cycle of violence. *Science*, 244, 160-166.
- Widom, C. S. (1989b). Does violence beget violence? A critical examination of the literature. *Psychological Bulletin*, 106, 3-28.
- Wolak, J., & Finkelhor, D. (1998). Children exposed to partner violence. In J. L. Jasinski & L. M. Williams (Eds.), *Partner violence: A comprehensive review of 20 years of research* (pp. 73-111). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.