



Child Maltreatment in United States: An Examination of Child Reports and Substantiation Rates*

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Abstract

Child maltreatment represents a serious threat to children's rights and is a grave problem in the US and around the world. It is the second leading cause of death for children in the US. Each year, hundreds of thousands of reports are made to child protective services across the US. A fraction of these reports are made by the alleged victims of child maltreatment. While research into maltreatment reporting has generally focused on adult reporters, research on reports made by children themselves has been largely ignored. Data from a national child maltreatment reporting system were analyzed to first describe and then compare reports of maltreatment made by the alleged child victim to other adult reporters. Results indicated that a minority of self-reports are substantiated by child protective services and that the type of maltreatment most often reported by the alleged child victim differed significantly from other adult reporters. Differences related to the gender, race and ethnicity of the child reporter were also found.

Keywords

child maltreatment; self report; children's rights

Child maltreatment is a major problem in the United States and across the globe. In the U.S., it is the second leading cause of death for children (Felzen, 2002). Each year across the U.S., hundreds of thousands of reports are made to child protective services (CPS). A small percentage of these reports are made by the alleged victims of child maltreatment. While research into maltreatment reporting has generally focused on adult reporters, research on reports made by children

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themselves has been largely ignored. When researchers have attended to self-reports of child maltreatment, they primarily focused on sexual abuse, utilized retrospective accounts of maltreatment, or typically only examined victims with mental health issues or those in trouble with the law (Haapasalo & Moilanen, 2004; Aalsma *et al.*, 2002).

Anytime a report is made to CPS, the credibility of the reporter becomes an issue in determining whether the report is investigated. This is particularly the case when the reporter is a child. Currently, there is a great deal of debate in the legal community regarding the reliability of children as reporters (Everson et al., 2008; Shaffer et al., 2008) as well as witnesses in legal proceedings (Nathanson & Platt, 2005). Research on children's suggestibility have found that even young children can recall important details of incidents they have observed or experienced (Lamb et al., 1994) and the accuracy of the report greatly increases with age and cognitive maturity. Researchers have also found that the report was more likely to be accurate in the cases of physical and sexual abuse compared to other types of maltreatment (Eisen et al., 2007). Another study (Winegar & Lipschitz, 1999) also supports this argument by showing that the self-reports by psychiatrically hospitalized adolescents (aged 11-18 years) on their experiences of maltreatment are highly consistent with a "best estimate" source such as data from child protective service reports, medical records, and clinical interviews. However, Swahn and colleagues (2006) found a lack of concordance between self-reports of child maltreatment and court records of abuse and neglect. That is, they found significantly more retrospective self-reports of child maltreatment than existing court records would predict.

To date, it is unclear whether children's reports of child maltreatment are being investigated or substantiated at the same level as other reporters. In a study examining whether CPS engages in differential response to child maltreatment reports, the American Humane Association and Child Welfare League of America (2006) found that the source of reports was not a factor in determining whether or not a report was investigated. Although such findings appear to suggest that CPS does not discriminate against certain types of reporters, these results appear to conflict with other studies. For example, Kesner (2007) found that children's self-reports of maltreatment were much less likely to be substantiated than those of teachers, lawyers, or medical professionals. Although discrepancies in findings may reflect differences in maltreatment definitions or measurement, they raise concern about how children's self-reported maltreatment is being investigated by CPS.

Children encounter many obstacles that may prevent them from reporting their own maltreatment to authorities. First, and perhaps most obvious, is that it is much more difficult for children to directly access the institutions to which they would make a report. They often have to rely on adult assistance in making contact with CPS. In addition, cognitive and socio-emotional factors may impede children's ability or desire to self-report. For example, research on adult

self-reporters of maltreatment has suggested that the attitudes and emotions of the victim are major factors in whether or not an alleged victim reports maltreatment (Greenberg & Ruback, 1992). These factors may be even more pronounced in child victims. Fear of embarrassment, possible retaliation by the perpetrator, fear of revictimization, fear of being stigmatized, or concern about not being believed, while a challenge for adult self-reporters may be an insurmountable barrier to children self-reporting maltreatment. Finally, as research suggests that maltreated children often display language and cognitive delays (Eigsti & Cicchetti, 2004), it is believed that the official count of childhood victimization is grossly underestimated (Finkelhor & Dziuba-Leatherman, 1994).

