



Child Maltreatment and Links to Later Criminality

A Bibliography

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**Championing and Strengthening the
Global Response to Child Abuse**

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Scope

This bibliography provides research literature that addresses issues related to the association between child maltreatment and criminal behavior that occurs later in life.

Organization

Publications include articles, book chapters, reports, and research briefs and are listed in date descending order. Links are provided to full text publications when possible. However, this collection may not be complete. More information can be obtained in the Child Abuse Library Online and in the [Dual System Youth](#) bibliography.

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Child Maltreatment and Links to Later Criminality

A Bibliography

Ellonen, N., Laajasalo, T., Aaltonen, M., Pitkänen, J., & Martikainen, P. (2025). [Adverse childhood experiences, juvenile violent victimization, and victim–offender overlap in multiple successive birth cohorts](#). *Nordic Journal of Criminology*, 27(1), 1–17.
DOI:10.18261/njc.27.1.1

There is a well-established relationship between adverse childhood experiences (ACEs) and juvenile delinquency, but the associations between ACEs and juvenile victimization, and between ACEs and victim–offender overlap, remain less studied. We explore the associations between ACEs and victimization, violent offending and victim–offender overlap, and examine whether these associations have changed over time. The data cover multiple successive birth cohorts (1,006,028 individuals) born in Finland between 1987 and 2003, obtained from national registers. ACEs were measured at ages 0–14 and included parental social assistance reciprocity, unemployment, substance abuse, psychiatric disorders, violent offending, and parental death. Juvenile victimization and delinquency were defined as police-reported assaults and robberies at age 15–17. All individual ACEs were associated with an increased risk of juvenile victimization, and the cumulative ACE sum score showed a clear graded relationship with victimization. These associations remained relatively constant over time. ACEs increased the relative risk of offender-only, victim-only, and victim–offender statuses. The relative risk was weakest for the victim-only group and highest for victim–offender group and risks remained stable over time for these groups, whereas the relative risk between ACEs and offender-only status increased over time. The findings call for effective early-life interventions to prevent ACEs.

Lee, S.-Y., & Choi, M. (2025). [Changes in aggressive behaviors over time in children with adverse childhood experiences: Focusing on the role of school connectedness](#). *Social Sciences*, 14(6), 385. DOI:10.3390/socsci14060385

Previous research has found the link between adverse childhood experiences (ACEs) and externalizing behaviors later in adolescence and adulthood. However, limited studies have explored longitudinal trajectories of aggressive behaviors affected by ACEs. This study aimed to investigate how aggressive behaviors change over time and compare the trajectories of aggressive behaviors between children with three or fewer (low-risk ACEs) and those with four or more ACEs (high-risk ACEs) with the role of school connectedness on the trajectories of aggressive behaviors over time. The study sample consisted of 4231 children collected by the Future of Families and Child Wellbeing Study, a longitudinal birth cohort study focusing on children in high-risk families across 20 U.S. cities. The mean age of the sample was 15.59 years, with 81.9% of the participants being minorities and 51.9% being boys. The results indicated that children with high-risk ACEs showed twice as high levels of aggressive behaviors as those with low-risk ACEs. School connectedness decreased the starting level and change rate of aggressive behavior for children with high-risk ACEs, while it decreased the starting level of aggressive behavior for those with low-risk ACEs. These findings underscore the protective role of school connectedness on aggressive behavior. Practitioners and policymakers need to make an effort to build safe and supportive social environments for all children, especially for children with high-risk ACEs.

Li, N., Shelton, M., & Grigorenko, E. L. (2025). Adverse childhood experiences, anger, and violence among justice-involved youth: A network analysis. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 161, 107301. DOI:10.1016/j.chiabu.2025.107301

Adverse childhood experiences (ACEs) are a complex construct that can be viewed as a network of interconnected adversities, with some interactions being substantially stronger than others. However, relatively little is known about the complex interactions

between adversities in justice-involved youth (JIY). Moreover, even less is known about the pathways through which early adverse experiences contribute to violent offending. The present study aimed to identify the most influential adverse event(s) within a network structure of adversity. It also investigated one of the pathways through which ACEs contributed to violent offending. We used archival data consisting of 4591 JIY in a large urban juvenile probation department in Texas, United States. We employed network analysis to investigate the network structure of ten types of adversity and how the complex interactions of adversity contributed to violent offending through the pathway of anger. The network analysis results revealed that physical abuse and physical neglect were the most influential adversities within the ACEs network. Anger was positively and directly linked to all adversities except parental separation/divorce, controlling for other adversities in the network. Only emotional abuse and anger directly predicted the higher likelihood of violent offending within the one-year follow-up, accounting for the effects of other adversities in the model. Given the complexity of existing evidence-based interventions, combined with the limited resources in the juvenile justice system, tailoring these interventions specifically related to physical abuse and physical neglect could enhance feasibility without significantly compromising effectiveness for JIY. The deleterious impact of anger on violent offending highlights the need for interventions that address not only the broader system of environmental risks but also person-level criminogenic needs.

Basto-Pereira, M., Farrington, D. P., & Maciel, L. (2024). [Unraveling the sequences of risk factors underlying the development of criminal behavior](#). *Journal of Developmental and Life-Course Criminology*, 10(2), 242–264. DOI:10.1007/s40865-024-00254-5

This work aims to investigate the role of sequences of risk factors from childhood to young adulthood in predicting subsequent criminal convictions. This study uses the Cambridge Study in Delinquent Development (CSDD) dataset, a prospective longitudinal research

study that followed 411 males from South London from the age of 8 to 61 years. Temporal sequences of risk factors at ages 8–10, 12–14, and 16–18 were analyzed as predictors of subsequent criminal convictions up to the age of 61. Risk factors related to poverty, parenting problems, and children’s risk-taking predisposition at ages 8–10 emerged as prevalent starting points for the most highly predictive developmental sequences leading to convictions. The risk of a criminal conviction significantly increased if these risk factors were followed by low IQ scores or association with delinquent friends at ages 12–14, and by school and professional problems or drug addiction during late adolescence (ages 16–18). At each developmental stage, specific risk factors intricately combine to form chains of risk during development, subsequently predicting criminal convictions. A trajectory-of-risk-need-responsivity approach that identifies and breaks chains of risk factors that generate and enhance favorable conditions for criminal convictions is discussed.

Díaz-Faes, D. A., & Widom, C. S. (2024). [From childhood maltreatment to intimate partner violence perpetration: A prospective longitudinal examination of the roles of executive functioning and self-esteem](#). *Journal of Psychiatric Research*, 173, 271–280. DOI:10.1016/j.jpsychires.2024.03.015

Previous research has found that childhood maltreatment predicts increased risk for violence and partner violence and there is some evidence for poorer executive functioning and low self-esteem. To date, there have been no longitudinal studies that have examined the extent to which executive functioning and self-esteem play a role in the relationship between child maltreatment and intimate partner violence (IPV) perpetration. This study aims to fill this gap by utilizing data from a prospective longitudinal study of children with documented court cases of abuse and neglect (ages 0–11 years) from a metropolitan county area in the Midwest (during the years 1967–1971) and demographically matched controls. Both maltreated individuals and matched controls were followed up and assessed over several waves of the study in young and

middle adulthood. At mean age 39 years, inhibition and cognitive control were evaluated, while cognitive flexibility and nonverbal reasoning were assessed at mean age 41. Self-esteem was also assessed at mean age 41. Physical IPV perpetration was evaluated at age 47 using two different scoring strategies in separate models: the number of acts and variety of acts, ensuring avoidance of potential score skewness. Childhood maltreatment predicted lower executive functioning and self-esteem, and both independently predicted intimate partner violence perpetration. Lower executive functioning and self-esteem mediated the relationship between childhood maltreatment and physical IPV perpetration in midlife, irrespective of the scoring method. Findings suggest that executive functioning and self-esteem play a role in the cycle of violence. Implications and suggestions for future directions are discussed.

Hui, A., Salkovskis, P., & Rumble-Browne, J. (2024). [The impact of childhood sexual abuse on interpersonal violence in men: A systematic review](#). *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 78, 101928. DOI:10.1016/j.avb.2024.101928

The current systematic review aimed to critically examine the growing body of literature proposing that there is an ‘intergenerational cycle’ of violence, whereby victims of abuse during childhood are posited to have a higher propensity of becoming perpetrators during adulthood. Specifically, this review examined whether there is quality evidence supporting the relationship between childhood sexual abuse victimisation and interpersonal violence perpetration (sexual/physical) in adult men. 20 studies published between 1992 and 2022 were included in this review. The quality of studies was systematically assessed to provide a weighted conclusion to the primary research question. Overall, there was limited evidence to confidently support or reject the link between childhood sexual abuse and physical and/or sexual violence in adulthood for men. The current review found that whilst there were studies that found associations on a univariate and multivariate level between childhood sexual abuse and interpersonal

violence in adult men, only 25 % of the papers included in this review were deemed high-quality and significant methodological issues limit the validity of conclusions made. Additionally, a sizeable proportion of high-quality studies at both univariate and multivariate levels of analysis suggest mixed results or did not find a significant relationship. Implications for future research studies in this area in terms of the encouragement of a more critical stance towards the assumption of 'intergenerational cycles' of violence as well as recommendations for methodological improvements of studies were discussed.

Reese, B., Pierce, H., & Jones, M. S. (2024). Early adverse childhood experiences and later delinquency: Considering the role of middle childhood risk factors. *Deviant Behavior*, 45(6), 911-927. DOI:10.1080/01639625.2023.2268254

Evidence suggests that adverse childhood experiences (ACEs) are associated with adolescent and adult delinquency. Simultaneously, studies have identified an association between middle childhood risk factors and subsequent delinquency. However, the research on how the relationship between early ACEs and adolescent delinquency is affected by middle childhood risk factors for delinquency is sparse. The current study addresses this, and other important gaps in existing ACE literature by using data from the Future of Families and Child Wellbeing Study (FFCWS; $n = 3,444$), a national urban birth cohort, to analyze how different levels of exposure to early ACEs (by age five) are associated with delinquency and to explore how multiple middle childhood risk factors (low self-control, prior delinquency, material hardship, experiences with bullying, and more recent ACE exposure) might mediate these processes. Findings suggest that two or more ACEs is significantly associated with increased rates of adolescent delinquency and that the association grows stronger as ACEs accumulate. Further, later ACEs, low self-control and prior delinquency mediate some of this relationship.

Silva, C., Moreira, P., Moreira, D. S., Rafael, F., Rodrigues, A., Leite, Â., Lopes, S., & Moreira, D. (2024). [Impact of adverse childhood experiences in young adults and adults: A systematic literature review](#). *Pediatric Reports*, 16(2), 461–481.
DOI:10.3390/pediatric16020040

Investigations have shown the different impacts that ACEs have on an individual's adult life, on both physical and mental health, but they have not yet shown the issue of the influence of ACEs on adults and young adults. This systematic review, performed according to the PRISMA norms and guidelines, intended to understand the most frequent outcomes of adverse childhood experiences in the life of young adults and adults. Studies were identified through multiple literature search databases at EBSCOhost, Web of Science, and PubMed April 2023, and a total of 279 studies, published between 1999 and 2002, were excluded, 256 because of multiple factors: being duplicates, showing statistical analysis with correlations only, being systematic reviews or case studies, comprising individuals under the age of 18, and not meeting the intended theme; ultimately, we selected for the review a total of 23 studies. The impacts of the various articles are subdivided into three main themes: antisocial and criminal behaviour; sexual behaviour and intimate partner violence; and attachment, quality of life, and therapeutic alliance.

