

# The relationship between family violence and youth offending

This review was undertaken by Chanon Consulting and Cordis Bright. The review protocol and evidence assessment approach were agreed with the Local Government Association (LGA) before the review was conducted.

Please note that this is an evidence review and is not designed to be policy or practice guidance. However, it is hoped that this review could help to inform future guidance in this area.

It should also be noted that the review focusses on the link between family violence and youth offending. It does not focus on wider issues eg the over-representation or under-representation of certain groups in the criminal justice system.

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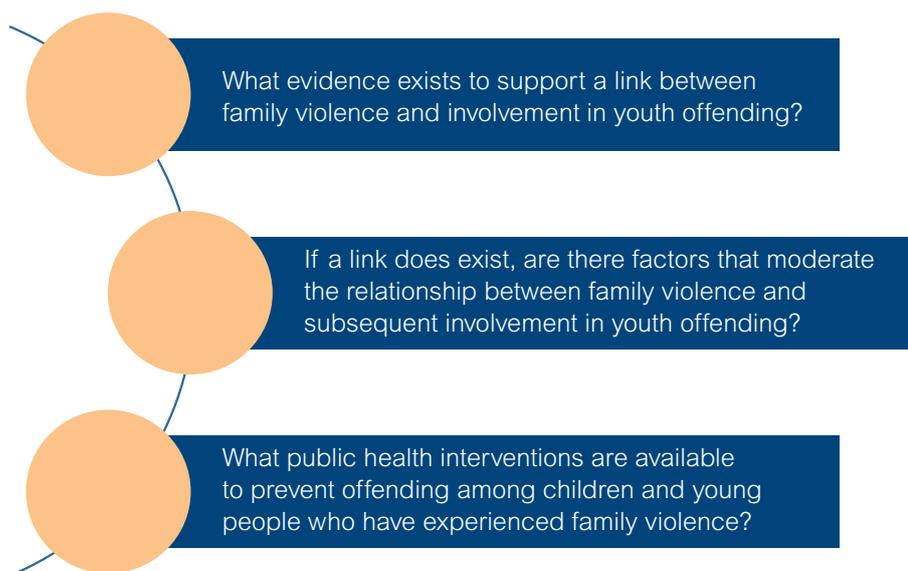
# 1. Executive summary

Councils only want the best for the children and young people in their communities, but many children struggle to cope with the challenges they experience. Facing continuous family violence and without recourse to adequate help when they need it, we know that some young people go on to be involved in the youth justice system.

As local leaders councils play a key role in reducing youth offending, bringing together partners through their strategic and operational role spanning enforcement, early intervention, prevention in relation to youth offending and the provision of support to victims of violence.

By understanding the risk factors and commissioning interventions that support the protective factors, the link between family violence and youth offending can be broken.

This rapid evidence assessment provides an introduction to the subject, and asks three key questions:



## What evidence exists to support a link between family violence and involvement in youth offending?

This review finds an emerging body of robust evidence for a link between experiencing family violence, and subsequent participation in youth offending. The evidence shows:

- The more risk factors, for example, adverse childhood experiences (ACEs) experienced by young people, the greater the likelihood of participation in youth offending.
- Timing of experiencing family violence matters in terms of likelihood of youth offending. Stewart et al. (2008) reported a consistent finding that young people whose maltreatment persists from childhood into adolescence<sup>1</sup>, or that starts in adolescence, are much more likely to be involved in the youth justice system than those whose experience of maltreatment was limited to their childhood.

<sup>1</sup> This review defines childhood as birth to 11 years, and adolescence as 12 to 17 years.

- Young people who offend are often known to children’s social care services. Hopkins, Webb, and Mackie (2010) analysed completed<sup>2</sup> Asset and Onset profiles of young people who were convicted or deemed at risk of offending and found that 43 per cent had had previous contact with children’s social services and 15 per cent had current contact.
- There are links between a specific sub-type of family violence and involvement in youth offending, for example, between youth offending and experiencing: sibling violence, violence against women and girls (VAWG), childhood physical abuse, child to parent violence and witnessing domestic violence.

## Are there factors that moderate the relationship between experiencing family violence and youth offending?

This review identified six studies that found risk and protective factors experienced by a young person that moderated or exacerbated the link between family violence and youth offending. A summary of these is provided in Figure 1 and Figure 2.

**Figure 1 Protective factors influencing the link between family violence and youth offending**

 Individual factors	 Family factors	 Community factors
 High self-esteem	 Good sibling relationships  High quality relationships with supportive adults	 Good peer relationships  Safe school environment

**Figure 2 Risk factors influencing the link between family violence and youth offending**

Individual factors	Family factors	Community factors
 Low social competency  Experience of depression  Failure at school  Experiences of family violence that start in or persist into adolescence  Substance abuse	 Running away from home	 Delinquent peers  Verbal and physical abuse with peers

<sup>2</sup> It should be noted that the social care history of young people was only completed in 65 per cent of all assets, and rarely completed in onset assessments.

<sup>3</sup> For young women only (Weaver et al. 2008)

<sup>4</sup> For young women only (Weaver et al. 2008)

## What interventions are available to prevent offending among children and young people who have experienced family violence?

As part of this review we explored interventions that are available to prevent offending among children and young people who have experienced family violence.

The review identified the following interventions as having evidence at level three on the standards of evidence scale<sup>5</sup> used in the report, ie there is good evidence that they may work in reducing violence (see Section 2 of the main report:

- Family Nurse Partnership
- The Sexual Abuse: Family Education and Treatment Program
- Big Brothers Big Sisters community-based mentoring programme
- Functional Family Therapy (FFT)
- multisystemic therapy for child abuse and neglect.

More information about each intervention is presented in Figure 13 (Section 4).

## What should decision-makers consider?

This review suggests that the following key messages are relevant for decision-makers:

- **There is a well-established link between experiences of family violence, broadly defined, and participation in youth offending.** There is a substantial body of evidence from large-scale quantitative studies and meta-analyses to suggest that a link exists between child maltreatment, ACEs, and youth offending.
- **More evidence is needed to fully establish the links that exist between specific forms of family violence, and participation in youth offending.** Links between specific forms of family violence

and participation in youth offending tend to have either mixed evidence, or support from small-scale, single studies. Accordingly, decision-makers should consider focusing on addressing family violence more broadly, as opposed to one specific form of family violence.

- **Protective factors.** Decision-makers may wish to consider interventions that support the following protective factors that are correlated with a reduced likelihood of offending among young people with experience of family violence: good relationships with peers, safe school environment, high self-esteem, good relationships with siblings, and strong attachments to parents or to other supportive adults.
- **Risk factors.** Similarly, decision-makers may wish to consider interventions that address and seek to reduce the following risk factors that are correlated with an increased likelihood of offending among young people with experience of family violence: running away from home, low school attainment and association with delinquent peers.
- **Commission and fund interventions that aim to prevent and/or reduce offending among children and young people with experience of family violence.** Four interventions: Functional Family Therapy (FFT), Family Nurse Partnership, The Sexual Abuse: Family Education and Treatment Program, and the Big Brothers Big Sisters community-based mentoring programme have had evaluations that demonstrate success in reducing offending among young people with experience of family violence. However, further research is needed to assess how appropriate and effective all four programmes are in reducing offending among young people whose families are currently or previously dealing with issues of serious violence and abuse.

