



Child Maltreatment: Victim to Victimizer?

A Bibliography

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Scope

This bibliography lists scholarly research publications in education, psychology, social work, and criminology. Some publications examine predictive and risk factors while others are retrospective in approach to characteristics of offenders. Included are studies of males, females, incarcerated offenders, and juveniles.

Organization

Publications include articles, book chapters, reports, and research briefs and are arranged 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.

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Child Maltreatment- Victim to Victimizer?

A Bibliography

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.

Plummer, M., & Cossins, A. (2018). 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).

Leach, C., Stewart, A., & Smallbone, S. (2016). Testing the sexually abused-sexual abuser hypothesis: A prospective longitudinal birth cohort study. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 51, 144-153. DOI:10.1016/j.chiabu.2015.10.024

The sexually abused-sexual abuser hypothesis posits that persons, especially males, who are sexually abused as children are at particular risk of sexually abusing others later in life. We tested this hypothesis by prospectively examining associations between maltreatment and offending in a birth cohort of 38,282 males with a maltreatment history and/or at least one finalized offense. We examined these associations within the context of the wider birth population. Proportionally few boys were the subject of official notifications for sexual abuse (14.8% of maltreated boys, and 1.4% of the birth population); proportionally very few of these sexually abused boys (3%) went on to become sexual offenders; and, contrary to findings typically reported in retrospective clinical studies, proportionally few sexual offenders (4%) had a confirmed history of sexual abuse. Poly-victimization (exposure to multiple types of maltreatment) was significantly associated with sexual offending, violent offending, and general (nonsexual, nonviolent) offending. We found no specific association between sexual abuse and sexual offending, and nor did we find any association between sexual abuse and sexual offending specifically within the poly-victimized group. The total

number of sexual abuse notifications did make a small unique contribution to the variance in sexual offending compared to other offending. Implications concerning maltreated boys and male sexual offenders are discussed. © 2015 Published by Elsevier Ltd.

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.

Ben-David, V., Jonson-Reid, M., Drake, B., & Kohl, P. L. (2015). [The association between childhood maltreatment experiences and the onset of maltreatment perpetration in young adulthood controlling for proximal and distal risk factors](#). *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 46, 132-141. DOI:10.1016/j.chiabu.2015.01.013

The evidence for association between child maltreatment victimization and later maltreatment perpetration is both scant and mixed. The objective of the present study was to assess the association between childhood maltreatment experiences and later perpetration of

maltreatment in young adulthood controlling for proximal young adult functioning, prior youth risk behaviors, and childhood poverty. The study included 6,935 low-income children with (n = 4,470) or without (n = 2,465) maltreatment reports prior to age 18 followed from ages 1.5 through 11 years through early adulthood (ages 18–26). Administrative data from multiple regional and statewide agencies captured reports of maltreatment, family poverty and characteristics, system contact for health, behavioral risks and mental health in adolescence, and concurrent adult functioning (crime, mental health and poverty). After controlling for proximal adult functioning, repeated instances of neglect or mixed type maltreatment remained associated with young adult perpetration. Females and subjects with adolescent history of runaway, violent behaviors or non-violent delinquency also had higher risk. Greater caregiver education remained associated with reduced risk. The study concludes that prevention of recurrent neglect and mixed forms of maltreatment may reduce risk of maltreatment for future generations. Intervening to increase parental education and decrease adolescent risk behaviors may offer additional benefit.

Berliner, L. (2015). Why it matters to know the relationship between child abuse and neglect and sexual offending. *JAMA Pediatrics*, 169(1), e143365-e143365. DOI:10.1001/jamapediatrics.2014.3365

The link between child abuse and neglect and later problems has been addressed in many studies. An Institute of Medicine report¹ reviewed child abuse and neglect outcomes and documented a broad range of deleterious effects on health, mental health, antisocial behavior, and social and economic functioning. The studies reviewed had varying degrees of methodical rigor; prospective studies with control groups of nonabused children are most likely to definitively answer the important questions.

Widom, C. S., & Massey, C. (2015). [A prospective examination of whether childhood sexual abuse predicts subsequent sexual offending](#). *JAMA Pediatrics*, 169(1), e143357- e143357. DOI:10.1001/jamapediatrics.2014.3357

Childhood sexual abuse has been assumed to increase the risk for sexual offending. However, despite methodological limitations of prior research, public policies and clinical practice

have been based on this assumption. To empirically examine the commonly held belief that sexually abused children grow up to become sexual offenders and specialize in sex crimes. This prospective cohort study and archival records check included cases and control individuals originally from a metropolitan county in the Midwest. Children with substantiated cases of physical and sexual abuse and neglect (aged 0-11 years) were matched with children without such histories on the basis of age, sex, race/ethnicity, and approximate family social class (908 cases and 667 control individuals). Both groups were followed up into adulthood (mean age, 51 years). The court cases were from 1967 to 1971; the follow-up extended to 2013. Criminal history information was collected from federal and state law enforcement agency records at 3 points in time and from state sex offender registries. Overall, individuals with histories of childhood abuse and neglect were at increased risk for being arrested for a sex crime compared with control individuals (adjusted odds ratio [AOR], 2.17; 95% CI, 1.38-3.40), controlling for age, sex, and race/ethnicity. Specifically, individuals with histories of physical abuse (AOR, 2.06; 95% CI, 1.02-4.16) and neglect (AOR, 2.21; 95% CI, 1.39-3.51) were at significantly increased risk for arrest for sex offenses, whereas for sexual abuse, the AOR (2.13; 95% CI, 0.83-5.47) did not reach significance. Physically abused and neglected males (not females) were at increased risk and physically abused males also had a higher mean number of sex crime arrests compared with control individuals. The results did not provide support for sex crime specialization. The widespread belief that sexually abused children are uniquely at risk to become sex offenders was not supported by prospective empirical evidence. These new findings suggest that early intervention programs should target children with histories of physical abuse and neglect. They also indicate that existing policies and practices specifically directed at future risk for sex offending for sexually abused children may warrant reevaluation.