Chopin, J., Beauregard, E., & DeLisi, M. (2023). [Adverse childhood experience trajectories and individual high risk-behaviors of sexual offenders: A developmental victimology perspective](#). *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 146, 106457.
DOI:10.1016/j.chiabu.2023.106457

Developmental victimology theory suggests that developmental features of risk and impact stemming from various types of victimization depend on the age of the child or adolescent. A next step is studying the developmental victimization trajectories of individuals involved in sexual crimes by focusing on traumatic events occurring during childhood and adolescence respectively. Building on the developmental victimology

perspective, the study's specific aims encompass two key objectives: 1) exploring the diverse trajectories of Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACEs) within a sample of individuals involved in sexual crimes, and 2) assessing whether these ACEs trajectories influence the emergence of distinct high-risk behaviors. 252 individuals convicted of sexual crimes were selected from a federal penitentiary in Quebec, Canada were given semi-structured interviews with a computerized questionnaire. Data was produced on numerous aspects of the participant's life history, criminal career, and victimization experiences that were analyzed via latent class modeling. Four classes (no ACEs trajectory, poly exposure and victimization trajectory, childhood exposure trajectory, and poly victimization trajectory) were identified. Consistent with hypotheses, developmental ACEs trajectories are heterogeneous and associated with the criminal careers, adolescent problematic behaviors, substance use disorders, and violence history among individuals involved in sexual offending.

Chopin, J., DeLisi, M., & Beauregard, E. (2023). [Developmental sequela for sexual homicide: Testing an integrated multi-theoretical model](#). *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 38(7-8), 5721-5747. DOI:10.1177/08862605221127199

Research focusing on the role of adverse childhood experience (ACE) of individuals involved in sexual homicide (SH) is scarce. Theoretical models of SH have postulated a connection between these adverse experiences and the development of internal risk factors. However, such assumptions have never been empirically tested. Therefore, the current research aims to identify how ACEs affect the development of personality disorders and problematic behaviors during adolescence, which constitute internal risk factors for the commission of SH. The sample comes from a database including 613 individuals involved in sexual crimes in Canada among which 60 committed a SH. Bivariate and multiple regression analyses were conducted to identify personality disorders and problematic behaviors during adolescence associated with the presence

of ACEs. Next, path analysis was used to identify the direct and indirect relationships between ACEs, internal risk factors, and the commission of SH. Results showed that individuals who experienced ACEs were more likely to develop internal risk factors involved in the commission of SH. Moreover, findings suggest that the impact of these adverse experiences will differ, depending on whether the child has been victim of violence or if he/she has witnessed it.

Hébert, É., Fortin, L., Fortin, A., Paradis, A., & Hébert, M. (2023). The associations between self-silencing and delinquency in adolescent who experienced child sexual abuse. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse*, 32(4), 438–454.
DOI:10.1080/10538712.2023.2177222

A large body of research reveals that child sexual abuse is an adverse experience associated with many negative socioemotional and behavioral consequences during adolescence. Notably, adolescent victims of child sexual abuse are more likely to engage in delinquent behavior, which has importance for their adaptation later in life. While research on the psychological antecedents of delinquent behavior has independently considered each core feature of silencing the self (i.e., low assertiveness and self-expression, conflict avoidance, presenting a non-authentic self, anger, and hostility), it has failed to jointly consider these as potential predictors of delinquent behaviors in adolescent victims of child sexual abuse. The purpose of this study was to examine the associations between the two dimensions of self-silencing (i.e., divided self and silencing the self) and delinquency in adolescent victims of child sexual abuse. A sample of 110 adolescents seeking services following child sexual abuse completed self-reported questionnaires, and case files were analyzed to gather information regarding child sexual abuse severity. Hierarchical regression analyses revealed that, after controlling for the effect of age, gender, parental monitoring, and child sexual abuse severity, self-silencing was positively associated with delinquent behaviors, affiliation with delinquent peers, as well as alcohol and drug use. Divided self contributed to the prediction of aggressive

behaviors. Implementing interventions aimed at increasing adolescents' assertiveness, conflict management skills, and emotion regulation and promoting congruence between their behaviors and authentic selves may lower their involvement in delinquency.

Hesselink, A. (2023). [Adverse childhood experiences \(ACEs\) and the link to antisocial, delinquent, and criminal behaviors](#). In S. Güney (Ed.), *Criminal behavior-The underlyings, and contemporary applications* (pp. 139-154). IntechOpen. DOI:10.5772/intechopen.1001823

Adverse childhood experiences (ACEs) are negative and powerful experiences that are linked to childhood trauma and abuse that can be passed on to own children, creating a devious cycle of ACEs. ACEs affect the development of children on an individual level (i.e., antisocial personality traits and mental health issues), physical health level (i.e., general health and diabetes), family and parental level (i.e., dysfunctional households and family violence), socioeconomic level (i.e., low family income and unemployment), peer level (i.e., antisocial and delinquent peers), school level (i.e., learning problems and low school attainment), and community/neighborhood level (i.e., high-crime levels and overcrowding). Depending on the impact and the severity of the abuse experienced by children and adolescents, the inability to positively adapt, regulate emotions, steer attitudes and skills, and foster positive personal relationships may lead to maladaptive functioning, and antisocial, violent, at-risk, and criminal behaviors. This chapter outlines ACEs within the context of antisocial, delinquent behaviors, and the link to criminal involvement.

Ran, G., Zhang, Q., Zhang, Q., Li, J., & Chen, J. (2023). The association between child abuse and aggressive behavior: A three-level meta-analysis. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, 24(5), 3461–3475. DOI:10.1177/15248380221129596

Child abuse is considered to be an essential factor in the development of aggressive behavior. The intensity of the positive relations between child abuse and aggressive behavior differed considerably among researches despite the fact that abundant studies have observed this relation. According to the Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses (PRISMA) approach, a three-level meta-analysis was employed to obtain reliable estimates for the sizes of effects and investigate some potential moderators of the relation between child abuse and aggressive behavior. The present study obtained 51 studies (30,566 participants; 680 effect sizes) through performing the detailed literature search. It was found that child abuse was positively associated with aggressive behavior in the current study. In addition, the present meta-analysis observed significant moderating effects for type of child abuse, culture, measurement of child abuse, and publication year in the association between child abuse and aggressive behavior. This study suggests that child abuse is a predictor for the development of aggressive behavior in humans. Moreover, child abuse is an important aspect for consideration in efforts toward strengthening of interventions targeting individuals' aggressive behavior.

Shold, J. N., Maurer, J. M., Reynolds, B. L., Gullapalli, A. R., Allen, C. H., Edwards, B. G., Anderson, N. E., Harenski, C. L., Neumann, C. S., & Kiehl, K. A. (2023). [Psychometric properties of the Trauma Checklist 2.0 and its predictive utility of felony re-offending among high-risk juvenile offenders](#). *Child and Adolescent Psychiatry and Mental Health*, 17(1), 111. DOI:10.1186/s13034-023-00656-1

Incarcerated youth are characterized by particularly high rates of childhood trauma, a significant risk factor for outcomes including risky behaviors and recidivism. Trauma-based interventions can ameliorate the negative effects of childhood trauma; however,

a critical part of success is careful trauma screening. Due to the limitations associated with commonly used self-report trauma assessments, our team developed the Trauma Checklist (TCL), a trained-rater assessment of childhood trauma specifically created for use with forensic populations. The TCL is designed to provide a more comprehensive assessment of trauma, incorporating categories that are of specific relevance for incarcerated individuals (e.g., traumatic loss). Here, we discuss the continued development made to our original trauma assessment and explore the psychometric properties of this expanded assessment (herein termed the TCL 2.0).

Basto-Pereira, M., Gouveia-Pereira, M., Pereira, C. R., Barrett, E. L., Lawler, S., Newton, N., Stapinski, L., Prior, K., Costa, M. S. A., Ximenes, J. M., Rocha, A. S., Michel, G., Garcia, M., Rouchy, E., Shawi, A. A., Sarhan, Y., Fulano, C., Magaia, A. J., El-Astal, S.,... & Sakulku, J. (2022). The global impact of adverse childhood experiences on criminal behavior: A cross-continental study. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 124, 105459. DOI:10.1016/j.chiabu.2021.105459

Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACEs) have been associated with a greater risk of later criminal offending. However, existing research in this area has been primarily conducted in Western developed countries and cross-cultural studies are rare. This study examined the relationship between ACEs and criminal behaviors in young adults living in 10 countries located across five continents, after accounting for sex, age, and cross-national differences. In total, 3797 young adults aged between 18 and 20 years ($M = 18.97$; $DP = 0.81$) were assessed locally in community settings within the 10 countries. The ACE Questionnaire was used to assess maltreatment and household dysfunction during childhood and a subset of questions derived from the Deviant Behavior Variety Scale (DBVS) was used to determine past-year criminal variety pertaining to 10 acts considered crime across participating countries. Physical and sexual abuse, physical neglect, and household substance abuse were related to criminal variety, globally, and independently across sexes and countries ranked differently in the United Nations Human Development

Index (HDI). In addition, three out of five experiences of household dysfunction were related to criminal variety, but subsequent analyses indicate that some forms of household dysfunction only hold statistical significance among males or females, or in countries ranking lower in the HDI. This research strengthens the finding that there are cross-cultural mechanisms perpetuating the cycle of violence. It also indicates that forms of household dysfunction have an impact on criminal behavior that is shaped by gender and the country's levels of social well-being.

Dubowitz, H., Roesch, S., Lewis, T., Thompson, R., English, D., & Kotch, J. B. (2022). [Neglect in childhood, problem behavior in adulthood](#). *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 37(23–24), NP22047–NP22065. DOI:10.1177/08862605211067008

Few studies have reported problem behaviors in adulthood related to the timing of child neglect. The objective was to examine the relationship between classes of child neglect and later behavior. The sample included 473 participants from the prospective Longitudinal Studies of Child Abuse and Neglect (LONGSCAN); their mean age was 23.8 years. They completed an online survey regarding behaviors and experiences in early adulthood. Neglect was assessed via Child Protective Services (CPS) and self-reports of neglect. Latent class analysis (LCA) identified three classes: Late Neglect, Chronic Neglect, and Limited Neglect. There were significant differences between Limited and Late Neglect regarding later intimate partner aggression and violence (IPAV) and psychological distress, and among all classes for criminal behavior. High-risk youth experiencing neglect beginning in mid-adolescence appear especially vulnerable to later criminal behavior, psychological distress, and IPAV. Those working with such youth can help ensure that their needs are adequately met, to prevent or mitigate problems in adulthood.