Self-reports of maltreatment come from the very individuals for whom the child protection system was designed. Therefore, the children's self-report should be given more serious consideration and greater attention in research on maltreatment. Due to the relevance and importance of children's self-reports, the small percentage of all child maltreatment cases reported to CPS in the U.S. by the alleged victim should be systematically studied. However, aside from keeping a tally of such reports, little attention is given to factors such as the nature of self-reports or how many of these cases are substantiated. Clearly a more critical analysis of contemporaneous self-reports of childhood maltreatment is warranted.

The purpose of this paper is to describe and compare reports made to CPS by the alleged child-victim of maltreatment and those made by other reporters. Data were analyzed to address two research questions. First, what are the demographic and other descriptive features that characterize reports of child maltreatment and substantiated cases of child maltreatment reported by alleged child-victims? Specifically, reports were examined in relation to 1) child demographics (i.e., age, gender and race), 2) the type of maltreatment reported, 3) rates of substantiation, 4) how long CPS took to initiate and then reach a resolution on the report and 5) services provided to the victim upon substantiation. Second, how do the reports made by children compare to other reporter groups? Child self-reports were compared to other professional adult and non-professional adult reporter groups.

Methods

Sample

U.S. Public Law 100-294 passed in 1988 amended the Child Abuse and Prevention Treatment Act of 1974 and required the establishment of a national data collection system on child abuse and neglect. The National Child Abuse and Neglect Data System (NCANDS) was established by the Children's Bureau, an agency of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Administration

for Children and Families, to collect and report national child maltreatment data. States that receive grants under the Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act (CAPTA) are required to submit data to the system each year.

NCANDS 2005, comprised of data from 48 states, were used in these analyses. In 2005 there were 3,461,872 reports made to CPS across the United States. Alaska, Iowa, Maryland, Missouri, New York and North Dakota did not submit information on child reporters in their 2005 data and thus were not included in these analyses. In addition, approximately one-fourth of the reports did not identify a report source and were also removed from the sample. The remaining 2,529,814 reports of alleged child maltreatment were used in these analyses.

Procedures

Three reporter groups were created for analysis and comparison: (1) alleged child victim, (2) professional adult reporters and (3) non-professional adult reporters. Professional adult reporters are those individuals who may have regular professional contact with children and are legally mandated to report suspected child maltreatment (e.g., doctors, psychologists, police, and teachers). The non-professional adult reporter group was comprised of all other adult reporters (e.g., neighbors, other adult family members).

A descriptive profile of cases of alleged maltreatment reported by the child-victim was generated. This profile included demographic information about the alleged victim/reporter (e.g., gender, age, race). Additionally, the alleged victim/reporter's prior history of maltreatment (if any), the percentage of their reports which were substantiated by CPS, and the number of days needed to begin investigation of the report and the number of days necessary to achieve a resolution of the report were also included in the profile. If the report was substantiated, additional information about the type and number of maltreatments substantiated and what services, if any, were provided following substantiation were included. Reports made by the alleged victim/reporter and the other two reporter groups were then compared on certain variables using T-tests. Nominal variables were dummy-coded for use in the T-tests.

Results

Profile for Self-Reporters of Child Maltreatment

The profile of self-reports of alleged maltreatment indicated that the majority of reports came from girls. The average age of self-reporters of maltreatment was 12.8 years. Most self-reports of alleged maltreatment were made by White children. African American children comprised the second largest group of

self-reporters. The remaining reports came from children of some other racial category or the reporter's race was unknown. Hispanic children comprised 10% of these reports.

The majority of self-reports were made by children reporting for the first time, while one-fourth of self-reports of alleged maltreatment came from children with a prior history of maltreatment. Twenty percent of the reports were substantiated by CPS; indicating that maltreatment was occurring. In 6% of the reports CPS made a determination that maltreatment was "indicated" or there was "reason to suspect" that maltreatment was occurring. This means that the available evidence did not meet the legal criteria for CPS to substantiate the report. In .5% of the cases, the child was determined to be a victim through what NCANDS refers to "alternative response disposition". CPS took an average of 3.4 days to begin an investigation when the report was made by the alleged victim and 57.4 days to achieve a final finding or disposition to the report. Finally, in 21% of substantiated cases, a police prosecutor or some other community agency with overlapping jurisdiction was contacted (see Table 1).