Hershkowitz, I. (2013). Sexually intrusive behavior among alleged CSA male victims: A prospective study. *Sexual Abuse*, 26(3), 291- 305. DOI:10.1177/1079063213486937

Child Sexual Abuse (CSA) is one widely cited risk factor for Sexually Intrusive Behavior (SIB) among boys. To identify variables that moderate the early onset of SIB in a sample of boys, alleged victims of sexual abuse, the current study involved a prospective examination

of all investigations of male CSA victims and those of boys aged under 14 who were suspected of committing SIBs on other children in Israel over a 10-year period. Comparing victims with and without SIB records revealed differences on personal and family factors as well as on the characteristics of abuse. A regression model controlling for age and family factors correctly classified over three quarters of the subjects based on reported experiences of abuse. The data help identify characteristics of the abuse that facilitate the early onset of SIB among male victims of CSA.

Lee, R. D., Walters, M. L., Hall, J. E., & Basile, K. C. (2013). Behavioral and attitudinal factors differentiating male intimate partner violence perpetrators with and without a history of childhood family violence. *Journal of Family Violence*, 28(1), 85-94. DOI:10.1007/s10896-012-9475-8

This study utilized a sample of men (N=340) charged with assault against a female partner to assess differences among IPV perpetrators with and without a history of childhood family violence on factors such as angry, controlling and violent behaviors, substance use related behaviors, and attitudes towards women. Over two-thirds of the sample reported childhood exposure to maltreatment or witnessing IPV. Chi-square analyses and t-tests indicated significant differences between perpetrators with and without a history of family violence on eight of eleven measures. Findings suggest perpetrators with a family violence history more strongly endorse ideas that present women and feminine attributes in a negative light. This research demonstrates that while exposure to family violence during childhood is not necessary for IPV to occur, its presence may be a marker for more severe attitudinal and behavioral problems. Findings highlight the need for primary prevention efforts and can inform secondary prevention strategies.

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.

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 non-maltreated 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.

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.

Burton, D. L., Duty, K. J., & Leibowitz, G. S. (2011). [Differences between sexually victimized and non-sexually victimized male adolescent sexual abusers: Developmental antecedents and behavioral comparisons](#). *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse*, 20(1), 77-93. DOI:10.1080/10538712.2011.541010

This study compares sexually victimized and nonsexually victimized male adolescent sexual abusers on a number of variables. Self-report measures were administered to 325 male

sexually abusive youth (average age 16) in six residential facilities in the Midwest, 55% of whom reported sexual victimization. The results indicate that the sexually victimized sexual abusers have more severe developmental antecedents (trauma, family characteristics, early exposure to pornography and personality) and recent behavioral difficulties (characteristics of sexual aggression, sexual arousal, use of pornography, and nonsexual criminal behavior) than the nonsexually victimized group. Results are contrasted with recent typological research, which found no relationship between sexual victimization and subtype membership. Treatment, research, and theoretical implications are discussed.

Rasmussen, L. A. (2011). [Victim and victimizer: The role of traumatic experiences as risk factors for sexually abusive behavior](#). *The Israel Journal of Psychiatry and Related Sciences*, 49(4), 270-279.

The Victim to Victimizer paradigm purports to explain the connection between being a victim of sexual abuse and becoming a perpetrator, attributing sexually abusive behavior to a predictable cycle of cognitive distortions and self-destructive and/or abusive behaviors. Integration of two ecological models, Trauma Outcome Process Assessment and Family Lovemap provides a more comprehensive explanation of salient contributors to sexually abusive behavior in youth (i.e., trauma). A case example illustrates the parallel Trauma Outcome Process in a victim, and the victim's perpetrator, identifying protective factors beneficial for trauma recovery.

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.

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.

Jespersen, A. F., Lalumière, M. L., & Seto, M. C. (2009). Sexual abuse history among adult sex offenders and non-sex offenders: A meta-analysis. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 33(3), 179-192. DOI:10.1016/j.chiabu.2008.07.004

The sexually abused–sexual abuser hypothesis states there is a specific relationship between sexual abuse history and sexual offending, such that individuals who experience sexual abuse are significantly more likely to later engage in sexual offenses. Therefore, samples of adult sex offenders should contain a disproportionate number of individuals who have experienced sexual abuse, but not necessarily other types of abuse, compared with samples of other types of offenders. We compared rates of sexual and other forms of abuse reported in 17 studies, involving 1,037 sex offenders and 1,762 non-sex offenders. We also examined the prevalence of different forms of abuse in 15 studies that compared adult sex offenders against adults ($n = 962$) and against children ($n = 1,334$), to determine if the sexually abused–sexual abuser association is even more specific to individuals who sexually offend against children. We observed a higher prevalence of sexual abuse history among adult sex offenders than among non-sex offenders (Odds Ratio = 3.36, 95% confidence intervals of 2.23–4.82). The two groups did not significantly differ with regard to physical abuse history ($OR = 1.50$, 95% CI = 0.88–2.56). There was a significantly lower prevalence of sexual abuse history among sex offenders against adults compared to sex offenders against children ($OR = 0.51$, 95% CI = 0.35–0.74), whereas the opposite was found for physical abuse ($OR = 1.43$, 95% CI = 1.02–2.02). There is support for the sexually abused–sexual abuser hypothesis, in that sex offenders are more likely to have been sexually abused than non-sex offenders, but not more likely to have been physically abused. We discuss potential mechanisms for the relationship between sexual abuse history and sexual offending, including the possibility that a third factor might account for the relationship. The most obvious implications of these findings is that the prevention of sexual abuse of children, either through prevention programs directly targeting children or through treatment programs targeting individuals who are likely to

sexually offend against children (e.g., known sex offenders against extra-familial boys), may eventually reduce the number of sex offenders. This implication is dependent, however, on a causal role of childhood sexual abuse, and on the effectiveness of prevention and treatment practices.