<sup>5</sup> Cordis Bright's evidence scale is bespoke to this report and based on a review of a set of other evidence standards scales including NESTA, Project Oracle, YJB, and the Maryland scale.

- **Ensure that there is evaluation and monitoring of public health approaches for addressing offending among young people with experience of family violence.** Interventions reviewed here require either more evidence to demonstrate their efficacy in preventing future offending by children with experience of family violence or their efficacy in addressing offending by working with families in family contexts where there has been serious violence. Local decision-makers should aim to contribute to the evidence base by ensuring robust evaluation (in line with recognised evidence standards) of public health approaches and other interventions that are commissioned and funded.

## 2. Introduction

Councils only want the best for the children and young people in their communities, but many children struggle to cope with the challenges they experience. Facing continuous family violence and without recourse to adequate help when they need it, we know that some young people go on to be involved in the youth justice system.

As local leaders councils play a key role in reducing youth offending, bringing together partners through their strategic and operational role spanning enforcement, early intervention, prevention in relation to youth offending and the provision of support to victims of violence.

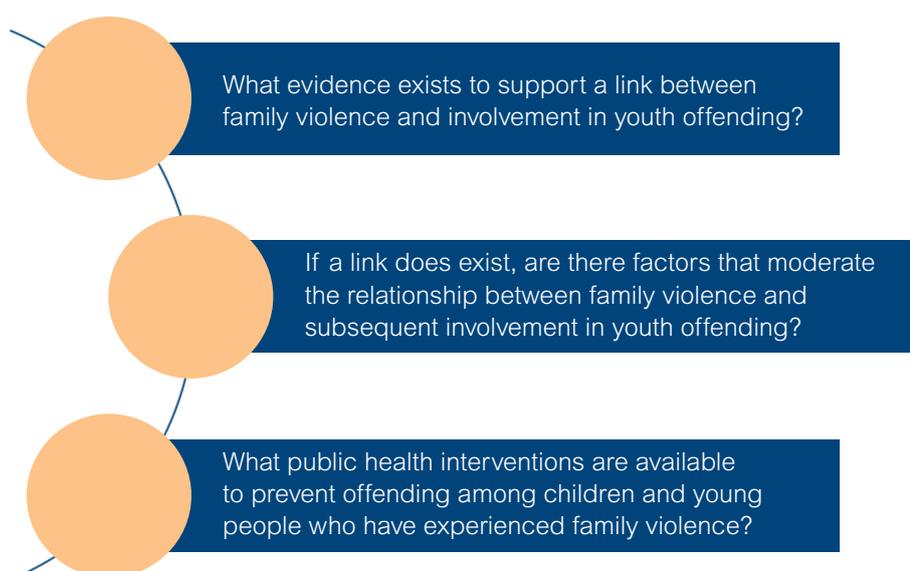
By understanding the risk factors and commissioning interventions that support the protective factors, the link between family violence and youth offending can be broken.

This literature review is an introduction to the subject, and aims to:

- explore the links between children's and young people's experiences of family violence and their involvement in youth offending
- facilitate understanding of current public health interventions specifically aimed at supporting young offenders who have experienced family violence.

In particular, this review provides answers to the following key questions:

**Figure 3 Key literature review questions**



## Report structure

This report is structured as follows:

- **Section 2** the remainder of this section provides definitions, context and methodology.
- **Section 3** explores key themes in the links between family violence and youth offending.
- **Section 4** considers available public health interventions tailored to address offending or risk of offending among children and young people who have experienced family violence.

## Definitions

In the UK domestic violence and abuse is defined as:

'Any incident or pattern of incidents of controlling, coercive, threatening behaviour, violence or abuse between those aged 16 or over who are, or have been, intimate partners or family members regardless of gender or sexuality. The abuse can encompass, but is not limited to: psychological, physical, sexual, financial or emotional.'

Home Office, UK Government, March 2017<sup>6</sup>

The fact that the definition excludes violence and abuse (and any other form of maltreatment, such as neglect) in relation to children under 16 years of age means that it is not a comprehensive descriptor for 'family violence'. For the purposes of this review, therefore, we have used the following definition for family violence:

'Family violence is when someone uses abusive behaviour to control and/or harm a member of their family, or someone with whom they have an intimate relationship. Family violence includes many different forms of abuse including physical, sexual, emotional, and financial abuse. It may include a single act of violence, or a number of acts that form

a pattern of abuse. Various types of family violence include domestic violence, child abuse and neglect, sibling violence, violence against women and girls, and elder abuse.'

Department of Justice, Government of Canada, 2017

In terms of youth offending, we focused both on children and young people worked with by youth offending teams, ie who get into trouble with the police or are arrested<sup>7</sup>; and children and young people on the trajectory to/fringes of youth offending, ie with disruptive or anti-social behaviour.

We used the World Health Organisation (2017) definition concerning public health approaches to reducing violence, as one that:

'Seeks to improve the health and safety of all individuals by addressing underlying risk factors that increase the likelihood that an individual will become a victim or a perpetrator of violence. By definition, public health aims to provide the maximum benefit for the largest number of people. Programmes for primary prevention of violence based on the public health approach are designed to expose a broad segment of a population to prevention measures and to reduce and prevent violence at a population-level.'

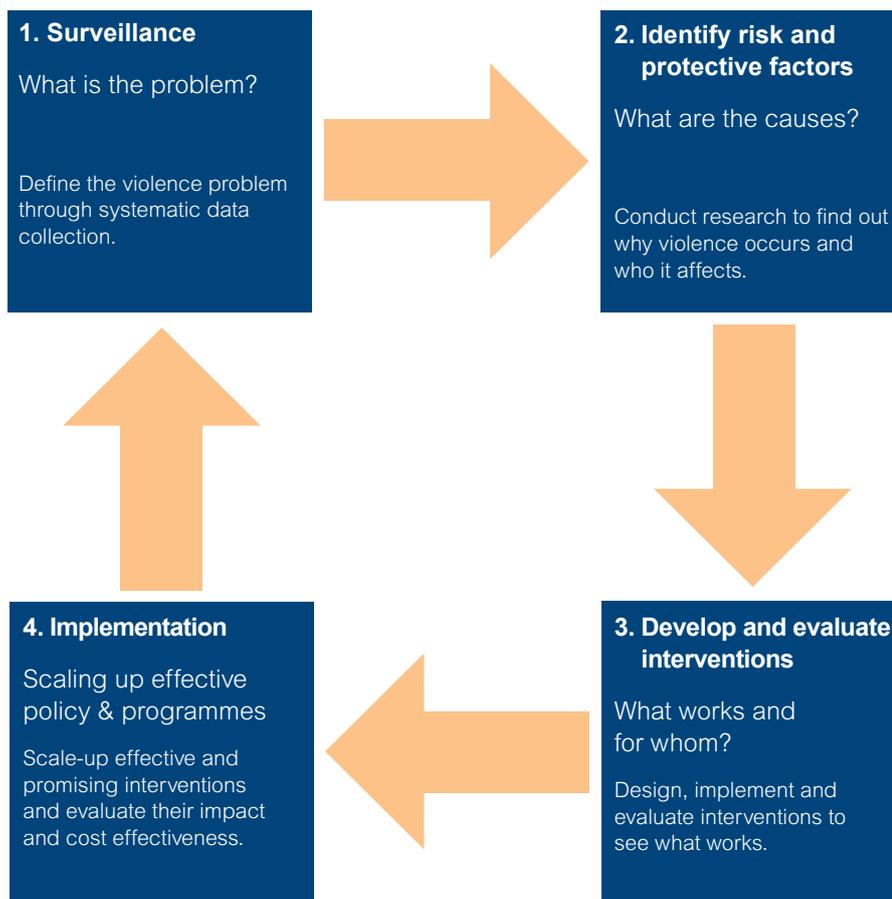
Public health approaches can be identified by the following characteristics:

- Defining and monitoring the problem.
- Identifying causes of the problem, the factors that increase or decrease the risk of violence, and the factors that could be modified through interventions.
- Designing, implementing and evaluating interventions to find out what works.
- Implementing effective and promising interventions on a wider scale, while continuing to monitor their effects, impact and cost-effectiveness (WHO, 2017a).