The overwhelming majority of substantiated cases of maltreatment reported by the victim involved only one type of maltreatment. For substantiated cases, neglect or deprivation of necessities was the most common type of maltreatment occurring, followed by physical abuse, sexual abuse, and psychological or emotional maltreatment respectively. The remaining cases involved a type of maltreatment that did not fit under the categories listed above.

Sixteen percent of the substantiated cases involved more than one incidence of maltreatment. Similar to trends noted above, multiple maltreatment reports involved neglect as the most common type of maltreatment, followed by physical abuse, psychological or emotional maltreatment and sexual abuse. The remaining cases involved some other type of maltreatment (shown in Table 1).

Comparisons on Reports of Alleged Maltreatment (3 Groups)

To examine differences between the victim self-report group and other adult reporter groups on variables associated with reports of alleged child maltreatment a series of T-tests were conducted. Whenever datasets of this size are used, finding significant differences may become easier and at the same time less meaningful (Cohen & Cohen, 1983). A difference of a few hundredths of a percent may be statistically significant in a sample of over 2 million cases, but be of little practical or meaningful significance. To prevent this, a random sample was drawn from the larger sample among all three reporter groups for use in all inter-reporter comparisons. A sample of 5% of the larger sample was used as this represented a sample size which was small enough to yield statistically significant and meaningful differences, but large enough to ensure adequate representation of each of the three reporter groups (Peat & Barton, 2005). Since the number of reports made

Table 1 Profile for self-reported alleged victims for maltreatment (N=19,218 for total & 953 for 5%)

		N		Percent (%)	
Gender					
Male		8,216	43.0		
Female		10,961	57.0		
Ethnicity					
Čaucasian		11,104	59.2		
African American		5,768	30.7		
Hispanic		1,886	10.0		
Other or unknown		460	0.1		
Prior History of Maltreatment					
Yes		4,515		25.5	
No		12,350	69.8		
Unknown/ missing		841		4.7	
		me Alleged	Alleged Victim w/ Prior History of Maltreatment		
	Victims	(N=12350)	(N=4515)		
	N	Percent (%)	N	Percent (%)	
Types of Maltreatment					
Neglect	6,006	38.2	959	28.4	
Physical abuse	5,001	31.8	877	26.0	
Sexual abuse	1,510	9.6	270	8.0	
Emotional abuse	1,167	7.4	466	13.8	
Medical neglect	209	1.3	82	0.4	
Other	898	5.7	717	21.2	
Unknown/ missing Disposition Level	754	4.8	5	0.1	
Substantiated	2,910	18.7	476	14.1	
Indicated or reason to suspect	721	4.6	245	7.3	
Alternative response victim	90	0.1	0	0	
Unsubstantiated	11,142	71.7	2,488	73.7	
Unsubstantiated due to intentionally false	7	0.1	3	0.1	
Closed-no finding	300	1.9	65	1.9	
Other	330	2.1	72	2.1	

by the alleged victim was relatively small, Levene's Test for Equality of Variances was used (Levene, 1960). When found to be significant, t-test results for unequal variances were used.

Results of the t-test between self-reporters and professional mandated reporters revealed several significant differences. As seen in Table 2, the percentage of reports which were substantiated by CPS was significantly lower for self-reporters compared to professional mandated reporters. These two reporter groups also differed on the type of maltreatment reported. Self-reporters reported more physical abuse and less neglect compared to professional mandated reporters.

Significant differences between self-reporters and professional mandated reporters were also found on a number of key demographic variables. Self-reporters were more likely to be girls compared to professional mandated reporters whose reports involved girls a little over half the time. Self-reporters were also more likely to be African American compared to the children involved in reports made by professional mandated reporters. Self-reports were less likely to come from Asian or Hispanic children as compared to reports made by professional adult mandated reporters.