Connolly, M., & Woollons, R. (2008). Childhood sexual experience and adult offending: An exploratory comparison of three criminal groups. *Child Abuse Review*, 17(2), 119-132. DOI:10.1002/car.1019

The study explored the links between adult offending and exploitative sexual experiences during childhood. A questionnaire was administered to three criminal groups (child molesters, rapists and non-sexual offenders) with the aim of investigating the statistical relationships between the men's early childhood sexual experiences. The sample comprised a total of 125 males. Fifty-eight were in prison for non-sexual crimes, 23 were serving sentences for rape and the remaining 44 were undergoing therapeutic treatment for their child molestation crime at a special treatment programme within the prison. Significant differences were found across the groups with respect to family context: education, subsequent occupation, religious family background and levels of abuse experienced during childhood. The two sex offending groups reported higher levels of physical and sexual abuse. The rapists reported significantly higher levels of emotional abuse and neglect. The child molester group was more likely to report both consenting and non-consenting activity with other children and there was significance across the range of sexual behaviours. Higher abuse reporting by the child molester and rapist groups suggests that early experience may influence developmental trajectories and offending pathways.

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.

Christopher, K., Lutz-Zois, C. J., & Reinhardt, A. R. (2007). Female sexual-offenders: Personality pathology as a mediator of the relationship between childhood sexual abuse history and sexual abuse perpetration against others. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 31(8), 871-883. DOI:10.1016/j.chiabu.2007.02.006

The goal was to examine, in an all female sample, possible mechanisms for the relationship between a history of childhood sexual abuse and the likelihood of perpetrating sexual abuse as an adult. It was hypothesized that Borderline and Antisocial Personality Disorder tendencies would mediate the relationship between these two forms of abuse. One hundred forty two female participants (61 sex-offenders and 81 non-sex offenders) were recruited from a woman's prison in the Midwest. The participants completed measures that included a childhood history of sexual abuse, socially desirable responding, primary and secondary psychopathy, and Borderline Personality Disorder tendencies. Participants in the sexual-offender group reported more frequent instances of childhood sexual abuse ($p < .05$, $M = 16.4$, $SD = 7.2$) than participants in the non-sex offender group ($M = 12.2$, $SD = 7.7$). Consistent with past research, childhood sexual abuse was related to Borderline Personality Disorder tendencies ($r = .36$, $p < .01$). However, discriminant function analyses did not reveal support for our mediational hypotheses. Finally, the results indicated that participants in the sexual-offender group experienced childhood sexual abuse for a greater duration of time ($p < .05$, $M = 27.8$, $SD = 20.5$ months) than participants in the non-sex offender group ($M = 16.6$, $SD = 10.4$). This study replicated previous research

conducted on all male samples suggesting that the nature of the sexual abuse suffered in childhood is an important variable in predicting future sexual abuse perpetration.

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.

Murrell, A. R., Christoff, K. A., & Henning, K. R. (2007). Characteristics of domestic violence offenders: Associations with childhood exposure to violence. *Journal of Family Violence*, 22(7), 523-532. DOI:10.1007/s10896-007-9100-4

Many women are abused by intimate partners, millions of children witness such acts, and many of these children are physically abused. Children who are exposed to violence often evidence difficulties, including violent behavior, as adults. One hypothesized mode of intergenerational transmission is modeling. There is evidence that witnessing and/or experiencing violence are related to different patterns of abusive behavior and, perhaps, psychopathology, but the extent of the relationship is unclear. This study examined differences in generality, frequency, and severity of violent offenses, nonviolent criminal behavior, and psychopathology within a battering population of 1,099 adult males with varying levels of exposure to violence as children. Generality, frequency, and severity of violence and psychopathology all increased as level of childhood exposure to violence increased. Modeling theory was supported by the findings that men who witnessed domestic violence as children committed the most frequent domestic violence, and men who were abused as children were more likely to abuse children. Men who were abused also committed more general violence.

Salzinger, S., Rosario, M., & Feldman, R. S. (2007). Physical child abuse and adolescent violent delinquency: The mediating and moderating roles of personal relationships. *Child Maltreatment*, 12(3), 208-219. DOI:10.1177/1077559507301839

Adolescent personal relationships with parents and peers are studied for their mediating and moderating roles in the effect of preadolescent physical abuse on adolescent violent delinquency. One hundred physically abused preadolescents and 100 matched non-abused classmates were studied at 10 and 16 years. Adolescent attachment to parents and verbal and physical abuse in relationships with parents during adolescence mediated between preadolescent abuse and later violent delinquency. Friends' delinquency in adolescence and verbal and physical abuse with best friends in adolescence moderated the relationship between early abuse and later violent delinquency. Low levels of delinquency among friends significantly decreased risk for violent delinquent outcome for abused as contrasted to non-abused adolescents. Abusive behavior with best friends exacerbated risk for violent

delinquent outcome more for abused than for non-abused adolescents. Attachment to friends was not found to play a significant role in the relationship between childhood abuse and adolescent violent delinquency.

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. © 2005 Elsevier Ltd. All rights reserved.