Meldrum, R. C., Stults, B. J., Hay, C., Kernsmith, P. D., & Smith-Darden, J. P. (2022). Adverse childhood experiences, developmental differences in impulse control and sensation seeking, and delinquency: A prospective multi-cohort study. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 82, 101993. DOI:10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2022.101993

Developmental trajectories of low impulse control coupled with high sensation seeking are associated with greater adolescent delinquency. In addition, several studies link adverse childhood experiences (ACEs) to lower self-control and increases in delinquency. Herein, we develop and test an integrated model which synthesizes these two strands of research. Using four waves of panel data from the Supporting Healthy Adolescent Relationships and Environments (SHARE) study, we estimate latent classes representing dual trajectories of impulse control and sensation seeking to investigate if the association between ACEs and delinquency operates indirectly via class membership among two cohorts of youth. Greater exposure to ACEs is associated with membership in latent classes characterized by greater sensation seeking and lower impulse control. In addition, membership in such classes is positively associated with delinquency, and the association between ACEs and delinquency is partially mediated by class membership in each cohort of youth. Findings demonstrate the utility of integrating insights from multiple fields to study the cascading effects of ACEs. Still, there appear to be additional avenues through which ACEs shape later involvement in delinquency that extend beyond the dual systems framework, necessitating additional research on other potentially relevant mechanisms.

Bucerius, S. M., Jones, D. J., Kohl, A., & Haggerty, K. D. (2021). Addressing the victim-offender overlap: Advancing evidence-based research to better service criminally involved people with victimization histories. *Victims & Offenders*, 16(1), 148–163. DOI:10.1080/15564886.2020.1787283

We studied a representative sample of male and female inmates (N = 266) in two prisons (remand and sentenced) in Western Canada. Our research asks: what are the self-

reported victimization histories of currently incarcerated men and women prior to first charge (i.e., before becoming known offenders) and during their life-course? As a second objective, we discuss how we sought to mobilize our findings to change relevant policy and police practice. We found that the overwhelming majority of our female participants had experienced violent, sexual, or property victimization throughout their life course; the majority had experienced victimization prior to first charge. Based on our findings, the local police service introduced victim services for the incarcerated population as well as made changes to their recruit training program to make new police officers aware of the victim-offender overlap and its effects. If replicated, the introduction of victim services for inmates in other jurisdictions and the education of police officers on the victim-offender overlap would emphasize the humanitarian recognition of supporting victims who need help, while also having a series of subsidiary benefits with respect to re-offending, resiliency, and police legitimacy.

Craig, J. M., Malvaso, C., & Farrington, D. P. (2021). All in the family? Exploring the intergenerational transmission of exposure to adverse childhood experiences and their effect on offending behavior. *Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice*, 19(3), 292-307. DOI:10.1177/15412040211003648

Research indicates that individuals with Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACEs) are more likely to offend, and that some ACEs, such as offending and child maltreatment, are transmitted from one generation to the next. However, the extent to which ACEs are transferred across generations and its subsequent impact on offending has not been examined. Using data from the Cambridge Study in Delinquent Development, this study examined the intergenerational transmission of ACEs and the extent to which this was associated with offending in the second generation. Although parental ACEs increased the likelihood of the subsequent generation's ACEs, other risk factors attenuated this effect. Additionally, ACEs' impact on the second generation's convictions was also weakened after controlling for other risk factors. This provides evidence of

intergenerational transmission of ACEs and additionally the effects of ACEs on the risk of offending. However, these associations are not straightforward and other risk factors likely play an important role in elucidating these relationships.

Craig, J. M., & Zettler, H. R. (2021). Are the effects of adverse childhood experiences on violent recidivism offense-specific? *Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice*, 19(1), 27–44. DOI:10.1177/1541204020939638

A growing body of literature has found that exposure to child maltreatment and other forms of family dysfunction, often conceptualized as Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACEs), are associated with delinquent and criminal behavior. Recent research has indicated that the effects of ACEs on offending may differ not only by offense type but also by sex and race/ethnicity. However, no study to-date has investigated the effects of ACEs on violent-specific recidivism, nor how these effects differ by sex- and racial/ethnic-specific subgroups. The current study seeks to address this gap by examining a large, diverse sample of serious delinquents institutionalized in a large southern state. The results indicated that while ACEs increased the likelihood of being rearrested for any violent felony, the effects were particularly strong for domestic violence and sexual offenses among white females and minority males. A discussion of these findings are presented, along with the limitations of the study.

Taylor, J., & Hocken, K. (2021). Hurt people hurt people: Using a trauma sensitive and compassion focused approach to support people to understand and manage their criminogenic needs. *The Journal of Forensic Practice*, 23(3), 301-315. DOI:10.1108/JFP-08-2021-0044

This paper aims to argue that to address those factors that contribute to the probability of offending, the origins of such factors should be understood, and interventions that recognise the functional aspects of criminogenic capacities should be developed. The

paper provides a theoretical basis for trauma sensitive practice by providing an evolutionary understanding of human harmfulness alongside a summary of the impact of adversity and abuse on the developing child. The paper proposes an overarching framework that uses compassion-focused therapy for risk reducing interventions with men who cause harm to others. This paper encourages forensic practitioners to develop a trauma aware approach to intervention design and delivery. The paper provides an overview of a compassion-focused therapy as approach to intervention that conceptualises criminogenic capacities within a more holistic and functional framework. Forensic interventions have been slow to assimilate evidence from adverse childhood experience research and have therefore been limited in their ability to address the functional origins of criminogenic need. This paper offers a framework that allows practitioners to address risk while also allowing individuals to process their own trauma and adversity.

Fritzon, K., Miller, S., Bargh, D., Hollows, K., Osborne, A., & Howlett, A. (2020). Understanding the relationships between trauma and criminogenic risk using the Risk-Need Responsivity model. *Journal of Aggression, Maltreatment & Trauma, 30*(3), 294-323. DOI:10.1080/10926771.2020.1806972

Despite the high rates of trauma histories in offenders and the link between trauma and subsequent criminal behavior, the mechanisms underlying the relationship between trauma and criminogenic risk factors have not received adequate attention. Trauma-informed care is increasingly a priority in forensic organizations, although individual trauma work is rarely a focus for prison-based intervention. Research conducted with female offenders has consistently found higher rates of complex trauma histories in comparison to male offenders. Current correctional models are disproportionately informed by studies of male offenders despite findings of disparities between offending pathways based on gender and histories of complex trauma. A review of the literature regarding the relationship between trauma and offending behavior using the Risk-Need-

Responsivity (RNR) model of criminogenic needs and the relationship between trauma and offending in females in comparison to males is considered. Findings have both pragmatic and theoretical significance for addressing the gap in exploring etiological mechanisms linking the RNR criminogenic risk factors to crime. Implications and recommendations for correctional policy and model development addressing trauma will be discussed.

Berg, M. T., & Mulford, C. F. (2020). Reappraising and redirecting research on the victim–offender overlap. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse, 21*(1), 16–30.
DOI:10.1177/1524838017735925

The strong positive association between offending and victimization, or the victim–offender overlap, has received considerable amount of research attention in recent years. Empirical research has made important strides in unpacking the sources of the phenomenon, but important questions remain unanswered. Ambiguity surrounds the utility of certain theoretical explanations for the overlap, the nature of the phenomenon, and the methodological tools used to examine its etiology. Owing to these knowledge gaps, the scientific meaning of the victim–offender overlap is unclear. Moreover, a number of potentially important theoretical arguments are rarely subject to empirical testing in this line of research. The purpose of this article is to use a narrative review methodology to provide a critical reappraisal of the theoretical, empirical, and methodological research on the victim–offender overlap and offer directions for ways forward to develop a more comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon. This review includes critical analysis of 78 academic publications, along with a table that summarizes the key findings and conclusions from 18 critical empirical studies that have contributed to our understanding of the victim–offender overlap. We offer recommendations for the continued development of theoretical and methodological tools to better understand this complex phenomenon.

Miley, L. N., Fox, B., Muniz, C. N., Perkins, R., & DeLisi, M. (2020). Does childhood victimization predict specific adolescent offending? An analysis of generality versus specificity in the victim-offender overlap. *Child Abuse & Neglect, 101*, 104328. DOI:10.1016/j.chiabu.2019.104328

A large body of research has examined the relationship between victimization and future offending, with results suggesting that crime victims are at higher risk of future criminal behavior—known as the victim-offender overlap. Prior studies have primarily examined the relationship between general victimization (e.g., violent victimization, sexual abuse, and more) and general offending (e.g., violence, sexual offending, and drug use), and focused on adult populations. The goal of the present study is to expand on prior literature by examining if specific forms of childhood victimization increase the risk of specific and analogous forms of offending among delinquent youth. Based upon a population of 64,329 high-risk youth offenders in Florida, this study evaluates the specificity of the overlap among youth who were physically abused, sexually abused, or witnessed illegal substance use at home during childhood to determine if these forms of victimization increased the risk of violence, sexual offending, and drug use, respectively, when assessed in multivariate logistic regression models. Results provide considerable support for specificity in the victim-offender overlap, as hypothesized. Specifically, experiencing physical abuse (OR = 1.55, $p < .001$), sexual abuse (OR = 3.58, $p < .001$) and witnessing household substance abuse (OR = 1.66, $p < .001$) in childhood each significantly and substantially increased the risk of analogous criminal behavior in adolescence, even when controlling for other risk factors and forms of victimization. This study provided novel evidence for specificity in the victim-offender overlap, even after controlling for confounding variables. Practical implications for early intervention and crime prevention are discussed, as well as implications for future research. Highlighting the importance of specificity in the victimization and adverse childhood experience (ACE) paradigms.

Drury, A. J., Elbert, M. J., & DeLisi, M. (2019). Childhood sexual abuse is significantly associated with subsequent sexual offending: New evidence among federal correctional clients. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 95, 104035. DOI:10.1016/j.chiabu.2019.104035

Adverse childhood experiences are associated with multiple negative behavioral outcomes and childhood sexual abuse (CSA) is particularly damaging. There is controversial evidence that CSA has a specialized effect on subsequent sexual offending. The current study tested the hypothesis that CSA is associated with sexual offending. Using a near-population of correctional clients on supervised release in the Midwestern United States, we examined the hypothesis with hierarchical negative binomial regression models. CSA was significantly associated with official charges for rape/sexual abuse despite controls for sex, race, age, arrest onset, total arrest charges, total adverse childhood experiences, Antisocial Personality Disorder, sexual sadism, and pedophilia. Age of onset of CSA was also inversely associated with sexual offending with effect sizes ranging between 2–5 standardized z-scores. The current study provides significant evidence that CSA is associated with later sexual offending even when accounting for powerful clinical and criminological covariates.