6 Available at: <https://www.gov.uk/guidance/domestic-violence-and-abuse#domestic-violence-and-abuse-new-definition>. Accessed 26 Nov. 2017

7 Available at: <https://www.gov.uk/youth-offending-team>. Accessed 26 Nov. 2017

**Figure 4 Summary of steps of the public health approach**



**Source: WHO, 2017**

In terms of youth offending, we have included studies that explored family violence in relation to self-reported and/or officially-recorded offences.

### What is the scale of family violence in the UK?

Domestic violence and abuse is the most commonly cited factor when children are assessed by children's social care services to determine whether they need support. In 2015/16, there were around 222,000 episodes where domestic violence was cited as a factor. This translates into around 28 new episodes every week (which reach the threshold of children's social care intervention) in every local authority in the country.<sup>8</sup>

A 2016 survey by the Office for National Statistics found that 9 per cent of adults aged 16 to 59 had experienced psychological abuse, 7 per cent physical abuse, 7 per cent sexual assault and 8 per cent witnessed domestic violence or abuse in the home during childhood<sup>9</sup>. With the exception of physical abuse, women were significantly more likely to report that they had suffered any form of abuse asked about during childhood than men (ONS, 2016).

In addition, a 2009 NSPCC survey of child abuse and neglect in the UK found that 5 per cent of under 11s, 13 per cent of 11–17s and 15 per cent of 18–24s had experienced severe maltreatment by a parent or guardian during their childhood (NSPCC, 2009).

Data collection by the ONS and the NSPCC focuses only on family violence perpetrated by adults, and little is known about the scale of family violence perpetrated by minors in the UK.

<sup>8</sup> [www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/645642/JTAI\\_domestic\\_abuse\\_18\\_Sept\\_2017.pdf](http://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/645642/JTAI_domestic_abuse_18_Sept_2017.pdf)

<sup>9</sup> This survey was restricted to abuse carried out by an adult.

This is an area for future research.

## Review methodology

We developed and designed a review protocol which we shared and agreed with the LGA before developing the bibliography and proceeding with the review. The review protocol is presented in Section 6 below.

## Standards of evidence

The interventions working with young offenders who have experience of family violence included in this review are assessed according to the evidence scale in Figure 5.

**Figure 5 Standards of Evidence Scale**

Level	Description
Level 1	Programmes/Interventions have a clear theory of change/ logic model in terms of how they aim to impact on outcomes. However, there may not yet be clear evidence that they are achieving this impact.
Level 2	Programmes/Interventions at this level meet level 1 criteria plus evidence indicating observed impact on desired outcomes. This could include a pre- post- measure on outcomes. A robust comparison group or equivalent is not essential for level 2.
Level 3	Programmes/Interventions at this level meet level 1 criteria and include evaluations that clearly demonstrate observed on its desired outcomes. It is necessary at this level to clearly demonstrate that any positive outcomes achieved were likely to have resulted from the programme/intervention and as such require comparison with a well-matched control group or equivalent.

# 3. The link between family violence and youth offending

While many children and young people who experience family violence do not go on to engage in offending as adolescents, and many who engage in offending as adolescents have not experienced family violence (Crooks et al. 2007, Stewart et al. 2008), substantial research does exist to suggest a link between experiences of family violence and subsequent involvement in youth offending.

This section first reviews the literature that considers correlation of the broader phenomena of ‘adverse childhood experiences’ (a concept which includes experiences of family violence) and ‘child maltreatment’ with youth offending.

The section then moves on to review research that focuses more narrowly on the link between experiences of specific forms of family violence, including sibling violence, child to parent violence, violence against women and girls (VAWG), and witnessing domestic violence, and subsequent involvement in youth offending.

## There is substantial evidence for a link between adverse childhood experiences (ACEs) and involvement in youth offending

ACEs are ‘potentially traumatic events that can have negative, lasting effects on health and wellbeing’ (Sacks et al. 2014 p. 1). ACEs include experiences of violence such as physical, sexual and emotional abuse, in addition to non-violent potentially traumatic events and experiences such as neglect, parental separation, parental incarceration, and economic hardship (Sacks et al. 2014).

This review found three large scale quantitative studies that report a significant correlation between ACEs and youth offending. Where the studies provided specific data on ACEs that constitute ‘family violence’, this has been highlighted. The three studies found that ACEs were correlated with an increase in odds of youth offending of between 23 per cent and 345 per cent, depending on the exact nature of the ACEs and of the offences.

**Figure 6 Studies exploring the relationship between ACEs and involvement in youth offending**

Study	Sample /approach	Independent variable(s) <sup>10</sup>	Dependent variable(s) <sup>11</sup>	Key findings
Baglivio et al. (2015)	Regression analysis using data from a sample of 64,000 juvenile offenders in the USA.	Number of ACEs experienced in childhood.	Age of onset of offending; involvement in persistent offending.	For youth with more than five ACEs the odds of belonging to the 'early onset offending' group were 345 per cent greater than the odds for those youth with less than 5 ACEs. The study controlled for race, gender, individual risk factors for offending, and familial risk factors for offending. Persistent offenders were found to have the highest mean ACE score.
Fox et al. (2015)	Regression analysis using data from a sample of 22,575 'delinquent youth' in the USA.	Experiences of ACEs – specifically childhood physical abuse and experience of household violence.	Likelihood of involvement in serious, violent, and chronic offending.	Experiencing physical abuse as a child is correlated with an increase in the odds of becoming a serious, violent and chronic juvenile offender (compared to an offender who commits one offence only) of 58 per cent, and experience of household violence was correlated with a 23 per cent increase in these odds (both significant at the 0.05 level, controlling for gender, race, family income, impulsivity, and anti-social peers).
Duke et al. (2010)	Regression analysis using data from a sample of 136,449 students in the USA.	Experiences of 6 different ACEs.	Risk of adolescent violence perpetration.	This paper concludes that each type of adverse childhood experience was significantly associated with adolescent interpersonal violence perpetration (delinquency, bullying, physical fighting, dating violence, weapon-carrying on school property) and self-directed violence (self-mutilatory behaviour, suicidal ideation, and suicide attempt). For each additional type of adverse experience reported by youth, the risk of violence perpetration increased 35 per cent to 144 per cent compared to children who did not have any ACEs.