Loh, C., & Gidycz, C. A. (2006). A prospective analysis of the relationship between childhood sexual victimization and perpetration of dating violence and sexual assault in adulthood. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 21*(6), 732-749.
DOI:10.1177/0886260506287313

The majority of studies evaluating the relationship between childhood sexual assault and subsequent sexual assault perpetration by men have been conducted retrospectively and with incarcerated populations. The present study seeks to improve on previous research by prospectively investigating the relationship between childhood sexual assault and subsequent perpetration of dating violence in adulthood in men. Although there is a significant relationship between childhood sexual abuse and history of sexual assault perpetration at baseline, prospective analyses indicate that childhood sexual assault is not predictive of perpetration during the follow-up period. The role of family factors, including parental conflict resolution, is implicated in subsequent sexual aggression. These results are supportive of the idea that the effects of childhood sexual abuse may be mediated by a variety of factors.

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.

Knight, R. A., & Sims-Knight, J. E. (2005). Testing an etiological model for male juvenile sexual offending against females. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse, 13*(3-4), 33-55. DOI:10.1300/J070v13n03_03

Research on the origin of sexual aggression has identified several important contributing factors: (a) early abuse (physical and sexual), (b) personality/behavioral traits (callousness and unemotionality, antisocial behavior/impulsivity, and hypersexuality), and (c) attitudinal/cognitive variables (negative masculinity, hostility toward women, misogynistic fantasies). We developed and tested an etiological model of sexual coercion on adult samples of sexual offenders and community controls. The model proposes three major causal pathways to sexual coercion. Using data gathered from a computerized interview, we employed this same model to predict sexually coercive behavior in a sample of 218 juvenile sexual offenders. The cross-sample consistency of the model provides support for a unified theory of sexual aggression against women.

Righthand, S., & Welch, C. (2005). Characteristics of youth who sexually offend. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse, 13*(3-4), 15-32. DOI:10.1300/j070v13n03_02

Sexual abuse by juveniles is widely recognized as a significant problem. As communities have become more aware of juvenile sex offending they have responded with increasingly severe responses. This is despite recidivism data suggesting that a relatively small group of juveniles commit repeat sexual offenses after there has been an official response to their sexual offending. Research has shown that juveniles who commit sexual offenses are a heterogeneous mix, varying according to a wide range of variables. This article provides an overview of the characteristics of youths who have committed sex offenses. Factors that will be discussed include types of offending behaviors, family environment, histories of child maltreatment, social skills and interpersonal relationships, sexual knowledge and experiences, academic and cognitive functioning, and mental health.

Wall, A. E., & Barth, R. P. (2005). Aggressive and delinquent behavior of maltreated adolescents: Risk factors and gender differences. *Stress, Trauma, and Crisis*, 8(1), 1-24. DOI:10.1080/15434610490888081

Data from a national probability sample of children assessed following child maltreatment reports were examined to identify child- and parent-level risk factors that are predictive of aggression and delinquency for maltreated youth and to identify gender differences. Subjects were aged 11 to 15 years ($n = 739$). Males reported greater caregiver relatedness and lower parental monitoring than females. Aggression and delinquency were predicted by age, below-average social skills, a low sense of caregiver relatedness, and being female. Interventions that target social skills and parenting may remedy some behaviors. Future research will examine this sample longitudinally and in greater detail.

Burton, D. L. (2003). [Male adolescents: Sexual victimization and subsequent sexual abuse](#). *Child and Adolescent Social Work Journal*, 20(4), 277-296. DOI:10.1023/A:1024556909087

Veneziano, Veneziano and LeGrand (2000) found support for the victim to victimizer hypothesis of sexual aggression with 74 sexually abusive youth. This project, a further step in examining this theory (Burton, 2000, Burton, Miller, & Shill, 2002) builds on their ideas with data from 179 adolescent sexual abusers, and supports their findings. In an examination of relationships, gender, modus operandi, and acts, the sexually abused youth were likely to repeat what was done to them. This project also offers a further analysis of how victimization accounts for a significant portion of the variance in perpetration by these youth. Implications for research and practice are offered.

Herrenkohl, T. I., Huang, B., Tajima, E. A., & Whitney, S. B. (2003). Examining the link between child abuse and youth violence: An analysis of mediating mechanisms. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 18(10), 1189-1208. DOI:10.1177/0886260503255558

This study investigates several factors as possible mediators of physical child abuse in the prediction of violence among adolescents. Prospective and retrospective measures of abuse

are compared in mediation tests. Data are from the Lehigh Longitudinal Study, a prospective study of 457 children followed from preschool into adolescence. Structural equation models examined the degree to which abuse is mediated in the prediction of violence through youths' bonds to family, commitment to school, involvement with antisocial peers during adolescence, and attitudes about the use of violence. The model included measures of family socioeconomic status and youths' gender and age as controls on violence. Findings suggest that abuse (whether measured prospectively or retrospectively) is heavily mediated in its prediction of later violence and that a sizeable proportion of variance is accounted for in the violence outcome. A fuller pattern of mediation was shown when the retrospective abuse variable was modeled.