Edalati, H., & Nicholls, T. L. (2019). Childhood maltreatment and the risk for criminal justice involvement and victimization among homeless individuals: A systematic review. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, 20(3), 315–330. DOI:10.1177/1524838017708783

Homeless individuals are at higher risk of criminal justice involvement (CJI) and victimization compared to their housed counterparts. Exposure to childhood maltreatment (CM; e.g., abuse, neglect) is one of the most significant predictors of CJI and victimization among homeless populations. The aim of this systematic review was to synthesize current knowledge regarding the relationship between CM and CJI and victimization among homeless individuals. Guided by the preferred reporting items for systematic reviews and meta-analyses (PRISMA) methods, a systematic search was

performed using PsycINFO, MEDLINE, Embase, Web of Science, and the Cumulative Index to Nursing and Allied Health Literature for published studies investigating the relationship between CM and CJI and victimization among homeless samples. We identified 20 studies that met the inclusion criteria. Findings showed that across the majority of studies, CM, and in particular childhood physical (CPA) and sexual (CSA) abuse, is associated with increased risk of both CJI and victimization, regardless of various important factors (e.g., sociodemographic characteristics, psychiatric disorders, substance use). These findings support the need for prevention and treatment for “families at risk” (i.e., for intimate partner violence, child abuse and neglect) and also document the need for trauma-informed approaches within services for homeless individuals. Future research should focus on prospective designs that examine victimization and CJI in the same samples.

King, A. R., Kuhn, S. K., Strege, C., Russell, T. D., & Kolander, T. (2019). Revisiting the link between childhood sexual abuse and adult sexual aggression. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 94, 104022. DOI:10.1016/j.chiabu.2019.104022

Childhood maltreatment poses a risk factor for adult sexual aggression among men. Efforts were made to examine links between childhood sexual abuse (CSA) and sexual aggression after controlling variance associated with other forms of abuse. This sample was comprised of men ($n = 489$) who completed a national survey regarding their history of possible abuse and/or sexual aggression. Maltreatment indices included CSA, parental and sibling physical abuse, exposure to domestic violence, peer bullying, and family emotional abuse. Self-report indicators of sexual frotteurism, coercion and rape were provided by the Sexual Experiences Survey–Short Form Perpetration. CSA links with the criterion indicators were relatively stronger ($r = 0.36$, $d = 0.65$, $p < .001$) than those found for non-sexual forms of abuse. CSA accounted for unshared variance in sexual aggression with these effects magnified by the addition of parental physical abuse

($d = 2.1$) or exposure to domestic violence ($d = 2.2$). The relative risks of prior acts of rape were elevated by CSA ($RR = 4.39, p < .001$), parental physical abuse ($RR = 3.85, p < 0.001$), exposure to domestic violence ($RR = 3.81, p < .001$), or sibling physical abuse ($RR = 2.56, p = 0.007$). These risks of completed rape were higher as well among respondents polyvictimized by two ($RR = 4.92, p < .001$) or more ($RR = 8.94, p < 0.001$) forms of abuse. Multiple forms of child maltreatment, particularly CSA, were strongly associated with adult sexual aggression in this sample of men from the general population.

Tisak, M. S., Tisak, J., Baker, E. R., & Graupensperger, S. A. (2019). [Relations among victimization, witnessing, and perpetration of aggression: Impact of gender among youth offenders](#). *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 34*(10), 2158–2180. DOI:10.1177/0886260516659658

The participants included 251 (158 males; 93 females) youth offenders who were arrested and incarcerated in a juvenile facility in the Midwest United States. The aims were to assess (a) how often they were a victim, a witness, and/or a perpetrator of social aggression, simple assault, and aggravated assault during the past year; (b) to examine whether exposure (either witness or victim or both) predicted committing three types of aggressive behaviors; and (c) to assess the impact of gender among the youth offenders. Differential predictability models were utilized to assess gender differences. The findings revealed that gender was an important predictor. For example, females reported higher rates of being a witness, a victim, and a perpetrator of social aggression than did males. Moreover, female offenders committed simple assault more often than males and males committed aggravated assault more often than females. The general results suggest that it is important to examine the various forms of aggression, and exposure, as well as how gender affects these relationships.

Davis, K. C., Masters, N. T., Casey, E., Kajumulo, K. F., Norris, J., & George, W. H. (2018). [How childhood maltreatment profiles of male victims predict adult perpetration and psychosocial functioning](#). *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 33(6), 915–937.
DOI:10.1177/0886260515613345

This study used latent class analysis to empirically identify subgroups of men based on their exposure to childhood maltreatment (i.e., emotional neglect and abuse, physical neglect and abuse, and sexual abuse). It then examined subgroups' differential perpetration of adult intimate partner violence (IPV; both psychological and physical), violence against peers, and sexual assault. Finally, we compared sociodemographic variables and psychosocial functioning across profiles to characterize the adult experiences of men in different maltreatment groups. The community sample consisted of 626 heterosexually active 21- to 30-year-old men. We identified four subgroups: Low Maltreatment (80% of the sample), Emotional and Physical Maltreatment (12%), Emotional and Sexual Maltreatment (4%), and Poly-Victimized (4%). The Low Maltreatment group had significantly lower IPV perpetration rates than the Emotional and Physical Maltreatment group, but groups did not significantly differ on peer violence or sexual assault perpetration rates. Overall, Poly-Victimized men were significantly worse off than the Low Maltreatment group regarding income, education level, and incarceration history. Their rates of recent anxiety and depression symptoms were also higher than those of Low Maltreatment men. Findings support the use of person-oriented techniques for deriving patterns of childhood maltreatment and how these patterns relate to psychological, behavioral, and social factors in adulthood.

DeLisi, M., & Beauregard, E. (2018). Adverse childhood experiences and criminal extremity: New evidence for sexual homicide. *Journal of Forensic Sciences*, 63(2), 484–489.
DOI:10.1111/1556-4029.13584

Adverse childhood experiences are associated with a wide range of behavioral, health, and psychiatric deficits and have recently been used to study the development of serious

offending careers. Unfortunately, this research paradigm has largely ignored forensic populations. This study utilized the adverse childhood experiences framework to examine the associations between exposure to violence, victimization, and total adverse childhood experiences on sexual homicide using a sample of 616 incarcerated adult male sexual offenders from Canada 85 of whom committed sexual homicide. Epidemiological tables of odds revealed that a gradient of adverse childhood experiences was associated with sexual homicide, but that the most significant risks were for offenders who had the most extensive abuse histories. In adjusted models, exposure to violence, victimization, and total adverse childhood experiences increased the odds of sexual homicide by 334%, 249%, and 546%, respectively. These effects intensified in models adjusted for childhood enuresis, cruelty to animals, parental abandonment, deviant sexual behaviors, poor self-image, and sexual problems to 559%, 326%, and 849%, respectively. The adverse childhood experiences framework is a systematic way to organize the criminogenic developmental sequela in sexual homicide.

Papalia, N., Ogloff, J. R., Cutajar, M., & Mullen, P. E. (2018). Child sexual abuse and criminal offending: Gender-specific effects and the role of abuse characteristics and other adverse outcomes. *Child Maltreatment*, 23(4), 399–416.
DOI:10.1177/1077559518785779

This study sought to enhance knowledge of the link between child sexual abuse (CSA) and long-term criminality by investigating gender-specific effects and the role of index sexual abuse characteristics, revictimization, and serious mental health problems. An Australian sample of 2,759 documented cases of sexual abuse and 2,677 community controls were linked to statewide police records and public mental health service databases, with a follow-up period of 13–44 years. Four key findings emerged from the analysis: (1) CSA victims were more likely than controls to engage in all types of criminal behaviors including violent, sexual, and other offending; (2) gender moderated the relationship between CSA and criminal offending, with stronger associations found

among females for general and violent offending, and among males for sexual offending; (3) certain features of the index sexual abuse (i.e., developmental period, number of perpetrators, relation to perpetrator), further victimization experiences, and the development of serious mental health problems were all associated with an increased likelihood of criminal behavior among CSA victims; (4) CSA victims who engaged in criminal offending were more likely to present with cumulative risks than victims not engaging in criminal offending. Implications for future research and clinical practice are discussed.

De Jong, R., & Dennison, S. (2017). Recorded offending among child sexual abuse victims: A 30-year follow-up. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 72, 75-84.
DOI:10.1016/j.chiabu.2017.07.013

In this paper we employed a prospective design to examine the effect of child sexual abuse (CSA) on life-course offending by comparing victims to both their siblings and random controls in the Netherlands. Information on victimization was gathered from court files and on offending from official criminal records. We found that victims of CSA were more at risk of offending than random controls, but so were their siblings. Only female victims were more likely to offend than their own siblings. The increased risk for offending was not specifically found for sexual offenses, instead it was found for various types of offenses. The found difference between female victims and siblings held true for abuse perpetrated by someone outside the family. We therefore conclude that family and environmental factors are the most important to explain offending among male CSA victims, while these factors alone are not enough to explain the effect of CSA on offending for females.

McKibbin, G., Humphreys, C., & Hamilton, B. (2017). "Talking about child sexual abuse would have helped me": Young people who sexually abused reflect on preventing harmful sexual behavior. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 70, 210–221.
DOI:10.1016/j.chiabu.2017.06.017

Harmful sexual behavior carried out by children and young people accounts for about half of all child sexual abuse perpetration. The aim of this study was to draw on the insights of young people who had been sexually abusive to enhance the current prevention agenda. The study involved semi-structured interviews with 14 young people and six treatment-providing workers. Sampling was purposive and the young people had previously completed a treatment program for harmful sexual behaviour in Victoria, Australia. The young people were approached as experts based on their previous experience of engaging in harmful sexual behavior. At the same time, their past abusive behavior was not condoned or minimised. Constructivist Grounded Theory was used to analyse the qualitative data. Opportunities for preventing harmful sexual behavior were the focus of the interviews with young people and workers. The research identified three opportunities for prevention, which involved acting on behalf of children and young people to: reform their sexuality education; redress their victimization experiences; and help their management of pornography. These opportunities could inform the design of initiatives to enhance the prevention agenda.

Papalia, N. L., Luebbers, S., Ogloff, J. R., Cutajar, M., & Mullen, P. E. (2017). Exploring the longitudinal offending pathways of child sexual abuse victims: A preliminary analysis using latent variable modeling. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 66, 84–100.
DOI:10.1016/j.chiabu.2017.01.005

Very little research has been conducted to show the way in which criminal behavior unfolds over the life-course in children who have been sexually abused, and whether it differs from the 'age-crime' patterns consistently documented in the criminology literature. This study investigated the temporal pathways of criminal offending between

the ages of 10–25 years among medically confirmed cases of child sexual abuse (CSA), and considered whether abuse variables, offense variables, and the presence of other adverse outcomes, were associated with heterogeneity in offending pathways among CSA survivors. This study utilized data gathered as part of a large-scale study involving the linkage of forensic examinations on 2759 cases of medically ascertained CSA between 1964 and 1995, to criminal justice and public psychiatric databases 13–44 years following abuse, together with a matched comparison sample of 2677 individuals. We used the subsample of 283 offending individuals (191 victims; 92 comparisons) for whom complete offending data were available. We compared the aggregate age-crime curves for CSA victims and comparisons, and applied longitudinal latent class analysis to identify distinct subgroups of offending pathways between ages 10–25 years within the abuse sample. Four latent pathways emerged among sexually abused offenders, labeled: Early-Onset/High-Risk/Adolescence-Limited; Intermediate-Onset/Low Risk/Adolescence-Limited ; Late-Onset/Low-Risk/Slow-Declining and Early-Onset/High-Risk/Persistent offenders. Age at abuse, the nature and frequency of offending, and mental health problems, were associated with the offending pathway followed by CSA victims. Consistent with criminological literature, findings indicate considerable heterogeneity in the longitudinal offending patterns of offenders exposed to CSA. Implications for clinical practice and directions for research are highlighted.