Table 2 T-test for group comparison by report source

	Type of Report Source			Type of Report Source			
	Mean (%)		T-stat	Mean (%)		T-stat	
	Self-report	Professional	-	Self-report	Non- professional		
N	953	90892		953	34463		
Substantiation Rate	28.02	36.72	5.55**	28.02	23.79	-3.02**	
Type of Maltreatment							
Neglect	32.42	38.87	4.06**	32.42	53.78	13.06**	
Medical neglect	0.94	1.47	1.34	0.94	1.16	.69	
Physical abuse	25.71	20.07	-4.32**	25.71	17.60	-6.46**	
Sexual abuse	7.66	7.31	40	7.66	5.47	-2.92**	
Psychological abuse	4.51	4.43	13	4.51	3.42	-1.83	
Child Gender (boy)	42.12	49.01	4.23**	42.12	49.49	3.94**	
Child Ethnicity							
Caucasian	63.65	60.85	-1.71	63.65	70.07	4.13**	
African-American	30.83	27.04	-2.53*	30.83	24.62	-4.24**	
Hispanic	14.78	23.47	5.37**	14.78	17.06	1.58	
Asian	0.57	1.47	2.23*	0.57	0.62	.19	
Prior History of Maltreatment	29.40	24.69	-3.15**	29.40	23.26	-4.14**	

Note: * p<.05; **p<.01.

Significant differences were also found in comparisons between self-reporters and non-professional adult reporters. As found with professional mandated reporters, CPS was more likely to substantiate reports made by non-professional adult reporters compared to self-reporters. Similarly, self-reporters reported more physical abuse and less neglect compared to reports made by nonprofessional adult reporters. In contrast to professional reporters, there was a significant difference between the percentage of sexual abuse reported by the alleged victim and nonprofessional adult reporters. Once again, differences in gender emerged with girls self-reporting maltreatment more when compared to the number of girls involved in reports made my nonprofessional adult reporters. In addition, more African American children self-reported maltreatment compared to children involved in nonprofessional adult reports. However fewer White children self-reported compared to nonprofessional adult reporters (Shown in Table 2).

Discussion

The purpose of this paper was to describe and compare reports made to CPS by the alleged child-victim of maltreatment and those made by other reporters. Given that children in the U.S. and the world today are in a position of relative powerlessness (Bala *et al.*, 2001), a child coming forward and publicly accusing an adult of inappropriate behavior towards him or her represents a significant event. Unfortunately, because children are not generally seen as reliable sources of information (Bala *et al.*, 2001), their reports may not receive the same kind of attention as reports made by adults. Thus, understanding more about the characteristics and substantiation rates of child reporters is extremely important.

Despite such importance, findings from this study indicate that only 20% of self-report cases in 2005 were substantiated by CPS. This is down from 38% of self-reports substantiated by CPS found in an earlier study (Kesner, 2007). It is interesting to note that the rate of substantiation was even lower for alleged victims with a prior history of maltreatment. Such findings appear to be slightly at odds with research of substantiation status in cases of reoccurring reports (Bae et al., 2007). Although our findings could represent a true decline in the substantiation rate of self-reporters, it may also be a reflection of an increased number of self-reports as the earlier study was based on a smaller sample of reports made by children regarding their own maltreatment.

Discrepancies between children's self-reports of maltreatment and substantiation rates have been noted in the literature (Everson *et al.*, 2008; Kesner, 2007; Swahn *et al.*, 2006). Such differences may be a result of uncertainty in the veracity of children's self-reports or in the way that reports are made (Everson *et al.*, 2008). Because children have been noted to be naturally egocentric, even children of the

average age of self-reporters in this study may still be grappling with the concepts of justice and fairness (Bala, Lee, & McNamara, 2001). As a result of these cognitive limitations in children's thinking, they may not able to objectively evaluate their treatment by significant adults in their lives. Hence, what they perceive as maltreatment may not in fact, meet the CPS definition. In addition, previous research suggests that definitional differences between mandated reporters have been found to be a possible factor in substantiation rates among mandated reporters (Kesner, 2008; Slep & Heyman, 2006).