Salter, D., McMillan, D., Richards, M., Talbot, T., Hodges, J., Bentovim, A., Hastings, R., Stevenson, J., & Skuse, D. (2003). Development of sexually abusive behaviour in sexually victimised males: A longitudinal study. *The Lancet*, 361(9356), 471-476. DOI:10.1016/S0140-6736(03)12466-X

Sexual maltreatment is one of the most common forms of child abuse. To identify risk factors for sexually abusive behaviour by adults, we prospectively assessed childhood experiences and personal characteristics of male child victims who became abusers in later life. In a longitudinal study (7–19 years duration), we included 224 former male victims of sexual abuse. Risk factors contemporaneous with the abuse, and putative protective influences, were identified from social service and clinical records. Evidence of later criminal acts was obtained from a nationwide search of official records. Of the 224 former victims, 26 had subsequently committed sexual offences (victim-abusers), in almost all cases with children, mainly outside their families. Risk factors during childhood for later offending included material neglect (odds ratio 3·4, 95% CI 1·2–9·7), lack of supervision (3·0, 1·1–8·3), and sexual abuse by a female person (3·0, 1·1–8·7). Victim-abusers had more frequently witnessed serious intrafamilial violence (3·1, 1·0–10·0). Six (29%) of 21 victim-abusers on whom we had relevant data had been cruel to animals (7·9, 2·0–31·4). No single putative protective factor, nor a composite protective index, significantly reduced the risk of paedophilic behaviour. Most male victims of child sexual abuse do not become paedophiles, but particular experiences and patterns of childhood behaviour are associated with an

increased risk of victims becoming abusers in later life. Our findings have implications for the design of selective interventions with a vulnerable subgroup of male victims, aimed at reducing the risk of paedophilic behaviour in later life.

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.

Burton, D., Miller, D. & Shill, C.T. (2002). A social learning theory comparison of the sexual victimization of adolescent sexual offenders and non-sexual offending male delinquents. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 26(9), 893-907. DOI:10.1016/S0145-2134(02)00360-5

This paper tests hypotheses based on Garland and Dougher's (1990) formulation of the "victim to victimizer" relationship which is a social learning theory etiological approach to adolescent sexual offending. Two hundred sixteen adolescent sexually victimized sexual offenders and 93 adolescent sexually victimized nonsexual offending delinquents from three Michigan sexual offender treatment facilities participated in an anonymous cross-sectional survey regarding their sexual victimization and offending as well as a social desirability measure. When comparing the two groups, nonsexually offending delinquents and sexually offending delinquents, the latter were found to have: closer relationships with their perpetrators; a higher chance of having a male perpetrator(s); a longer duration of sexual victimization; more forceful sexual victimization; and the experience of penetration as part of their sexual victimization. Logistic regression showed that the gender of the perpetrators

being both male and female and the forcefulness of the perpetrators were the best predictors of being in the sexual offender group. The social learning theory hypotheses were generally supported. Further multivariate research on this theory is warranted.

English, D. J., Widom, C. S., & Brandford, C. (2002). [Childhood victimization and delinquency, adult criminality, and violent criminal behavior: A replication and extension](#) (NCJRS 192291). National Institute of Justice.

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 mediating variables that lead from maltreatment to criminality. This review summarizes investigations related to the cycle of violence, discusses the mediating circumstances that may affect the cycle, and identifies whether or not these processes are similar for women and men.

Glasser, M., Kolvin, I., Campbell, D., Glasser, A., Leitch, I., & Farrelly, S. (2001). Cycle of child sexual abuse: Links between being a victim and becoming a perpetrator. *The British Journal of Psychiatry*, 179(6), 482-494. DOI:10.1192/bjp.179.6.482

There is widespread belief in a ‘cycle’ of child sexual abuse, but little empirical evidence for this belief. To identify perpetrators of such abuse who had been victims of paedophilia and/or incest, in order to: ascertain whether subjects who had been victims become perpetrators of such abuse; compare characteristics of those who had and had not been victims; and review

psychodynamic ideas thought to underlie the behaviour of perpetrators. Retrospective clinical case note review of 843 subjects attending a specialist forensic psychotherapy centre. Among 747 males the risk of being a perpetrator was positively correlated with reported sexual abuse victim experiences. The overall rate of having been a victim was 35% for perpetrators and 11% for non-perpetrators. Of the 96 females, 43% had been victims but only one was a perpetrator. A high percentage of male subjects abused in childhood by a female relative became perpetrators. Having been a victim was a strong predictor of becoming a perpetrator, as was an index of parental loss in childhood. The data support the notion of a victim-to-victimiser cycle in a minority of male perpetrators but not among the female victims studied. Sexual abuse by a female in childhood may be a risk factor for a cycle of abuse in males.

Worling, J.R. (2001). Personality-based typology of adolescent male sexual offenders: Differences in recidivism rates, victim-selection characteristics, and personal victimization histories. *Sexual Abuse*, 13(3), 149-166.
DOI:10.1023/A:1009518532101

California Psychological Inventory scores from 112 adolescent male sexual offenders aged 12–19 ($M = 15.59$, $SD = 1.46$) were examined. A cluster analysis of factor-derived scores revealed four personality-based subgroups: Antisocial/Impulsive, Unusual/Isolated, Overcontrolled/Reserved, and Confident/Aggressive. Significant differences were observed between groups regarding history of physical abuse, parental marital status, residence of the offenders, and whether or not offenders received criminal charges for their index sexual assaults. Subgroup membership was unrelated to victim age, victim gender, and offenders' history of sexual victimization. Recidivism data (criminal charges) were collected for a period ranging from 2 to 10 years ($M = 6.23$, $SD = 2.02$). Offenders in the two more pathological groups (Antisocial/Impulsive and Unusual/Isolated) were most likely to be charged with a subsequent violent (sexual or nonsexual) or nonviolent offense. The four-group typology based solely on personality functioning is remarkably similar to that found by W. R. Smith, C. Monastersky, and R. M. Deisher in 1987 from their cluster analysis of MMPI scores. In addition to implications for risk prediction, the present typology is suggestive of differential etiological pathways and treatment needs.