Van Wert, M., Mishna, F., Trocme, N., & Fallon, B. (2017). Which maltreated children are at greatest risk of aggressive and criminal behavior? An examination of maltreatment dimensions and cumulative risk. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 69, 49–61. DOI:10.1016/j.chiabu.2017.04.013

This paper explores the well-documented relationship between child maltreatment and aggressive and criminal behavior, specifically examining several dimensions of maltreatment and cumulative child and family risk. Using data from the provincially representative Ontario Incidence Study of Reported Child Abuse and Neglect (OIS-2013),

this paper utilizes a developmental lens to examine whether maltreatment dimensions and cumulative risk can differentiate maltreated young people who exhibit aggressive and criminal behaviors and those who do not. A total unweighted sample of 1837 substantiated maltreatment investigations was examined in this analysis using chi-square, t-test, and logistic regression. The findings indicate that 13% of maltreated children and youth served by the Ontario child welfare system exhibited aggression and 6% of maltreated adolescents were involved in the youth justice system. Aggressive children and youth were more likely to experience severe and co-occurring forms of maltreatment and to experience higher levels of cumulative child risk. In adolescence, youth exhibiting aggressive and/or criminal behavior commonly were investigated because of neglect, specifically because their caregivers were no longer willing or able to remain in a caregiving role. Implications for child welfare policy and practice are discussed.

Levenson, J. S., & Grady, M. D. (2016). The influence of childhood trauma on sexual violence and sexual deviance in adulthood. *Traumatology*, 22(2), 94-103.
DOI:10.1037/trm0000067

The purpose of this study was to determine the influence of various types of childhood adversity on later sexual deviance and sexually violent behavior. Data were collected from more than 700 convicted sexual offenders in outpatient and confinement-based treatment programs throughout the U.S. Using the 10-item Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACE) Scale, participants were surveyed about childhood maltreatment and family dysfunction. For male sex offenders, factors that significantly predicted sexual deviance included childhood sexual abuse, emotional neglect, and having unmarried parents. Factors that significantly predicted violent sexual offending included child physical abuse, substance abuse in the childhood home, mental illness in the home, and having an incarcerated family member. ACE scores were significantly higher for

generalist offenders than for those specializing in sexual crime. The results underscore the need for clinicians to assess the existence of early adversity, to understand the role of traumatic events in the development of criminality and abusive behaviors, and to utilize trauma-informed counseling practices. In terms of policy, investing in prevention services for maltreated children and at-risk families is an important step in disrupting the cycle of interpersonal violence and crime in our communities.

Malvaso, C. G., Delfabbro, P. H., & Day, A. (2016). Risk factors that influence the maltreatment-offending association: A systematic review of prospective and longitudinal studies. *Aggression and Violent Behavior, 31*, 1-15.
DOI:10.1016/j.avb.2016.06.006

The association between exposure to maltreatment during childhood or adolescence and subsequent delinquent or offending behaviors has been repeatedly documented in the scientific literature. Despite this, the nature of this relationship remains unclear and, in particular, whether problematic behavior arises directly as a result of the maltreatment, other co-existing risk factors or an interaction between maltreatment and these risk factors. This systematic review aims to organize evidence on this topic in relation to an ecological perspective that encompasses the multi-faceted nature of the maltreatment-offending association. A final pool of 62 studies were included in the qualitative synthesis. Results and discussion are organized according to four main sections: taxonomic categories of maltreatment (e.g., the type or timing of abuse, as well as how welfare involvement or placement in out-of-home care influences outcomes), individual risk factors (e.g., emotional and behavioral problems), social risk factors (e.g., characteristics of the family, parents and peers), and contextual risk factors (e.g., neighborhood characteristics). As consistent with ecological theory, a multitude of factors contribute to the maltreatment offending association. The application of a conceptual framework to guide future research and treatment is discussed.

Plummer, M., & Cossins, A. (2016). The cycle of abuse: When victims become offenders. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse, 19*(3), 286–304. DOI:10.1177/1524838016659487

Various psychological theories exist in the literature to explain the behavior of men who commit child sex offences, including the belief that child sexual abuse (CSA) is a predisposing factor for the transition from victim to offender. These theories are, however, unable to explain the fact that while most victims of CSA are female, most perpetrators of CSA are male. The sex specificity of CSA in terms of victims and offenders suggests that the experience of CSA and its psychosocial effects may be different for boys, compared to girls. We hypothesize that CSA experiences may involve risk factors that affect the development of sexually abusive behavior for boys, rather than girls. Our aim was to determine whether the literature provides evidence of a cycle of abuse from victim to offender, and, if so, to document its characteristics. We undertook a comprehensive literature review of studies on both victims and offenders, including studies which revealed the following: age of onset of CSA, duration of abuse, gender of the abuser, the relationship between victim and abuser, grooming behaviors, the types and severity of abuse, and disclosure of abuse. While we found no evidence for the existence of a cycle of abuse for female CSA victims, we discovered evidence to support the existence of a cycle of abuse for male CSA victims who had experienced particular abuse characteristics. As an original contribution to the literature, we identified four factors that may be associated with a boy's transition from victim to offender as well as the methodological issues to be addressed in future research. Based on criminological theories, we argue that these four factors share a common theme, that is, that they represent experiences of power (for the abuser) and powerlessness (for the victim).

Malvaso, C. G., Delfabbro, P., & Day, A. (2015). The maltreatment–offending association: A systematic review of the methodological features of prospective and longitudinal studies. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse, 19*(1), 20–34.
DOI:10.1177/1524838015620820

Although the association between childhood maltreatment and the subsequent development of offending behavior is well documented, the association does not necessarily reflect a causal relationship. This paper provides a systematic review of prospective and longitudinal studies using official records of maltreatment to gain insights into the extent to which methodological variations are likely to influence the conclusions drawn about the likely relationship between maltreatment and offending. Sixty-two original studies met the inclusion criteria. These studies were assessed according to a set of seven methodological criteria: (1) inclusion of comparison groups, (2) the use of statistical controls, (3) valid outcome measures, (4) operationalization of maltreatment, (5) proper temporal order of associations, (6) data relating to unsubstantiated maltreatment, and (7) consideration of mediating and moderating factors. The strength of evidence in support of the maltreatment–offending association was influenced by a number of methodological factors. Despite the increasing sophistication of studies, there is a need to be mindful of how these factors are taken into account in future research in order to gain a deeper understanding of the adverse consequences of maltreatment and how this might influence outcomes and inform interventions.

Cuadra, L. E., Jaffe, A. E., Thomas, R., & DiLillo, D. (2014). [Child maltreatment and adult criminal behavior: Does criminal thinking explain the association?](#) *Child Abuse & Neglect, 38*(8), 1399–1408. DOI:10.1016/j.chiabu.2014.02.005

Criminal thinking styles were examined as mediational links between different forms of child maltreatment (i.e., sexual abuse, physical abuse, and physical neglect) and adult criminal behaviors in 338 recently adjudicated men. Analyses revealed positive

associations between child sexual abuse and sexual offenses as an adult, and between child physical abuse/neglect and endorsing proactive and reactive criminal thinking styles. Mediation analyses showed that associations between overall maltreatment history and adult criminal behaviors were accounted for by general criminal thinking styles and both proactive and reactive criminal thinking. These findings suggest a potential psychological pathway to criminal behavior associated with child maltreatment. Limitations of the study as well as research and clinical implications of the results are discussed. © 2014 Elsevier Ltd. All rights reserved.

Watts, S. J., & McNulty, T. L. (2013). [Childhood abuse and criminal behavior: Testing a General Strain Theory model](#). *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 28(15), 3023–3040. DOI:10.1177/0886260513488696

This article draws on general strain theory (GST) to develop and test a model of the childhood abuse–crime relationship. Using data from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (Add Health),¹ we find that early childhood physical and sexual abuse are robust predictors of offending in adolescence, for the full sample and in equations disaggregated by gender. GST is partially supported in that the effects of childhood physical abuse on offending for both females and males are mediated by an index of depression symptoms, whereas the effect of sexual abuse among females appears to be mediated largely by closeness to mother. The effect of childhood sexual abuse among males, however, is more robust than among females and it persists despite controls for low self-control, ties to delinquent peers, school attachment, and closeness to mother. Theoretical implications of the findings are discussed.

Widom, C. S., Czaja, S., Wilson, H. W., Allwood, M., & Chauhan, P. (2013). Do the long term consequences of neglect differ for children of different races and ethnic backgrounds?. *Child Maltreatment*, 18(1), 42–55. DOI:10.1177/1077559512460728

Scant research has examined how children of different races or ethnic backgrounds manifest consequences of neglect. We examined multiple domains of functioning (academic/intellectual, social/behavioral, and psychiatric), three theories (racial invariance, double jeopardy, and resilience), and potential confounding variables. Children with documented cases of neglect (ages 0–11) and matched controls without such histories were followed up and interviewed in adulthood (N = 1,039). The sample was 47.3% female, 62.4% White, 34.3% Black, and 3.4% Hispanic. Black and White neglected children showed negative consequences for IQ, reading ability, and occupational status compared to controls. Compared to same race and ethnic group controls, neglected White children showed extensive mental health consequences, Black children showed more anxiety and dysthymia, and Hispanic children showed increased risk for alcohol problems. Black and White neglected children differed in risk for violence compared to same race controls: Neglected Black children were arrested for violence two times more often than Black controls, whereas neglected White children were more likely than White controls to report engaging in violence. Findings provide some support for each theory (racial invariance, double jeopardy, and resilience). Understanding the factors that account for similarities and differences in consequences requires further investigation. Implications for research and policy are discussed.

Mersky, J. P., Topitzes, J., & Reynolds, A. J. (2012). [Unsafe at any age linking childhood and adolescent maltreatment to delinquency and crime](#). *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 49(2), 295–318. DOI:10.1177/0022427811415284

This study compares the effects of childhood maltreatment and adolescent maltreatment on delinquency and crime, including violent and nonviolent offending. Data were derived from the Chicago Longitudinal Study, a prospective investigation of 1,539

underprivileged, minority subjects. Results confirmed that rates of overall delinquency, along with violent, drug, and property offending specifically, were elevated among childhood and adolescent maltreatment victims compared to their nonmaltreated peers. Childhood maltreatment was associated with delinquency independent of adolescent maltreatment, and strong connections between adolescent maltreatment and delinquency were present independent of prior victimization. Childhood maltreatment was also significantly related to a panel of adult crime measures, while the effects of adolescent maltreatment on adult crime were less robust. The study findings suggest that maltreatment at any age increases the risk of future offending, implying that investments in prevention and intervention strategies throughout childhood and adolescence may reduce delinquency and crime.