10 An independent variable represents the possible reason, cause or explanation for the dependent variable.

11 A dependent variable is one whose value may be dependent on independent variables.

## There is substantial evidence for a link between child maltreatment and involvement in youth offending

Child maltreatment, as summary term for ‘child abuse and neglect’ includes ‘all forms of physical and emotional ill-treatment, sexual abuse, neglect, and exploitation that results in actual or potential harm to the child’s health, development or dignity’ (WHO, 2017).

This review identified four quantitative studies (with samples of over 1,000 people) which using regression analysis found that childhood maltreatment was associated with an increased likelihood of engaging in crime ranging from 51 per cent to 166 per cent compared to children who had not been maltreated, depending on the form of child maltreatment (Mersky and Reynolds, 2007; Currie and Tekin, 2012; Button and Gealt, 2010; Crooks et al., 2007).

This link between child maltreatment and involvement in youth offending was also supported by two large scale review studies (surveying 100+ studies), which both demonstrated that experience of family violence is correlated with involvement in youth offending (Derzon, 2010; Gilbert et al. 2009).

A summary of the findings of these studies is shown in Figure 7.

**Figure 7 Studies exploring the relationship between child maltreatment and involvement in youth offending**

Study	Sample /approach	Independent variable(s)	Dependent variable(s)	Key findings
Derzon (2010)	Meta-analysis (119 longitudinal studies).	Experience of child maltreatment.	Likelihood of adolescent criminal or violent behaviour	Significant but weak correlation between both child maltreatment and adolescent criminal behaviour (Adj r=0.213) and violent behaviour (Adj r= 0.100).
Gilbert et al. (2009)	Review paper (172 studies).	Experience of child maltreatment.	Likelihood of adolescent criminal or violent behaviour	Consensus among studies reviewed of evidence of a significant effect of experience of child maltreatment on criminal behaviour after adjustment for confounders.
Mersky and Reynolds (2007)	Regression analysis using data from a sample of 1,404 low-income minority children in the USA.	Experience of child maltreatment.	Formal criminal charges	Child maltreatment was associated with a 51 per cent increase in the likelihood of being adjudicated for a violent offence (significant at the 0.01 level, controlling for demographic and parental factors). Effects sizes (ie likelihoods) are comparable for physically abused and neglected children.

Study	Sample /approach	Independent variable(s)	Dependent variable(s)	Key findings
Currie and Tekin (2012).	Regression analysis using data from a sample of 3,428 children in the USA.	Experience of forms of child treatments.	Self-reported criminal activity.	Compared with children who have not been maltreated, maltreated children are significantly more likely to commit burglary (by 2.8 percentage points), assault by 5.2 percentage points), theft (by 2.7 percentage points), as well as to damage property (by seven percentage points). (significant at the 0.01 level, controlling for demographic, biological, and family factors).
Crooks et al. (2007).	Quantitative study using data from 1,788 American school students.	Experience of child maltreatment.	Engagement in violent delinquency.	Experience of child maltreatment increased the odds of engagement in violent delinquency in adolescence by 124 per cent (significant at the 0.01 level).

### There is emerging evidence for a link between involvement in youth offending and specific sub-types of family violence

In addition to studies that conceptualised family violence in broader terms, we also considered studies that focused on specific forms of family violence, including: parent to child physical abuse and child to parent physical abuse, violence against women and girls, and sibling violence. For each of these specific forms of family violence we found studies that identified a link with involvement in youth offending.

This review did not find any studies providing evidence for a link between youth offending and experience of any of the following forms of family violence:

- emotional abuse
- witnessing elder abuse
- financial abuse.

Figure 8 provides a summary of this evidence.

#### Figure 8 Studies exploring the relationship between specific types of family violence and involvement in youth offending

Study	Sample /approach	Independent variable(s)	Dependent variable(s)	Key findings
<b>Physical abuse – parent to child</b>				
Murray and Farrington (2010)	Review of 164 studies with sample sizes over 100.	Childhood physical abuse.	Self-reported and official measures of antisocial behaviour.	In a review of longitudinal studies with sample sizes of over 100, Murray and Farrington (2010) found that experience of childhood physical abuse was one of the most important risk factors predicting delinquency among 10-17 year olds.

Study	Sample /approach	Independent variable(s)	Dependent variable(s)	Key findings
Maas et al. (2008)	Review of 32 studies.	Exposure to child maltreatment.	Participation in youth violence.	This review study observed that adolescents who were abused as children are more likely to engage in delinquency, violence, and substance use.
<b>Physical abuse – child to parent</b>				
Kennedy et al. (2010)	223 juvenile offenders in the USA.	History of violence towards to parents	Gang affiliation and youth offending.	The study found that young people who had been violent towards their parents compared to those who had not were more likely to associate with peers who were gun-owners or gang members, belong to a gang themselves, and have committed a higher number of non-domestic violent offences.
<b>Violence Against Women and Girls</b>				
Schaffner (2007)	Interviews with 100 women in the USA.	n/a	n/a	This qualitative study suggested that disproportionate numbers of girls come into the criminal justice system with family histories of physical and sexual violence. Schaffner argues that 'when young women are treated with disrespect and aggression, they learn to respond with it' (p. 1235).
<b>Sibling violence</b>				
Button and Gealt (2009)	Regression analysis using data from a sample of 8,122 students in the USA.	Experience of sibling violence (as a victim).	Self-reported delinquency.	Experiencing sibling violence was correlated with increased odds of youth offending ranging from 39 per cent to 119 per cent depending on the form and intensity of sibling violence. (significant at the 0.05 level, controlling for demographic factors).

## Evidence is mixed on whether witnessing family violence can also impact on a young person's likelihood of offending

This review found mixed evidence regarding the impact of witnessing family violence on youth offending. One large scale quantitative study (Zinzow et al. 2009) found that having witnessed parental violence increased children's odds of engaging in delinquency by 77 per cent, compared to those who had not witnessed parental violence. However, three other studies found only a weak correlation (Weaver et al. 2008) or no significant correlation (Ferguson et al. 2009; Moylan et al. 2010) between witnessing family violence and youth offending. These studies are summarised in Figure 9.

**Figure 9 Studies exploring the relationship between witnessing family violence and youth offending**

Study	Sample /approach	Independent variable(s)	Dependent variable(s)	Key findings
Weaver et al. (2008)	Regression analysis using data from 88 mother-child dyads.	Witnessing violence and victimization prior to age ten.	Adolescent delinquency	Significant positive correlation between past witnessing of violence and adolescent delinquency ( $r=0.34$ , significant at the 0.05 level and controlling for demographic and family factors).
Zinzow et al. (2009)	Telephone surveys with 2,614 adolescents in the USA.	Witnessing parental violence.	Adolescent delinquency	Having witnessed parental violence was correlated with a 77 per cent increase in the odds of children engaging in delinquency, compared to those who had not witnessed parental violence (significant at the 0.01 level and controlling for demographic factors).
Ferguson et al. (2009)	Regression and Structured Equation Modelling analysis using a data from a sample of 603 US children	Exposure to parental domestic violence.	Youth violence	This study found no significant association between parental domestic violence and youth violence.
Moylan et al. (2010)	Longitudinal study using regression analysis to explore data from a sample of 459 participants from the USA.	Exposure to violence at home.	Delinquency	This study found no significant association between domestic violence exposure and delinquency.