Hummel, P., Thömke, V., Oldenburger, H. A., & Specht, F. (2000). Male adolescent sex offenders against children: Similarities and differences between those offenders with and those without a history of sexual abuse. *Journal of Adolescence*, 23(3), 305-317. DOI:10.1006/jado.2000.0316

This study compares a defined sample of male adolescents ($n=36$) with regard to their personal development, family characteristics and the types of offence they committed. Adolescent sex offenders with ($n=16$) and without ($n=20$) a history of sexual abuse who had offended against children were investigated during ongoing criminal proceedings by means of questionnaires and intelligence tests. The most important characteristic that distinguishes the two groups from each other is the more frequent absence of the parents of adolescents who committed sexual offences against children and had a history of sexual abuse. The consequences to be drawn from these results with regard to aggressive sexual delinquency in adolescence are discussed and suggestions are made with regard to further avenues of investigation.

Hunter, J., & Figueredo, A. (2000). The influence of personality and history of sexual victimization in the prediction of juvenile perpetrated child molestation. *Behavior Modification*, 24(2), 241-263. DOI:10.1177/0145445500242005

Structural equation modeling was used to delineate the relationship between sexual victimization and personality variables in the prediction of patterns of child molestation in adolescent males. Two hundred thirty-five adolescents, representing subsamples of sexually victimized and non-victimized, perpetrating and non-perpetrating, and emotionally maladjusted and non-maladjusted youths, participated in the study. Juvenile child molesters were found to have more pessimistic explanatory styles and deficits in self-sufficiency relative to nonoffending youths. A younger age at time of victimization, a greater number of incidents, a longer period of waiting to report the abuse, and a lower level of perceived family support post-revelation of the abuse were found to be predictive of subsequent sexual perpetration. Implications for treatment are discussed.

Siegel, J. A. (2000). Aggressive behavior among women sexually abused as children. *Violence and Victims, 15*(3), 235-255.

Although research shows that sexually abused children appear to be at risk of subsequent aggressive behavior, few investigations address whether such behavior persists beyond childhood. This research describes the self-reported adolescent and adult fighting behavior of 136 women sexually abused as children and examines the role of intervening variables in the risk of such behavior. The women are part of a longitudinal study of 206 primarily low-income, urban women whose abuse was documented at the time it occurred. Fighting was common, particularly during adolescence. Adult aggression was strongly associated with being a victim of violence by an intimate partner. A history of exposure to other forms of violence significantly increased the risk of fighting while strong maternal attachments mitigated the risk, primarily by reducing the likelihood of involvement in an abusive intimate relationship.

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.

Widom, C. S., & White, H. R. (1997). Problem behaviours in abused and neglected children grown up: Prevalence and co-occurrence of substance abuse, crime and violence. *Criminal Behaviour and Mental Health*, 7(4), 287-310.
DOI:10.1002/cbm.191

This paper describes the prevalence of and patterns of overlap among four problem behaviours (alcohol abuse, drug abuse, non-violent crime and violence) in abused and neglected children grown up. Using data from a prospective cohort design study, abused and neglected children were matched with a control group and followed up into adulthood (n = 1190). After controlling for parental alcohol and drug problems, parental arrest, childhood poverty and ethnicity, we found that abused and neglected females, but not males, are at significantly higher risk for substance abuse/dependence diagnoses and arrests for violent crimes than control group subjects. Abused and neglected males and females, as compared with controls, have higher rates of comorbidity for substance abuse and non-violent arrests. Abused and neglected females are at greater risk for comorbidity for substance abuse and violent arrests as well, as compared with control females. Overall, the results reveal gender differences in the consequences of childhood victimisation.

Cooper, C. L., Murphy, W. D., & Haynes, M. R. (1996). Characteristics of abused and non-abused adolescent sex offenders. *Sexual Abuse*, 8(2), 105-120.
DOI:10.1007/BF02258004

The current study was designed to provide further information on characteristics of adolescent sexual offenders who have and have not experienced abuse. The subjects were approximately 300 adolescent offenders seen in a clinical treatment program. Abused and non-abused adolescent offenders were compared on a number of offense-specific variables and standardized instruments including the MMPI, Interpersonal Behavior Survey, Family Adaptation and Cohesion Evaluation Scale, and Self-Reported Delinquent Behavior Checklist. Results indicated that those offenders who were sexually abused had an earlier onset of their offending, had more victims, were likely to abuse both males and females, and tended to show more psychopathology and interpersonal problems, although no differences were found in terms of self-reported delinquent behavior or family functioning. The data are discussed in terms of their possible etiological significance and clinical implications.

Dhawan, S., & Marshall, W. (1996). Sexual abuse histories of sexual offenders. *Sexual Abuse*, 8(1), 7-15. DOI:10.1177/107906329600800102

A comparison of sexual abuse histories of sexual offender and nonsexual offender inmates was undertaken. Sixty-five male subjects were interviewed and given questionnaires regarding their own sexual abuse histories and their family backgrounds. Eighteen of 29 rapists (62%), 8 of 16 child molesters (50%), and 4 of 20 nonsexual offender inmates (20%) were classified as having been sexually abused, with sexual offenders being more likely to report having been abused. A history of sexual abuse appears to be an important factor in the backgrounds of sexual offenders and it was found to be associated with other aspects of a disturbed family background.