Morrissey, M. B., Courtney, D., & Maschi, T. (2012). [Sexual abuse histories among incarcerated older adult offenders: A descriptive study](#). In E. A. Kalfoglou & R. Faikoğlu (Eds.), *Sexual abuse: Breaking the silence* (pp. 21-30). InTech. DOI:10.5772/25847

Topitzes, J., Mersky, J. P., & Reynolds, A. J. (2012). From child maltreatment to violent offending: An examination of mixed-gender and gender-specific models. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 27*(12), 2322-2347. DOI:10.1177/0886260511433510

Research suggests that child maltreatment predicts juvenile violence, but it is uncertain whether the effects of victimization persist into adulthood or differ across gender. Furthermore, we know little about the mechanisms underlying the victim-perpetrator cycle for males and females. Consequently, this study analyzed associations between child maltreatment and a number of adult measures of violent offending within mixed-gender and gender-specific models. Along with main effects, the study directly tested the moderating effects of gender on the maltreatment-violence link and analyzed theory informed gender-specific mediators. Data were derived from the Chicago Longitudinal

Study, a panel investigation of 1,539 low-income minority participants born in 1979 or 1980. Child welfare, juvenile court, and criminal court records informed the study's explanatory and outcome measures. Prospectively collected covariate and mediator measures originated with parent, teacher, and self-reports along with several administrative sources. Results indicated that child maltreatment, ages 0 to 11, significantly predicted all study indicators of violence in the full sample and most study outcomes in the male and female subsamples. In no instance did gender moderate the maltreatment–violence association. Late childhood/early adolescence environmental instability, childhood externalizing behaviors, and adolescent peer social skills fully mediated the maltreatment–violence nexus among males. Adolescent externalizing behavior partially mediated the relationship of interest among females. Evidence also indicated that internalizing processes protected females who had been maltreated in childhood against perpetrating violence later in life. Implications of results are discussed.

Nikulina, V., Widom, C. S., & Czaja, S. (2011). [The role of childhood neglect and childhood poverty in predicting mental health, academic achievement and crime in adulthood](#). *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 48(3–4), 309–321.
DOI:10.1007/s10464-010-9385-y

This study examines the roles of childhood neglect and childhood poverty (family and neighborhood) in predicting Posttraumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), Major Depressive Disorder (MDD), academic achievement, and crime in young adulthood. Using existing data from a prospective cohort design study, 1,005 children with documented histories of neglect (N = 507) and matched controls (N = 497) were interviewed in young adulthood (mean age 29). Official criminal histories were also used to assess outcomes. Data were analyzed using logistic and ordinary least squares regressions and hierarchical linear modeling (HLM) to control for neighborhood clustering. Results from HLM revealed that childhood neglect and childhood family poverty uniquely predicted PTSD and adult arrest, MDD was predicted only by childhood family poverty, and a significant interaction

between childhood family poverty and childhood neighborhood poverty predicted academic achievement for the control group only. Childhood neglect, childhood family poverty, and childhood neighborhood poverty each contribute to poor outcomes later in life. While interventions should be developed for neglected children to prevent negative outcomes, the current findings suggest that it is also important to consider the ecological context in which these children are growing up.

Yun, I., Ball, J. D., & Lim, H. (2011). Disentangling the relationship between child maltreatment and violent delinquency: Using a nationally representative sample. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 26(1), 88-110.
DOI:10.1177/0886260510362886

This study uses the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescents (Add Health) data, a nationally representative sample of adolescents, to disentangle the relationship between child maltreatment and violent delinquency. Also examined are potential moderating effects of gender, socioeconomic status (SES), and religiosity on the association between child maltreatment and violent delinquency. Contrary to prior research findings, the current analyses reveal that physical abuse is not associated with future violent delinquency, whereas sexual abuse and neglect predict violent delinquency significantly. The current study also did not reveal any moderating effects of gender, SES, and religiosity on the association between maltreatment and violent delinquency. Interpretations of these findings are presented, drawing on the properties of the national probability sample compared to the findings of most prior studies that used localized samples.

Duke, N. N., Pettingell, S. L., McMorris, B. J., & Borowsky, I. W. (2010). Adolescent violence perpetration: Associations with multiple types of adverse childhood experiences. *Pediatrics*, 125(4), e778–e786. DOI:10.1542/peds.2009-0597

Adverse childhood experiences are associated with significant functional impairment and life lost in adolescence and adulthood. This study identified relationships between multiple types of adverse events and distinct categories of adolescent violence perpetration. Data are from 136 549 students in the 6th, 9th, and 12th grades who responded to the 2007 Minnesota Student Survey, an anonymous, self-report survey examining youth health behaviors and perceptions, characteristics of primary socializing domains, and youth engagement. Linear and logistic regression models were used to determine if 6 types of adverse experiences including physical abuse, sexual abuse by family and/or other persons, witnessing abuse, and household dysfunction caused by family alcohol and/or drug use were significantly associated with risk of adolescent violence perpetration after adjustment for demographic covariates. An adverse-events score was entered into regression models to test for a dose-response relationship between the event score and violence outcomes. All analyses were stratified according to gender. More than 1 in 4 youth (28.9%) reported at least 1 adverse childhood experience. The most commonly reported adverse experience was alcohol abuse by a household family member that caused problems. Each type of adverse childhood experience was significantly associated with adolescent interpersonal violence perpetration (delinquency, bullying, physical fighting, dating violence, weapon-carrying on school property) and self-directed violence (self-mutilatory behavior, suicidal ideation, and suicide attempt). For each additional type of adverse event reported by youth, the risk of violence perpetration increased 35% to 144%. Multiple types of adverse childhood experiences should be considered as risk factors for a spectrum of violence-related outcomes during adolescence. Providers and advocates should be aware of the interrelatedness and cumulative impact of adverse-event types. Study findings support

broadening the current discourse on types of adverse events when considering pathways from child maltreatment to adolescent perpetration of delinquent and violent outcomes.

Williams, J. H., Van Dorn, R. A., Bright, C. L., Jonson-Reid, M., & Nebbitt, V. E. (2010). [Child maltreatment and delinquency onset among African American adolescent males](#). *Research on Social Work Practice*, 20(3), 253-259.
DOI:10.1177/1049731509347865

Child welfare and criminology research have increasingly sought to better understand factors that increase the likelihood that abused and neglected children will become involved in the juvenile justice system. However, few studies have addressed this relationship among African American male adolescents. The current study examines the relationship between child maltreatment (i.e., neglect, physical abuse, sexual abuse, and other/mixed abuse) and the likelihood of a delinquency petition using a sample of African American males ($N = 2,335$) born before 1990. Multivariable logistic regression models compared those with a delinquency-based juvenile justice petition to those without. Results indicate that African American males with a history of neglect, physical abuse, or other/mixed abuse were more likely to be involved in the juvenile justice system than those without any child maltreatment. Additionally, multiple maltreatment reports, a prior history of mental health treatment, victimization, and having a parent who did not complete high school also increased the likelihood of a delinquency petition. Implications for intervention and prevention are discussed.

DeGue, S., & Widom, C. S. (2009). Does out-of-home placement mediate the relationship between child maltreatment and adult criminality?. *Child Maltreatment*, 14(4), 344-355. DOI:10.1177/1077559509332264

Existing research on child welfare interventions as mediators of the criminal consequences of child maltreatment has focused on juvenile delinquency rather than

adult criminality. This study uses a prospective sample of 772 maltreated youth to examine out-of-home placement as a mediator of adult criminality. Arrest data were collected from official records when the full sample was a mean age of 31.8, having ample opportunity for involvement with the criminal justice system. Overall, out-of-home placement showed a neutral or slightly positive effect on adult criminality compared to no placement, consistent with earlier findings. However, prior delinquency and placement instability were significant risk factors for adult criminality. Gender, not race, was identified as a significant moderator of the relationship between placement and adult criminality, with different patterns of response to placement for males and females. Thus, whether placement experiences influence adult criminal consequences of child maltreatment might depend on prior delinquency, placement stability, and gender.

Gilbert, R., Widom, C. S., Browne, K., Fergusson, D., Webb, E., & Janson, S. (2009). Burden and consequences of child maltreatment in high-income countries. *The Lancet*, 373(9657), 68–81. DOI:10.1016/S0140-6736(08)61706-7

Child maltreatment remains a major public-health and social-welfare problem in high-income countries. Every year, about 4–16% of children are physically abused and one in ten is neglected or psychologically abused. During childhood, between 5% and 10% of girls and up to 5% of boys are exposed to penetrative sexual abuse, and up to three times this number are exposed to any type of sexual abuse. However, official rates for substantiated child maltreatment indicate less than a tenth of this burden. Exposure to multiple types and repeated episodes of maltreatment is associated with increased risks of severe maltreatment and psychological consequences. Child maltreatment substantially contributes to child mortality and morbidity and has longlasting effects on mental health, drug and alcohol misuse (especially in girls), risky sexual behaviour, obesity, and criminal behaviour, which persist into adulthood. Neglect is at least as damaging as physical or sexual abuse in the long term but has received the least scientific and public attention.

The high burden and serious and long-term consequences of child maltreatment warrant increased investment in preventive and therapeutic strategies from early childhood.

Maas, C., Herrenkohl, T. I., & Sousa, C. (2008). Review of research on child maltreatment and violence in youth. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, 9(1), 56–67.
DOI:10.1177/1524838007311105

This review addresses research regarding associations between child maltreatment and youth violence perpetration. The authors explore current findings on the direct effects of child maltreatment on later youth violence and possible gender and ethnic differences. They examine differences in the prediction of adolescent violence as a function of duration and timing of maltreatment. Results provide compelling evidence linking child maltreatment and later youth violence, although some research is inconclusive once demographics and other competing predictors are considered. Overall, physical abuse is perhaps the most consistent predictor of youth violence, patterned by an increased risk for children exposed to severe, compounded maltreatment. However, findings indicate that lesser severe forms of abuse can increase the risk of later violence for some youth. Limitations of current research include relatively few prospective, studies on the abuse–violence link; a general lack of specificity in definitions of key variables; and inconsistency in data analysis methods.

McDaniels Wilson, C., & Belknap, J. (2008). The extensive sexual violation and sexual abuse histories of incarcerated women. *Violence Against Women*, 14(10), 1090–1127. DOI:10.1177/1077801208323160

A growing body of research reports on the lifetime prevalence of sexual victimization experiences among incarcerated women. However, none of this research provides a detailed account of the many types and levels of sexual violations and sexual abuses, the

age of occurrence, and the victim–offender relationship. This study used the Sexual Abuse Checklist (designed by the first author) and a modified version of the Sexual Experiences Survey (SES) to obtain a detailed account of 391 incarcerated women’s self-reported sexual violation and abuse histories. Seventy percent of the women reported at least one violation consistent with what qualifies as “rape” in most states in the United States today, and half of the women reported child sexual abuse victimization. The most prevalent victim–offender relationships were male strangers, male lovers or boyfriends, male dates, husbands, uncles, brothers, male cousins, and stepfathers.