**Further research is needed to determine which forms of family violence have more or less of an impact on youth offending**

While there were two studies published in the past decade that argued for particular types of family violence having more of an impact on youth offending, they draw different conclusions. In a review of research into child maltreatment and violence in youth, Maas et al. (2008) find that physical abuse is the most consistent form of family violence predicting youth offending. However, Currie and Tekin (2012) found that experiences of sexual abuse had the largest effect on youth involvement in crime. These two studies suggest that both physical and sexual abuse in childhood both raise the likelihood of an individual becoming a young offender. Though, it is not yet possible to provide a definite answer as to which form of family violence has the largest effect on involvement in youth offending.

## What is the relationship between the intensity of family violence and youth offending?

In addition to an established link between experience of family violence and youth offending, there is also evidence to suggest that the intensity of children and young people's experiences of family violence also impacts on their level of involvement of youth offending. In this review, four large scale studies identified a link between the intensity of family violence and subsequent involvement in youth offending. These findings are summarised in Figure 10.

**Figure 10 Studies that link intensity of family violence to youth offending**

Finding	Reference
Study of 64,000 juvenile offenders in Florida, USA. Higher number of childhood adverse experiences correlated with offending that starts early and is persistent.	Baglivio et al. (2015)
Study of 22,575 'delinquent youths' in Florida, USA. Each additional adverse child experience was correlated with an increased risk of violent and chronic juvenile offending.	Fox et al. (2015)
For each additional type of adverse event reported by youth, the risk of violence perpetration increased 35 per cent up to 144 per cent.	Duke et al. (2010)
The more forms of maltreatment a child or young person experiences the more likely they are to engage in crime.	Currie and Tekin (2012)

## Risk and protective factors influencing the likelihood of offending for children and young people who have experienced family violence

Seven of the studies considered in this review were able to identify factors that impacted on children's and young people's pathways from experiencing family violence to becoming involved in youth offending. These factors were either:



**Protective factors** which helped to divert children and young people with experience of family violence away from involvement in youth offending.



**Risk factors** which meant that children and young people with experience of family violence were more likely to become involved in youth offending.

Figure 11 provides a summary of protective factors for involvement in youth offending for young people with experience of family violence.

**Figure 11 Protective factors for involvement in youth offending by young people with experience of family violence**

Protective factor	Description of effect	Strength of effect/ explanation of effect	Relevant studies
 High quality adolescent relationships with supportive adults.	High quality relationship was a protective buffer for engaging in violence – for males only.	'Cited consistently in the literature as an important protective factor' (Holt et al. 2008 p. 806).	Aceves and Cookston (2007) Holt et al. (2008)
 High self-esteem	High self-esteem is a critical element in children's ability to develop resilience and successful coping strategies.	'Self-esteem emerges as a critical element underlying children's ability to develop successful coping strategies, and be less affected by the violence they witness' (Holt et al. 2008 p. 806).	Holt et al. (2008)

Protective factor	Description of effect	Strength of effect/ explanation of effect	Relevant studies
 Positive relationships with siblings and peers.	Positive relationships of this kind are productive only for those experiencing low levels of violence at home.	'Resilience is associated with having positive peer and sibling relationships and friendships that can buffer the effects of stress' (Holt et al. 2008 p. 6).	Holt et al. (2008)
 School environment	Children with experience of family violence who attended schools perceived as safe environments were less likely to offend.	Each standard deviation increase in perceived safety of the school was associated with a 63 per cent decrease in the odds of engagement in violent delinquency.	Crooks et al. (2007)

Figure 12 provides a summary of risk factors for involvement in youth offending for young people with experience of family violence.

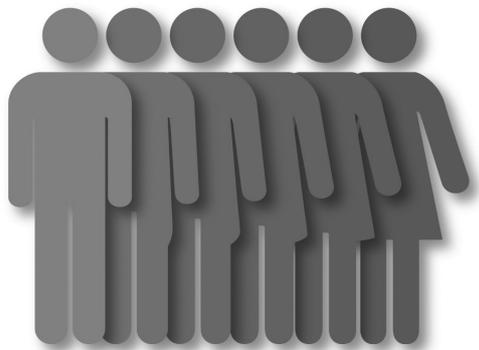
**Figure 12 Risk factors for involvement in youth offending by young people with experience of family violence**

Risk factor	Description of effect	Strength of effect/ explanation of effect	Relevant study
 Delinquency of friends in adolescence.	Having delinquent friends correlated with higher likelihood of offending.	'Maltreated youth have 'difficulty making and maintaining positive friendships or being drawn towards unconventional peers, maltreated youth are more likely to become involved with "the wrong crowd.'" (Bender, 2010 p. 469).	Bender (2010)
 Verbal and physical abuse with best friend in adolescence. <sup>12</sup>	Presence of abuse correlated with higher likelihood of offending.	Presence of abuse correlated with a 0.2-point increase in a young person's rating on a scale of violent delinquent behaviour (significant at the 0.05 level, controlling for demographic and family factors).	Salzinger et al. (2007)

<sup>12</sup> Verbal and physical abuse in the personal relationships between adolescents and their current best friend were assessed by our own instrument, administered as an interview to all the adolescents. Adolescents were asked to tell us which issues gave rise to the worst disagreements and fights between themselves and their best friends. They were then asked to give a detailed description of the worst disagreement or fight and to report the frequency, on a 5-point scale (0 = never, 1 = once or only a few times, 2 = about once a month, 3 = about once a week, 4 = about every day or almost every day), with which this or similar disagreements and fights led to verbally abusive behaviour (ie, screaming, yelling, putdowns, disrespect, or cursing) and to physically abusive behaviour (ie, hitting, punching, slapping, or anything physical). Verbally and physically abusive behaviour with best friend was the summed frequency of those behaviours with their best friend (M = 1.09, SD = 2.44, n = 148).

Risk factor	Description of effect	Strength of effect/ explanation of effect	Relevant study
 Low levels of social competency.	Risk factor for delinquency among teenage girls victimized in childhood, but not teenage boys.	Delinquency at age 14 among girls with lower social competencies increased with more victimization ( $\beta = .42$ , $p < .001$ , controlling for demographic and family factors).	Weaver et al. (2008)
 Experience of low levels of depression in middle childhood.	Risk factor for delinquency among teenage girls victimized in childhood, but not teenage boys.	Among girls with lower levels of depression, delinquency increased as levels of childhood victimization increased, ( $\beta = .33$ , $p < .05$ controlling for demographic and family factors).	Weaver et al. (2008)
 School failure	Experiences of school failure can exacerbate the negative consequences associated with child maltreatment and increase a child's likelihood of offending.	Difficult home environments reduce school attendance, which puts young people at greater risk of involvement in offending (Bender 2010 p. 469).	Bender (2010)
 Running away from home	For males and females, running away from home may facilitate a pathway from family violence to delinquency.	'Running away from home is recognized as both a consequence of maltreatment and a risk factor for delinquency' (Bender, 2010 p. 467).	Bender (2010)
 Substance abuse problems	Substance abuse facilitates a pathway from maltreatment to delinquency.	Maltreated youth are more likely to misuse substances (as a coping mechanism), putting them at greater risk of delinquency (Bender, 2010 p. 468).	Bender (2010)

## More research is needed to determine the impact of gender on the link between family violence and youth offending.



There is mixed evidence regarding the impact of gender on the relationship between child maltreatment and youth offending. Accordingly, more research is needed to fully determine the impact of gender on the relationship between family violence and youth offending.