Fedoroff, J. P., & Pinkus, S. (1996). The genesis of pedophilia: Testing the “Abuse-to Abuser” hypothesis. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, 23(3-4), 85-101. DOI:10.1300/J076v23n03_06

Many male sex offenders against children say they themselves were sexually abused in childhood. This observation has supported several variations of what has come to be known as the “abuse-to-abuser hypothesis.” This study tested three versions of the abuse-to-abuser hypothesis: (a) the age men are abused determines the age of their sexual victims; (b) sexually abused men are likely to reenact the type of abuse they experienced; (c) men who were sexually abused as children are more likely to sexually abuse same-sexed victims. A consecutive series was retrospectively reviewed consisting of 100 men accused of sexually abusing children. Subjects completed a standardized, semi-structured interview. Men with personal histories of sexual abuse (Assaulted offenders) and men without sexual abuse histories (Non-Assaulted offenders) were compared in terms of victim age, type of offense, and sex of victim using t-tests, correlation coefficients and Chi-square tests. Twenty percent of the sample reported past childhood sexual abuse. There were no significant differences between the personal age of abuse of Assaulted offenders, victim ages of Assaulted offenders, or victim ages of Non-Assaulted offenders (mean age was approximately 8 years in each case). There was a statistically non-significant trend for offenders who were genitally assaulted as children to be more likely as adults to commit genital assaults on children. There

was no significant difference between Assaulted offenders and other offenders in terms of frequency of male victims. However, significantly more offenders who denied pedophilic interests also denied childhood histories of sexual assault. This study found no support for an association between age of abuse of the offender and that offenders' victim. The nature of the relationship between seriousness of the offenders' own abuse and the seriousness of their offenses needs further study. Sexually assaulted offenders are no more likely to abuse boys than Non-Assaulted offenders. However, sexually assaulted offenders may be more willing to admit to pedophilic fantasies than non-assaulted offenders. Implications for the “abuse-to-abuser” hypothesis are discussed.

Graham, K. R. (1996). The childhood victimization of sex offenders: An underestimated issue. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 40(3), 192-203. DOI:10.1177/0306624X9604000303

The childhood victimization of sex offenders was investigated. The victimization experiences were recorded from a treatment milieu for sex offenders. Two hundred and eighty-six offenders were involved in the study. Comparisons were done between groups to determine relationships between alienation, dissociation, social desirability, and victimization experiences. Seventy percent of the sample admitted to being sexually abused as a child, 50% admitted to physical abuse. Offenders who were both sexually and physically abused reported feeling more alienated than other offenders. Offenders who were physically abused by both parents reported higher levels of dissociation and offenders who reported no abuse also were highest in social desirability. The importance of working with the offenders' childhood victimization experience is discussed.

Kaplan, M. S., & Green, A. (1995). Incarcerated female sexual offenders: A comparison of sexual histories with eleven female nonsexual offenders. *Sexual Abuse*, 7(4), 287-300. DOI:10.1007/BF02256833

Although there is a body of literature on male sexual offenders, there is a paucity of data on female sexual offenders. In this study, 11 incarcerated female sexual offenders against children were matched with a comparison group of 11 female offenders incarcerated for

nonsexual crimes regarding their own prior sexual and physical victimization experiences and sexual histories. Results indicated that the sexual offenders demonstrated a higher incidence of childhood sexual abuse and were victimized exclusively within the family. The sexual offender group also demonstrated a higher incidence of physical abuse. Additional descriptions of psychiatric status are presented. In comparing sex histories between groups, the sexual offenders reported that most sexual activity was initiated at later ages than the nonsexual offenders. Although the sample is small, there also were differences within the groups. The sexually abused sexual offenders had a later age of first masturbation, first orgasm, and satisfaction with adult partners. Prior victimization, regardless of group, played a common role in preventing sexual satisfaction in adulthood. Regarding the sexual offenses, there was a great deal of denial and minimization as well as denial of atypical sexual fantasy. Both groups were given a self-report sexual interest card sort. Four offenders from each group endorsed various atypical sexual scenes. A case study is presented to illustrate the complex nature of a female sexual offender in this study. Recommendations for future research in the assessment of female sexual offenders are discussed.

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.

Bagley, C., Wood, M., & Young, L. (1994). Victim to abuser: Mental health and behavioral sequels of child sexual abuse in a community survey of young adult males. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 18(8), 683-697. DOI:10.1016/0145-2134(94)90018-3

Respondents in a stratified random sample of 750 males aged 18 to 27 in Calgary, Canada were asked to recall unwanted sexual contacts occurring before their 17th birthday: 117 (15.6%) had experienced one or more unwanted sexual contacts. Those recalling multiple events of abuse (52 individuals, 6.9% of all respondents) were distinguished from other respondents at a statistically significant level on the following indicators: emotional abuse in childhood, higher rates of current or recent depression, anxiety, suicidal feelings and behavior, and current sexual interest in or actual behavior involving minors. The combination of emotional abuse in the respondent's childhood with multiple events of sexual abuse was a relatively good predictor of both poor mental health, and later sexual interest in or sexual contact with children. Eight apparently active pedophiles were identified, using a computer response system that assured anonymity. This study underscores the need for preventive measures, and the prompt identification and treatment of victims before they enter the victim-to-abuser cycle.

Green, A. H., & Kaplan, M. S. (1994). Psychiatric impairment and childhood victimization experiences in female child molesters. *Journal of the American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry*, 33(7), 954-961. DOI:10.1097/00004583-199409000-00004

To assess psychiatric impairment and childhood victimization experiences in female child molesters. Eleven incarcerated female child molesters were compared to 11 women imprisoned for nonsexual offenses as to their psychiatric diagnoses based on interviews with the Structured Clinical Interview for DSM-III-R, Outpatient Version (SCID-OP), the SCID II for Personality Disorders, and the Harvard-Upjohn Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) Interview. A family and sexual history with a description of childhood victimization experiences was also obtained by using the Wyatt Sexual History Questionnaire. The majority of the subjects in each group exhibited major depression, alcohol/substance abuse, and PTSD, but the sexual offenders demonstrated more psychiatric impairment on the Global Assessment of Functioning Scale on the SCID-OP. The sexual offenders demonstrated a higher incidence of childhood physical and sexual abuse within the family than the

comparison group, and these victimization experiences were more severe and more frequently associated with PTSD. The sexual offenders and the comparison women described negative relationships with parents and caretakers, and with spouses or boyfriends. However, the sexual offenders perceived their parents as more abusive, while the comparison women regarded their parents as more neglecting. Incarcerated female child molesters exhibited greater psychiatric impairment and more intra-familial physical and sexual abuse than a comparison group of women imprisoned for nonsexual offenses.