Teague, R., Mazerolle, P., Legosz, M., & Sanderson, J. (2008). Linking childhood exposure to physical abuse and adult offending: Examining mediating factors and gendered relationships. *Justice Quarterly*, 25(2), 313–348.
DOI:10.1080/07418820802024689

This article examines relationships between physical abuse and official and self-reported offending among 480 male and female offenders serving community corrections orders in Queensland, Australia. It examines whether offending rates vary between abused and non-abused respondents and whether the abuse–offending relationship is maintained in the presence of demographic and juvenile offending variables. The study explores whether family and school factors can mediate the abuse–offending relationship. The results reveal that physically abused offenders reported higher rates of violent, property, and total offending than non-abused offenders. The effects of abuse on violent and property crime were reduced with the introduction of demographic and juvenile offending variables, but an overall effect of physical abuse remained for total offending. Maternal support was associated with lower levels of adult offending among physically abused respondents, while school expulsion and attachment to school for non-conventional reasons (e.g., non-academic) appeared to exacerbate the abuse–offending relationship.

Dembo, R., Schmeidler, J., & Childs, K. (2007). Correlates of male and female juvenile offender abuse experiences. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse, 16*(3), 75–94.
DOI:10.1300/J070v16n03_05

This paper reports the results of developing and evaluating a classification of 315 arrested youth processed at the Hillsborough County Juvenile Assessment Center from September 1, 1994 to January 31, 1998. Youth were characterized as physically or sexually abused if they reported abuse or if they had been referred to juvenile court for abuse. Stepwise logistic regression analysis revealed that family problems, friends' substance use, and delinquency involvement (marginally significantly related) were associated with both physical abuse and sexual victimization. In addition, physical abuse was associated with psychological problems and sexual victimization with being female, being older, and own substance use. The research implications of these results are discussed.

Lansford, J. E., Miller-Johnson, S., Berlin, L. J., Dodge, K. A., Bates, J. E., & Pettit, G. S. (2007). Early physical abuse and later violent delinquency: A prospective longitudinal study. *Child Maltreatment, 12*(3), 233–245. DOI:10.1177/1077559507301841

In this prospective longitudinal study of 574 children followed from age 5 to age 21, the authors examine the links between early physical abuse and violent delinquency and other socially relevant outcomes during late adolescence or early adulthood and the extent to which the child's race and gender moderate these links. Analyses of covariance indicated that individuals who had been physically abused in the first 5 years of life were at greater risk for being arrested as juveniles for violent, nonviolent, and status offenses. Moreover, physically abused youth were less likely to have graduated from high school and more likely to have been fired in the past year, to have been a teen parent, and to have been pregnant or impregnated someone in the past year while not married. These effects were more pronounced for African American than for European American youth and somewhat more pronounced for females than for males.

Lisak, D., & Beszterczey, S. (2007). The cycle of violence: The life histories of 43 death row inmates. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 8(2), 118-128. DOI:10.1037/1524-9220.8.2.118

The life histories of 43 men on death row were examined in a qualitative analysis of the multiple intermediary factors in the cycle of violence. Severe and multiple forms of abuse were endemic in this sample of men. Abuse was typically multigenerational and almost universally linked to intergenerational substance abuse. After experiencing abuse, the majority of these men manifested extensive developmental problems, from severe difficulties in school to chronic relationship and occupational problems. For most, the transition to adulthood was seriously compromised. Results are discussed in terms of the interaction between developmental trauma and masculine socialization.

Makarios, M. D. (2007). Race, abuse, and female criminal violence. *Feminist Criminology*, 2(2), 100-116. DOI:10.1177/1557085106296501

Gender-specific research on the relationship between childhood abuse and delinquency in females is an important emerging topic in criminology. Feminist criminologists have pointed toward childhood abuse as a key turning point in young girls' lives that leads toward delinquency but have yet to empirically address how this relationship varies along racial lines. This study uses prospective cohort data to test for interactions among child abuse, race, and violent criminal arrest in females. In doing so, it addresses the differences in the effects of abuse across gender and across race in females. Results provide some support for feminist literature finding that although all abused children were more likely to be later arrested for a violent offense, the effects were significantly stronger for abused girls than boys. Still, race and gender interactions reveal no racial differences in the effects of abuse on females.

Mersky, J. P., & Reynolds, A. J. (2007). Child maltreatment and violent delinquency: Disentangling main effects and subgroup effects. *Child Maltreatment, 12*(3), 246–258. DOI:10.1177/1557085106296501

This study employs data from the Chicago Longitudinal Study (CLS) to investigate the relation between child maltreatment and the incidence and frequency of violent delinquency. The authors also examine if effects vary between physically abused and neglected children and if select indicators (sex, cumulative risk, public aid receipt) moderate the connections between maltreatment and violent outcomes. The CLS follows a cohort of 1,539 low-income, minority children who attended public kindergarten programs in 1985–1986. The primary sample includes 1,404 participants for whom maltreatment and delinquency status were verified. Maltreatment is significantly associated with all violent outcomes investigated. Effects are comparable for physically abused and neglected children. Results indicate that public assistance, particularly persistent receipt, moderates the association between maltreatment and multiple outcomes. Findings support the hypothesized connection between maltreatment and violent delinquency while highlighting certain subgroups that may be at elevated risk. Implications for research design and program development are discussed.

Johnson, R. J., Ross, M. W., Taylor, W. C., Williams, M. L., Carvajal, R. I., & Peters, R. J. (2006). Prevalence of childhood sexual abuse among incarcerated males in county jail. *Child Abuse & Neglect, 30*(1), 75–86. DOI:10.1016/j.chiabu.2005.08.013

The current study examined the prevalence and characteristics of childhood sexual abuse in a jailed-based population. A retrospective, self-reported survey was administered over an 8-week period to a random sample of 100 men who were incarcerated in a county jail in Southeastern Texas. The survey included questions about childhood sexual experiences before and after puberty, drug history and use, and sexual risk-taking behaviors. Of the 100 male inmates who participated in this study, 59% reported experiencing some form of sexual abuse before puberty, and all such instances

occurred before or at the age of 13 years. The first episode of childhood sexual abuse began at an average age of 9.6 years ($SD = 2.4$), and ended at an average age of 13.0 years ($SD = 2.3$). Kissing and touching without intercourse (64%) was the common pattern of sexual abuse experience reported. The total number of perpetrators was 165, with 10% male and 90% female. Friends ($n = 72$) and family ($n = 56$) were the most frequent perpetrators. Childhood sexual abuse may be more prevalent among inmates than among males in the general population. These results show a high percentage of inmates who report a history of childhood sexual abuse; this rate is higher than those reported by other studies for incarcerated males. The findings support the belief held by professionals in the criminal justice field that a significant number of incarcerated males may have been victims of sexual abuse.

Pollock, J. M., Mullings, J. L., & Crouch, B. M. (2006). Violent women: Findings from the Texas Women Inmates Study. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 21(4), 485–502.
DOI:10.1177/0886260505285722

Prior research on violent crime by female offenders is reviewed. A Texas female prisoner sample is used to explore specific questions raised by the literature review. Violent and nonviolent offenders were compared, looking specifically at race, socioeconomic status, having been raised in single-parent homes, criminal history, gang membership, marital status, and childhood abuse. Findings indicated that women who are violent were more likely to be younger, African American, unemployed, and having extensive criminal histories. They were more likely to come from dysfunctional families with childhood abuse. Limitations of the study were noted.

Fagan, A. A. (2005). The relationship between adolescent physical abuse and criminal offending: Support for an enduring and generalized cycle of violence. *Journal of Family Violence, 20*(5), 279–290. DOI:10.1007/s10896-005-6604-7

Prospective investigations have demonstrated support for the cycle of violence theory. However, few studies have examined whether or not abuse occurring during adolescence increases the prevalence and frequency of criminal involvement, or explored the long-term consequences of such victimization. In addition, there has been little investigation of whether or not the effects of abuse vary depending on characteristics of the victim, such as sex, race/ethnicity, age, family structure or income. Using data from the National Youth Survey, this study demonstrates that adolescent physical abuse has immediate and enduring effects on the prevalence and frequency of a variety of self-reported offenses, including violent and non-violent crimes, drug use and intimate partner violence. Furthermore, the study reveals that while victimization increases the prevalence of offending for victims of varying backgrounds, the frequency of offending is moderated by family income, area of residence, and family structure. Implications for prevention are discussed.

Grella, C. E., Stein, J. A., & Greenwell, L. (2005). Associations among childhood trauma, adolescent problem behaviors, and adverse adult outcomes in substance abusing women offenders. *Psychology of Addictive Behaviors, 19*(1), 43–53. DOI:10.1037/0893-164X.19.1.43

This article explores relationships among exposure to childhood abuse and traumatic events, adolescent conduct problems and substance abuse, and adult psychological distress and criminal behaviors in a sample of substance-abusing women offenders (N = 440). Latent variable structural equation models revealed direct relationships between several childhood traumatic events and greater adolescent conduct problems and substance abuse. Conduct problems predicted more adult criminal behavior, and adolescent substance abuse predicted higher levels of current psychological distress.

There were direct relationships between several types of traumatic events and current psychological distress and between traumatic events and specific criminal behaviors. Ethnic differences were also found, suggesting different pathways to criminal behavior. The findings underscore the need to provide trauma-related services for substance-abusing women offenders.

Smith, C. A., Ireland, T. O., & Thornberry, T. P. (2005). Adolescent maltreatment and its impact on young adult antisocial behavior. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 29(10), 1099–1119. DOI:10.1016/j.chiabu.2005.02.011

Childhood maltreatment is known to be a risk factor for a range of later problems, but much less is known about adolescent maltreatment. The present study aims to investigate the impact of adolescent maltreatment on antisocial behavior, while controlling for prior levels of problem behavior as well as sociodemographic characteristics. Data are from the Rochester Youth Development Study, a cohort study of the development of problem behaviors in a sample of 1,000 urban youth followed from age 13 into adulthood. Subjects include 68% African American, 17% Hispanic, and 15% White youth. This analysis includes a maximum of 884 subjects, of whom 9.3% had substantiated maltreatment reports in adolescence. Among the maltreated adolescents, 14 experienced sex abuse, 36 experienced physical abuse, and 32 were neglected or emotionally abused. Outcomes explored in late adolescence (ages 16–18) and young adulthood (ages 20–22) include arrest, self-reported general and violent offending, and illicit drug use. Control variables include prior levels of these outcomes as well as sociodemographic characteristics like poverty, parent education, and caregiver changes. Logistic regression analysis determined that experiencing any substantiated maltreatment during adolescence increases the odds of arrest, general and violent offending, and illicit drug use in young adulthood, even controlling for sociodemographic characteristics and prior levels of problem behavior. Different types of adolescent

maltreatment, including neglect, appear to produce similar adverse behavioral consequences. Adolescent maltreatment necessitates increased attention in view of its enduring and potentially wide-ranging impact on the life span.

Siegel, J. A., & Williams, L. M. (2003). The relationship between child sexual abuse and female delinquency and crime: A prospective study. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 40(1), 71–94. DOI:10.1177/0022427802239254

Child sexual abuse has been hypothesized to be an especially significant factor in the etiology of girls' delinquency and women's crime. This article reports on a prospective study of 206 women who, in the period from 1973 to 1975, were treated in a hospital emergency room in a major city following a report of sexual abuse. Their subsequent juvenile and adult criminal records were compared to a matched comparison group. Child sexual abuse was a statistically significant predictor of certain types of offenses, but other indicators of familial neglect and abuse were significant factors as well.