Focusing specifically on the relationship between child maltreatment and the perpetration of violence in young adulthood, Fang and Corso (2007) find that childhood physical abuse and neglect were more significantly predictive of youth violence perpetration for males than for females. In contrast, Indig et al. (2011) find that while males are consistently more likely to offend than females, adolescent females who did offend and spend time in custody were more likely to have been maltreated than adolescent males. This suggests that there is preliminary and emerging evidence that physical abuse and neglect are most definitively linked to youth offending for males whilst for females any type of maltreatment raises the likelihood of youth offending.

## Timing matters

Stewart et al. (2008) reported a consistent finding that young people whose maltreatment persists from childhood into adolescence<sup>13</sup>, or that starts in adolescence, are much more likely to be involved in the youth justice system than those whose maltreatment was limited to their childhood.

While 17 per cent of adolescents who experienced early childhood-limited abuse went on to offend, 35 per cent of children experiencing chronic maltreatment that persisted into adolescence, and 35 per cent of children experiencing adolescent-limited maltreatment went on to offend during adolescence.

Stewart et al. (2008) explored several explanations as to why the timing of experiences of maltreatment influence participation in youth offending including: maltreated adolescents are more likely than maltreated children to be spending more time outside the home and thus are more likely to become involved in criminal activity; and adolescents may have suffered from a lifetime of victimization, the greater cumulative stresses of which may increase their chances of coming into contact with the law.

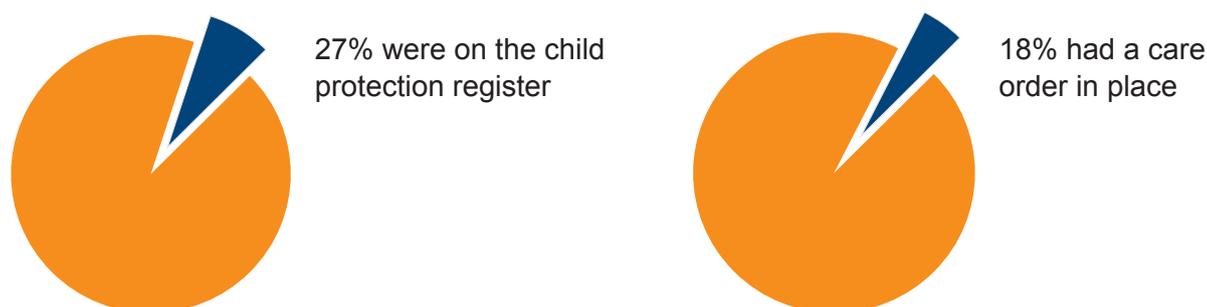
## Are young people who are involved in offending behaviour usually already known to statutory child protection services?

Given the link between family violence and youth offending, we would expect young people involved in youth offending to often already be known to statutory child protection services. A review by Hopkins, Webb, and Mackie (2010)<sup>14</sup> supports this assumption to an extent.

<sup>13</sup> This study defines childhood as birth to 11 years, and adolescence as 12 to 17 years.

<sup>14</sup> Please note that this review did not find published research concerning this after 2010.

They analysed completed <sup>15</sup> Asset and Onset profiles of young people who were convicted or deemed at risk of offending and found that 43 per cent had had previous contact with children's social services and 15 per cent had current contact. Of these young people:<sup>16</sup>



Younger offenders (aged between 10 and 12) and females were more likely to have had prior contact with children's social services.

In relation to Hopkins, Webb, and Mackie's finding that 57 per cent of young offenders had not had prior contact with children's social services, the author's speculated that it was possible that some of the young people had experienced family violence. In these cases the likelihood is that the violence was not recognised as a child maltreatment issues and referred to children's social services.

### Theoretical explanations: why would family violence lead to youth offending?

The studies considered in this review made reference to three different theoretical explanations for the relationship between family violence and youth offending, which are briefly summarised here:



**The 'Social Learning' explanation:** This explanation argues that young people affected by family violence learn and adopt patterns of violence and delinquent behaviour from their families, imitating the violence that they have witnessed/experienced at home (Bandura, 1978; Akers, 2011; Akers and Jennings, 2009; Anderson and Kras, 2007; Pratt et al. 2010).



**The 'Social Control' explanation:** This explanation assumes that individuals have a natural tendency towards crime and violence that is controlled and curbed by the bonds that we make with others such as parents and caregivers. Family violence disrupts these bonds, meaning that individuals are more likely to become involved in youth offending (Gottfredson and Hirschi, 1990; Booth et al. 2008; Guo et al. 2008).



**The 'Social and Psychological Strain' explanation:** This explanation focuses on family violence as a source of extreme stress that may exacerbate children and young people's risky, self-destructive or aggressive behaviours, and affect their ability to learn positive coping and emotion-regulation skills. These factors then put children and young people at greater risk of becoming involved in youth offending (Agnew, 2007, Botchkovar et al. 2009).

All these theoretical explanations may be worth considering when thinking about interventions which aim to address family violence and its link with youth offending.

<sup>15</sup> It should be noted that the social care history of young people was only completed in 65 per cent of all assets, and rarely completed in onset assessments.

<sup>16</sup> Being on the child protection register = subject of a child protection plan

# 4. Possible interventions

This review found that there are relatively few interventions aimed specifically at young offenders with experience of family violence, ie the interventions presented in this section are not an exhaustive list aimed at reducing youth offending, rather they focus specifically on moderating or addressing family violence in addressing future youth offending.

The interventions that do exist fall into three categories:

- early intervention programmes that seek to prevent future initial onset in offending among children exposed to family violence
- programmes that work specifically with young offenders who have experienced family violence
- programmes that take a broader focus, working with children and young people who are experiencing family violence, some of whom may also be offenders, and others who are at risk of becoming involved in offending.

## Limitations and points to consider when interpreting findings

A large proportion of the interventions presented here are US-based. Accordingly, the transferability of findings to an English and Welsh context should be taken into consideration given the differences in:

- legal and sentencing frameworks
- different socioeconomic context (for example a different welfare system).

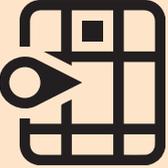
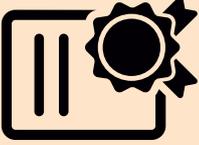
In addition, when considering implanting evidence-based programmes it is essential to ensure model fidelity, ie the programme implemented should as closely as possible match the model that has been evidenced to work.

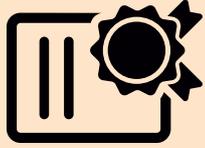
A summary of these interventions, and the evidence available to support their efficacy, is provided in Figure 13.