Dutton, D. G., & Hart, S. D. (1992). Evidence for long-term, specific effects of childhood abuse and neglect on criminal behaviour in men. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 36(2), 129-137.
DOI:10.1177/0306624X9203600205

We reviewed the extensive institutional files of 604 male federal inmates to determine the impact of various types of childhood abuse and neglect on violent and aggressive behavior in adulthood. Men who had been abused as children were three times more likely than non-abused men to engage in violent acts as adults. Moreover, specific forms of childhood abuse were associated with specific (and isomorphic) patterns of adult violence; for example, those who were physically abused were most likely to be physically violent, and those who were sexually abused were most likely to be sexually violent. These results are consistent with the cycle of violence hypothesis, which states that those who experience childhood abuse become more likely to abuse others as adults, probably due to vicarious learning through exposure to violent models.

Lewis, D. O. (1992). [From abuse to violence: Psychophysiological consequences of maltreatment](#). *Journal of the American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry*, 31(3), 383-391. DOI:10.1097/00004583-199205000-00001

This paper reviews the psychophysiological literature related to violent behaviors. It explores the interactions of environmental influences, pain, stressors, hormones, and neurotransmitters. It presents ways in which maltreatment in the form of abuse or neglect exacerbates preexisting psychobiological vulnerabilities. It proposes that whatever forces

increase impulsivity and irritability, engender hypervigilance and paranoia, diminish judgment and verbal competence, and curtail the recognition of pain in the self and others, will enhance violence, and presents evidence that maltreatment has all of these effects.

Freund, K., Watson, R., & Dickey, R. (1990). Does sexual abuse in childhood cause pedophilia: An exploratory study. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 19(6), 557-568.
DOI:10.1007/BF01542465

The reliability of the notion that pedophilia is caused by sexual abuse in childhood was explored by examining retrospective self-reports of 344 males. Included in the study were 77 heterosexual pedophiles, 54 homosexual pedophiles, 51 nonpedophilic sex offenders against children, 36 sex offenders against physically mature females, 75 heterosexual paid volunteers who erotically preferred mature females, and 51 homosexual clients who preferred mature males. For each sex offender the differential diagnosis of an erotic preference for minors vs. a preference for physically mature partners was made by means of the phallometric test of erotic gender and age preferences. The analysis of self-reports confirmed that the proportion of pedophiles who report having been sexually abused in childhood by mature persons is larger than that of men who were not charged for or accused of a sex offense against a child though the difference is relatively small (28.6 vs. 13.9 and 10.7% for the heterosexual pedophiles and the two groups of gynephiles, respectively, and 25.9 vs. 11.8% for the homosexual pedophiles and androphiles, respectively). Further analysis demonstrated, however, that pedophiles who admitted having an erotic interest in children significantly more often claimed that they had been sexually abused as children than pedophiles who did not admit having such feelings. This interdependence renders the reliability of these self-reports questionable.

Garland, R. J., & Dougher, M. J. (1990). The abused/abuser hypothesis of child sexual abuse: A critical review of theory and research. In J. Feierman (Ed.), *Pedophilia: Biosocial dimensions* (pp. 488-509). Springer. DOI:10.1007/978-1-4613-9682-6_20

A widespread belief among the general public and professionals alike is that “sexual abuse causes sexual abuse” (Finkelhor et al., 1986; Kempe and Kempe, 1984; Lanyon, 1986). That is, sexually abused children and adolescents who have engaged in sexual behavior with an adult (or a significantly older adolescent) are commonly thought to be at risk in later years of themselves becoming sexually involved with children and adolescents. This belief is referred to here as the “abused/abuser hypothesis of child and adolescent sexual abuse.”

Becker, J. V. (1988). The effect of child sexual abuse on adolescent sexual offenders. In G. E. Wyatt, & G. J. Powell (Eds.), *Lasting effects of child sexual abuse* (pp. 193-207). Sage Publications.

Two areas that have received little attention are male child victims of sexual abuse and adolescent sexual offenders. This chapter will address both those issues and the increasing evidence that a relationship may exist between a history of sexual victimization and the development of a deviant sexual interest pattern. Differential sex disclosing patterns and characteristics of juvenile sex offenders with a history of prior victimization are discussed.

Garbarino, J., & Plantz, M. (1986). Child abuse and juvenile delinquency: What are the links? In J. Garbarino, C. Schellenbach, & J. Sebes (Eds.), *Troubled youth, troubled families* (pp. 27-39). Routledge.

This chapter covers empirical tests of an association between child maltreatment and juvenile delinquency. Retrospective studies of juvenile delinquents consistently have found that these youth experienced maltreatment at rates much higher than the general population. The chapter discusses methodological problems and non-comparability issues that are associated with much of the research in this area. A problem associated with many of the retrospective studies of delinquents is their use of reports from the juveniles themselves to identify child abuse or neglect in the histories of juvenile offenders. One formulation of the relationship

holds that it is not just abuse but severe physical punishment, whether termed abuse or not, that is linked to later delinquent behavior. The possibility that certain stressful family situations or characteristics press toward both maltreatment and delinquent behavior by family members would seem to be fertile ground for research.