Our results suggest that self-reporters differed from other reporters in the type of maltreatment reported. For example, self-reporters were more likely to report physical abuse compared to the other two reporter groups. One explanation for this finding is that it is possible that physical abuse is generally less ambiguous to children than the other types of maltreatment which may be more vaguely defined. Ambiguousness in maltreatment terminology and definitions may be one reason that significantly fewer reports of neglect were made by the alleged victim compared to the other two reporter groups. Neglect is a more subjective form of maltreatment compared to physical abuse and may be more challenging for children, particularly younger children, to understand. For example, Kaufman Kantor and colleagues (2004) found that even with age appropriate questioning, younger children had more difficulty reliably reporting neglectful behaviors than older children. As little previous research has examined children's reports of maltreatment outside the realm of sexual abuse, additional research is clearly needed to better understand differences in types of reports made by selfreporters.

Gender differences also emerged from the data with girls being more likely to self-report maltreatment than boys. With regards to the type of maltreatment being reported, gender differences were only found between boys and girls in cases of alleged sexual abuse. The fact that more girls than boys self-reported maltreatment compared to both groups of adult reporters may be a byproduct of the socialization process for boys and girls. It has been suggested that boys are more likely to be encouraged to be self-reliant and are generally seen as not needing as much protection as girls (Watkins & Bentovim, 1992). It was somewhat encouraging to find that self-reporters reported more sexual abuse compared to non-professional adult reporters. It is believed that administrative datasets such as NCANDS underestimate the incidence of child maltreatment (Olds & Kitzman, 1990) and these rates of substantiation may not accurately reflect the actual incidence of sexual abuse. However, with respect to comparisons with non-professional adult reporters, CPS is substantiating reports of sexual abuse at a higher rate when the victim self reports.

The findings from this study reveal that child self-reporters differed from adult mandated reporters as a result of the child's ethnic background. For example, Asian American and Hispanic self-reporters under reported possible maltreatment

when compared to reports of professional adult mandated reporters. Although little research has documented the self-reporting rates of ethnic minority youth in the U.S., studies do document the role that parental attitudes, cultural values, poverty, and immigrant status play in the reporting of child maltreatment (Ashton, 2002; Freisthler et al., 2007). For example, cultural variation in parenting practices and cultural norms regarding parental authority have been noted with regard to both Hispanic and Asian American children (Chao, 2000; Ferrari, 2002; Okagaki & Bingham, 2005). In one study, Dixon and colleagues found that African American and Hispanic girls evidenced significantly higher respect for parental authority than European American girls and that African American and Hispanic mothers scored significantly higher than European American mothers on restrictive parenting behaviors (Dixon et al., 2008). Hence, cultural variation in childrearing and discipline practices as well as cultural values that emphasize respect for elders and connectedness in family relationships may make it more challenging for some ethnic minority youth to self-identity maltreatment or may influence definitions of maltreatment (Fontes 2002; Lau et al., 2006). Such an assertion may be one reason why Hispanic and Asian American youth were less likely to report maltreatment than professional adult mandated reporters.

In contrast to decreased rates of self-reporting among Asian American and Hispanic youth, more African American children self-reported maltreatment than adult mandated reporters. As highlighted above, although one reason for this finding may be explained by cultural values, Schuck (2005) argues that African American children in the US are overrepresented in the child welfare system and we posit that as a result of this overrepresentation, they have an increased familiarity with social service agencies. This increased familiarity may result in an increased comfort level for African American children to self-report maltreatment. Hence, it may be these children's very presence in the child welfare system that has led them to self-report maltreatment. Given the limited nature of current research on child self-reporters, particularly those from ethnic minority backgrounds, additional research is needed to better understand these findings.

Limitations and Future Research

The results of these data analyses should be interpreted carefully. NCANDS is an administrative dataset not specifically designed for research purposes. Thus, secondary analyses are somewhat limited as are any conclusions drawn from these results. These data are further limited by the mapping process used to ensure a certain degree of uniformity. Although essential for the aggregation of state's data into one data set, this process may remove the unique characteristics of each state's data. In addition, data were not available for all states regarding more

specific case level data (e.g., more detailed victim characteristics, perpetrator characteristics, services provided to each family, or notifications to agencies).

Future research should further explore the differences found here and include a longitudinal component to identify any trends in the characteristics of self-reports of child maltreatment. Ending child maltreatment requires cooperation of many individuals and professional groups. The alleged victims of such maltreatment should not be left out of this equation. Reports of maltreatment should not be dismissed out of hand because of the age of the report source. Reports by children may require different investigative techniques, but more serious attention to these reports will go a long way to ending child maltreatment.

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