**Figure 13 Interventions targeting the relationship between family violence and involvement in youth offending**

Model	Content	Logistics	Delivered by	Demonstrated outcomes	Standard of evidence	Cost/ROI <sup>17</sup>
<p>Child First  <a href="http://www.childfirst.org">www.childfirst.org</a></p>	<p>A therapeutic intervention targeting infants and toddlers at risk of emotional problems, developmental delay, abuse and neglect, with long term goals of preventing crime, violence and antisocial behaviour.</p>	 55 x 90min sessions at home	 Social worker	<p>Evidence of a short-term positive impact on child experiences of family violence and PTSD from an evaluation by Crusto et al. (2008). Evidence of a short-term positive impact on child behavioural problems from an evaluation by Lowell et al. (2011). So far, the programme has been implemented and evaluated in the USA.</p> <p><b>The literature included in this review suggested that the programme's impact on youth offending is yet to be evaluated.</b></p>	<p>1</p>	<p>Cost of £2,000 per family</p>

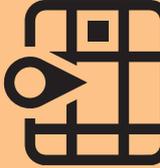
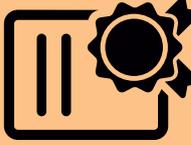
<sup>17</sup> Return on Investment

Model	Content	Logistics	Delivered by	Demonstrated outcomes	Standard of evidence	Cost/ROI <sup>17</sup>
<p>Child-Parent Psychotherapy</p> <p><a href="http://guidebook.eif.org.uk/programme/child-parent-psychotherapy">http://guidebook.eif.org.uk/programme/child-parent-psychotherapy</a></p>	<p>Psychoanalytic intervention targeting mothers and 3 to 5-year-old children who have experience of trauma or abuse, with long term goals of preventing crime, violence and antisocial behaviour. Parents and children engage in structured play aimed at processing traumatic events.</p>	 <p>32 x 90min sessions at any preferred location</p>	  <p>Social worker or psychologist</p>	<p>Evidence of a short term positive impact on child outcomes from an evaluation by Ghosh Ippen et al. (2011), an RCT which found that the intervention produced a significant reduction in behavioural problems compared to the comparison group. So far, the programme has been implemented and evaluated in the USA.</p> <p><b>The literature included in this review suggested that the programme's impact on youth offending is yet to be evaluated.</b></p>	1	No cost information available
<p>Trauma-focused cognitive behavioural therapy</p> <p><a href="http://guidebook.eif.org.uk/programme/child-parent-psychotherapy">http://guidebook.eif.org.uk/programme/child-parent-psychotherapy</a></p>	<p>Therapeutic intervention for children and families who have been exposed to a traumatic event. Families learn cognitive strategies for managing negative emotions and beliefs stemming from highly distressing and/or abusive experiences.</p>	 <p>12-18 weekly sessions at any preferred location</p>	  <p>Psychologist trained in TF-CBT</p>	<p>Established evidence from three randomised control trials demonstrating short and long-term improvements in psychological symptoms, sexualised behaviours, and problem behaviours.</p> <p><b>The literature included in this review suggested that the programme's impact on youth offending is yet to be evaluated.</b></p>	1	No cost information available

Model	Content	Logistics	Delivered by	Demonstrated outcomes	Standard of evidence	Cost/ROI <sup>17</sup>
Family Nurse Partnership <a href="http://guidebook.eif.org.uk/programme/family-nurse-partnership">http://guidebook.eif.org.uk/programme/family-nurse-partnership</a>	A home-visiting programme for young (<19) first-time mothers, from early pregnancy to around their child's second birthday. Mothers learn parenting skills, learn about their child's health and receive support for their own wellbeing.	 64 x 60-90min sessions at home	 Nurse or midwife	A 2010 evaluation demonstrated that participation in the programme reduced antisocial behaviour (arrests, convictions, behavioural problems) in adolescence (Eckenrode et al., 2010).	2	Cost £2,000 per unit. ROI of £2.25 for every £0.75 invested
<b>Addressing offending behaviour: programmes working with young offenders with experiences of family violence</b>						
Multisystemic Therapy for Child Abuse and Neglect <a href="http://www.mstservices.com">www.mstservices.com</a>	Breaking the cycle of criminal behaviour among youth with experience of child abuse and neglect. 24/7 case worker providing services including CBT and safety planning over six to nine months. Aimed at keeping youth in families with child physical abuse and neglect reports at home, in school and out of trouble with the law.	 24/7 over 6-9 months at home	 Clinical professional with specialist training in MST	A UK-based RCT evaluation of MST by Butler et al. (2011) found that participation in MST reduced offending and antisocial behaviour. Other available evaluations did not focus specifically on the impact of MST on contact with the youth justice system.	3	No cost information available

Model	Content	Logistics	Delivered by	Demonstrated outcomes	Standard of evidence	Cost/ROI <sup>17</sup>
<p>The Sexual Abuse: Family Education and Treatment Program</p> <p><a href="https://www.crimesolutions.gov/ProgramDetails.aspx?ID=203">https://www.crimesolutions.gov/ProgramDetails.aspx?ID=203</a></p>	<p>Community-based programme providing sexual-abuse specific assessment, treatment, consultation, and long-term support to child victims of incest and their families, children with sexual behaviour problems and their families, and adolescent sexual offenders and their families. Youth participants are aged 12-19. The programme combines group, individual and family therapy to focus on addressing the risk of sexual re-offending.</p>	 <p>Weekly 1-2 hours sessions over 16 months, any preferred location</p>	  <p>Social worker or psychologist</p>	<p>At the 20-year follow-up Worling, Littlejohn and Bookalam (2010) found that, compared to the control group, programme participants were significantly less likely to be charged with a criminal reoffence including sexual reoffences.</p>	3	No cost information available

**Mixed focus: programmes working with children and young people with experiences of family violence, some of whom may also be offenders**

Model	Content	Logistics	Delivered by	Demonstrated outcomes	Standard of evidence	Cost/ROI <sup>17</sup>
Big Brothers Big Sisters community-based mentoring programme <a href="https://bbbscm.org/community-based-mentoring-programs">https://bbbscm.org/community-based-mentoring-programs</a>	Offers one-to-one mentoring in a community setting for youth age 6-18 at high risk of exposure to violence and trauma at home and in the community.	 3-5 hours biweekly for one year, in any preferred location	 Volunteer mentors	Evidence of the programmes contribution to reductions in drug and alcohol abuse, violence, and improved relationships with parents, from a randomised design by Baldwin Grossman et al. (2000).	3	£750 per mentor match
Functional Family Therapy (FFT) <a href="http://www.fftlc.com">www.fftlc.com</a>	A family-based prevention and intervention program for youth aged 11-18 at risk for delinquency and violence. The programme focuses on eliminating problem behaviours and accompanying family relational patterns.	 8-30 one hour sessions over 3-6 months, in any preferred location	 Clinical professional with specialist training in FFT	FFT has established evidence of reducing young people's offending and substance misuse from multiple evaluations, including eight randomised control trials. Most recently, Sexton and Turner (2010) found that FFT resulted in a significant reduction in serious and violent crime. Although the programme is well-evaluated, more could be done to specifically evaluate its impact on families in which severe abuse has occurred.	3	Cost per youth is ~£2,500 ROI is ~£28,000 per youth

# 5. Appendix 1: Literature table

Figure 14 provides the additional details of studies included in this review that explore the link between family violence and youth offending, or which evaluate interventions designed to prevent or address youth offending among young people with experience of family violence.