English, D. J., Widom, C. S., & Brandford, C. (2002). [*Childhood victimization and delinquency, adult criminality, and violent criminal behavior. A replication and extension*](#). U.S. Department of Justice.

This study examined issues related to delinquency, adult criminality, and violence in a new cohort of abused and/or neglected children and matched controls, representing a different geographic area (Northwest), time period (1980's), and ethnic composition (included Native-American youth). In addition to examining the prevalence of delinquency, adult criminality, and violence in the cohort, the study addressed the extent to which there were gender and ethnic differences in the relationship between childhood victimization and crime and violent offending; and it determined the extent to which different types of maltreatment were associated with the increased risk of subsequent delinquent, adult, and violent criminal behavior. The extent to which placement

experience mediated delinquent and criminal consequences was also examined. Substantiated cases of child abuse and/or neglect (n=877) from court dependency records during the years 1980–84 were selected from court files in a large urban area in Washington State. A control group of children matched on age, race/ethnicity, gender, and approximate family social class were also identified. Juvenile and adult arrest data were collected from local, State, and Federal law enforcement agencies through 1998 (approximately 15–24 years following dependency). The findings strongly support the relationship between child abuse and neglect and delinquency, adult criminality, and violent criminal behavior. In the study sample, abused and neglected children were 4.8 times more likely to be arrested as a juvenile, 2 times more likely to be arrested as an adult, and 3.1 times more likely to be arrested for a violent crime than matched controls. These findings replicate earlier findings regarding increases in the risk of criminal behavior for females as well as males. Abused and neglected youth from all three ethnicities (Caucasian, African–American, and Native–American) were at increased risk for being arrested as a juvenile and as an adult compared to non-abused and non-neglected children from the same ethnic background. Preliminary findings regarding placement status at dependency indicated that abused and neglected youth who were placed outside the home were at greater risk of subsequent arrest than abused and neglected youth who remained with their primary caregiver or parent. Policy implications of these findings are discussed.

Fagan, A. A. (2001). The gender cycle of violence: Comparing the effects of child abuse and neglect on criminal offending for males and females. *Violence and Victims*, 16(4), 457–474. DOI:10.1891/0886-6708.16.4.457

Despite ample evidence of the relationship between childhood maltreatment and offending, the ways in which the cycle of violence operates remain unclear. For example, feminist researchers contend that female victims are more likely to become offenders,

compared to male victims, but more research is needed to substantiate this claim. Moreover, the contradictions in research findings—with retrospective research demonstrating that most offenders have histories of abuse, and prospective work indicating that the majority of victims do not become involved in crime—highlight the importance of identifying the intermediating variables that lead from maltreatment to criminality. This review summarizes investigations related to the cycle of violence, discusses the intermediating circumstances that may affect the cycle, and identifies whether or not these processes are similar for women and men.

Fondacaro, K. M., Holt, J. C., & Powell, T. A. (1999). Psychological impact of childhood sexual abuse on male inmates: The importance of perception. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 23(4), 361-369. DOI:10.1016/S0145-2134(99)00004-6

The current study examined the association between childhood sexual victimization and adult psychiatric disorders among male inmates. It further assessed the association between the perception of an event (as sexual abuse or not) and psychiatric diagnoses. A sample of 211 randomly-selected male inmates were interviewed. The Diagnostic Interview Schedule (Version III-R) was used to assess psychiatric diagnoses. An additional questionnaire assessing childhood sexual abuse and perception of childhood sexual abuse was also administered. Forty percent of the inmates met standard criteria for childhood sexual abuse, which far exceeded rates found in the general population. Significant differences were found between inmates who had a history of childhood sexual abuse and those who did not for a variety of psychiatric diagnoses. Forty-one percent of those who met criteria for childhood sexual abuse did not consider themselves to have been abused. Those who did not consider themselves to have been abused had higher rates of alcohol abuse/dependence, while those who considered themselves to have been abused had higher rates of posttraumatic stress and obsessive-compulsive disorder. This study emphasizes the importance of perception or “cognitive appraisal” of

the sexual experience (as abusive or not) and the need for further study regarding the potential mediating role of cognitive appraisal. Other implications of these findings include the need for primary prevention programs designed to reduce childhood sexual abuse, and inmate rehabilitation programs with an emphasis on the connection between victimization and criminality.

Harlow, C. F. (1999). [*Prior abuse reported by inmates and probationers*](#). U.S. Department of Justice.

Weeks, R., & Widom, C. S. (1998). Self-reports of early childhood victimization among incarcerated adult male felons. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 13(3), 346–361. DOI:10.1177/088626098013003003

The extent of childhood victimization (physical abuse, sexual abuse, and neglect) was assessed retrospectively through self-reports in a sample of 301 convicted adult male felons randomly selected from a New York State medium-correctional facility using a structured interview with known psychometric properties. Overall, 68% of the sample of incarcerated adult male felons reported some form of childhood victimization, although the percentage varied depending on the measure used to assess the childhood abuse experiences. Violent offenders reported significantly more childhood neglect than nonviolent offenders but not more physical abuse. On an overall index of childhood sexual abuse, sex offenders reported higher rates of childhood sexual abuse than other offenders (26.3% vs.12.5%). Implications of these findings are discussed.

McClellan, D. S., Farabee, D., & Crouch, B. M. (1997). Early victimization, drug use, and criminality: A comparison of male and female prisoners. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 24(4), 455–476. DOI:10.1177/0093854897024004004

Comparative analysis of the relative victimization of 1,030 adult male prisoners and 500 adult female prisoners in Texas reveals significant gender differences in childhood and adult maltreatment and subsequent substance use and criminality. Female inmates report significantly more maltreatment as children than do male inmates. Moreover, the maltreatment of women increases when they become adults, whereas the maltreatment of men drops sharply. The study found childhood maltreatment to be more strongly associated with adult depression and substance dependence among women than among men. The severity of substance misuse and problems associated with it are stronger predictors of female rates of criminal activity than male rates. Recent literature from the social sciences is presented to account for the findings. A female empowerment treatment model to help women attain control over their lives is suggested.

Smith, C., & Thornberry, T. P. (1995). [The relationship between childhood maltreatment and adolescent involvement in delinquency](#). *Criminology*, 33(4), 451–481. DOI:10.1111/j.1745-9125.1995.tb01186.x

Recent research suggests a link between childhood maltreatment and later involvement in delinquency. This study examines this issue using official and self-report data from the Rochester Youth Development Study. The analysis addresses three central issues: the magnitude of the relationship between early child maltreatment and later delinquency, official and self-reported; the possibility of spuriousness in this relationship; and the impact of more extensive measurement of maltreatment on later delinquency. A significant relationship between child maltreatment and self-reported and official delinquency is found and this relationship, especially for more serious forms of delinquency, remains when controlling for other factors. The results also suggest that

more extensive maltreatment is related to higher rates of delinquency. Implications and suggestions for further research are discussed.

Widom, C. S. (1995). [Victims of childhood sexual abuse: Later criminal consequences.](#) *National Institute of Justice: Research in Brief*. US Department of Justice.

Widom, C. S., & Ames, M. A. (1994). Criminal consequences of childhood sexual victimization. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 18(4), 303-318. DOI:10.1016/0145-2134(94)90033-7

Using a prospective cohorts design, we assess the long-term criminal consequences of childhood sexual abuse through an examination of official criminal histories for a large sample of validated cases of childhood sexual abuse, compared to cases of physical abuse and neglect and a control group matched for age, race, sex, and approximate family socioeconomic status. Compared to other types of abuse and neglect, early childhood sexual abuse does not uniquely increase an individual's risk for later delinquent and adult criminal behavior. Childhood sexual abuse victims were at increased risk of arrest as a juvenile for being a runaway. As adults, child sexual abuse victims were at higher risk of arrest for sex crimes than controls, as were victims of physical abuse and neglect. Childhood sexual abuse victims were more likely to be arrested for prostitution as adults than other abuse and neglect victims and controls, regardless of gender. However, there was no support for a direct relationship among child sexual abuse, arrests for running away in adolescence, and adult arrests for prostitution. The findings also suggest an association for males between physical abuse and arrests for violent sex crimes (rape and/or sodomy). Caution is needed in interpreting these findings because of exclusive reliance on official record data and the possible impact of agency intervention.

Rivera, B., & Widom, C. S. (1990). Childhood victimization and violent offending. *Violence and Victims*, 5(1), 19–35. DOI:10.1891/0886-6708.5.1.19

The relationship between childhood victimization and violent offending is examined using a prospective cohorts design. Official criminal histories for a large sample of substantiated and validated cases of physical and sexual abuse and neglect ($N = 908$) from the years 1967 through 1971 were compared to those of a matched control group ($N = 667$) of individuals with no official record of abuse or neglect. Sex-specific and race-specific effects of childhood victimization and other characteristics of violent offending (chronicity, age of onset, temporal patterns, and continuity) are assessed. Childhood victimization increased overall risk for violent offending and particularly increased risk for males and blacks. In comparison to controls, abused and neglected children began delinquent careers earlier. Temporal patterns of violent offending were examined and childhood victims did not differ in age of arrest for first violent offense, nor were they more likely to continue offending. The findings and their limitations are discussed, as well as directions for future research.

Widom, C. S. (1989). Child abuse, neglect, and violent criminal behavior. *Criminology*, 27(2), 251–271. DOI:10.1111/j.1745-9125.1989.tb01032.x

Using a prospective cohorts design, official criminal histories for a large sample of substantiated and validated cases of physical and sexual abuse and neglect from the years 1967 through 1971 ($n = 908$) were compared with those of a matched control group ($n = 667$) of individuals with no official record of abuse or neglect. Abused and neglected subjects had higher rates of having an adult criminal record than controls and a larger number of arrests as an adult. Based on a logit analysis, a model using four explanatory variables (age, sex, race, and abuse/neglect status) provided a good fit. In comparison with controls, abused and neglected subjects also had a higher frequency of arrests for violent offenses as adults; however, this was due primarily to significantly more adult

violent offenses by abused males. Support for the cycle of violence is discussed as well as sex differences in the results, limitations of the findings, and implications for further research.

Widom, C. S. (1989). Does violence beget violence? A critical examination of the literature. *Psychological Bulletin*, 106(1), 3-28. DOI:10.1037/0033-2909.106.1.3

Critically examines the "violence breeds violence" hypothesis broadly defined. Organized into seven sections, the literature review includes (a) the abuse breeds abuse hypothesis; (b) reports of small numbers of violent/homicidal offenders; (c) studies examining the relationship of abuse and neglect to delinquency; (d) to violent behavior, and (e) to aggressive behavior in infants and young children; (f) abuse, withdrawal, and self-destructive behavior; and (g) studies of the impact of witnessing or observing violent behavior. A detailed discussion of methodological considerations and shortcomings precedes the review. The author concludes that existing knowledge of the long-term consequences of abusive home environments is limited and suggests that conclusions about the strength of the cycle of violence be tempered by the dearth of convincing empirical evidence. Recommendations are made for further research. (PsycINFO Database Record © 2012 APA, all rights reserved)