**Figure 14 Literature review table**

Citation and purpose	Population sample size	Design	Findings and implications
<p><b>Aceves and Cookston (2007)</b> This study examines prospective associations between violent victimisation, the quality of parent-adolescent relationships and the subsequent onset of violent aggression.</p>	<p>6,504 US adolescents</p>	<p>Analysis of data from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health.</p>	<p>Using regression analysis, the study found that parent-adolescent relations functioned as a protective buffer, such that violently victimized adolescent males who reported high quality relationships with parents in Wave 1 of the study were less likely to be involved in violent aggression at Wave 2 (<math>t = -1.98</math> significant at the 0.05 level). The study controlled for biological sex, total household income, age, and race.</p>

Citation and purpose	Population sample size	Design	Findings and implications
<p><b>Baglivio et al. (2015)</b> This study examines the relationship between adverse childhood experiences and offending patterns through late adolescence.</p>	<p>64,000 adjudicated juvenile offenders in the State of Florida</p>	<p>This study uses the Semi-Parametric Group-Based Method (SPGM) to identify different latent groups of official offending trajectories based on individual variation over time from ages 7 to 17. Multinomial logistic regression was used to examine which measures, including the ACE score, distinguished between trajectory groups.</p>	<p>The paper concludes that child maltreatment influences officially recorded offending trajectories. Findings indicate that increased exposure to multiple Adverse Childhood Experiences distinguishes early-onset and chronic offending from other patterns of offending, controlling across demographic, individual risk, familial risk, and personal history domains. In particular, children who have experienced more than 5 ACEs were most likely to be early onset offenders (Log odds of 1.799 significant at the 0.01 level). The study controlled for race, gender, individual risk factors for offending, and familial risk factors for offending, and persistent offenders were found to have the highest mean ACE score.</p>
<p><b>Baldwin Grossman et al. (2000)</b> Evaluation of the Big Brothers Big Sisters mentoring programme.</p>	<p>1000 US adolescents</p>	<p>Comparison of outcomes for 500 adolescents who were assigned a mentor and 500 who were kept on the waiting list.</p>	<p>After 18 months, meetings with a mentor for (on average) a year had reduced first-time drug use by almost half and first-time alcohol use by a third, had cut school absenteeism by half, improved parental and peer relationships, and gave the youth confidence in doing their school work.</p>

Citation and purpose	Population sample size	Design	Findings and implications
<p><b>Bender (2010)</b> This study focuses on defining causal mechanisms for gendered pathways from maltreatment to delinquency.</p>	<p>Not applicable</p>	<p>Theory building based on a synthesis of existing literature.</p>	<p>The paper identifies five potential intervening factors that facilitate a child's transition from maltreatment to delinquency: running away, mental health problems, substance abuse problems, school disengagement, and deviant peer networks.</p>
<p><b>Butler et al. (2011)</b> An evaluation of the efficacy of multi-systemic therapy for reducing youth offending.</p>	<p>108 UK families</p>	<p>Families were randomised to either MST or to the comprehensive and targeted usual services delivered by youth offending teams.</p>	<p>Although both MST and YOT interventions appeared highly successful in reducing offending, the MST model of service-delivery reduced significantly further the likelihood of non-violent offending during an 18-month follow-up period. Consistent with offending data, the results of youth-reported delinquency and parental reports of aggressive and delinquent behaviours show significantly greater reductions from pre-treatment to post-treatment levels in the MST group.</p>

Citation and purpose	Population sample size	Design	Findings and implications
<p><b>Button and Gealt (2010)</b> This paper examines the relationship between sibling violence, other forms of family violence, and high-risk behaviours such as substance use, delinquency and aggression.</p>	<p>8,122 American secondary school students</p>	<p>This study uses descriptive, bivariate, and multivariate analysis of survey data from the 2007 Delaware Secondary School Student Survey.</p>	<p>This study concludes that sibling violence is significantly related to delinquency. The odds of engaging in delinquency in adolescence increased by 39.1 per cent for individuals who had been shoved, pushed, or slapped by their siblings during childhood (significant at the 0.05 level); and by 119.2 per cent for those who had been threatened or attacked by siblings with weapons (significant at the 0.05 level). In addition, this study finds that experiencing other forms of family violence is significantly related to delinquency. Experiencing child maltreatment increased the odds of becoming delinquent in adolescence by 75.3 per cent (significant at the 0.05 level), witnessing domestic violence during childhood increased the odds of becoming delinquent in adolescence by 165.5 per cent (significant at the 0.05 level). The study found that these effects remain significant after controlling for other forms violence, age, and gender.</p>
<p><b>Cashmore (2012)</b></p>	<p>Not applicable</p>	<p>A review of the literature on the nexus between abuse, neglect, and adolescent offending, focusing on possible coordinated responses by the child protection and youth justice systems.</p>	<p>This paper emphasises the importance of early intervention in a child's pathway from abuse and neglect to youth offending.</p>

Citation and purpose	Population sample size	Design	Findings and implications
<p><b>Crooks et al. (2007)</b> This paper evaluates the influence of both individual- and school-level factors on the relationship between childhood maltreatment and engagement in violent delinquency in adolescence.</p>	<p>1,788 students from 23 schools in Ontario, Canada</p>	<p>This study used multilevel statistical analysis of survey data at both the individual and the school level.</p>	<p>The study concluded that experiencing child maltreatment was a predictor of violent delinquency. Each additional form of child maltreatment experienced increased the odds of a child engaging in violent delinquency by 124 per cent (Significant at the 0.01 level, controlling for gender and level of parental nurturing).</p> <p>The study also found that school climate was a significant influence. Given the same individual risk profile, attending a school perceived by students as less safe increased one's odds of engaging in violent delinquency by 0.84 times, compared to those attending a school perceived to be unsafe.</p>
<p><b>Crusto et al. (2008)</b> An evaluation of the Child FIRST programme</p>	<p>82 children enrolled in Child FIRST in Connecticut, USA</p>	<p>Participants were surveyed at baseline and then again at discharge from the programme.</p>	<p>Baseline-to-discharge results revealed (1) a significant decrease over time in the number of potentially traumatic events that children experienced, including family and nonfamily violence events, (2) significant decreases over time in children's post-traumatic stress–intrusive thoughts and post-traumatic stress–avoidance behaviours, (3) significant decreases in self-reported stress associated with the parenting role among caregivers, (4) favourable ratings of services by caregivers, and (5) high levels of service receipt.</p>

Citation and purpose	Population sample size	Design	Findings and implications
<p><b>Currie and Tekin (2012)</b> This paper explores the relationship between experiences of child maltreatment and involvement in crime.</p>	<p>3,428 siblings and 464 pairs of twins in the USA</p>	<p>This study used data from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health to conduct empirical analysis using OLS regression models.</p>	<p>The results of this study suggest that maltreatment greatly increases the probability of engaging in crime and that the probability of engagement increases with the experience of multiple forms of maltreatment. (coefficient 0.044 for ever being convicted of an offence for experiencing maltreatment significant at the 0.01 level), controlling for demographic, biological, and family factors. One potential explanation for the large effects is that children who experience maltreatment start engaging in crime earlier. Of different forms of child maltreatment, sexual abuse appears to have the largest effects on crime.</p>
<p><b>David-Ferdon and Simon (2014)</b> This study used meta-analysis to examine the relationship between childhood exposure to domestic violence and children's internalizing, externalizing, and trauma symptoms.</p>	<p>60 studies included</p>	<p>Meta-analysis</p>	<p>The results of the meta-analysis showed mean weighted effect size d-values of .48 and .47 or the relationship between exposure to domestic violence and childhood internalizing and externalizing symptoms, respectively, indicating moderate effects. Moderator analyses for gender showed that the relationship between exposure to domestic violence and externalizing symptoms was significantly stronger for boys than for girls.</p>

Citation and purpose	Population sample size	Design	Findings and implications
<p><b>Derzon (2010)</b> This is a review of studies examining the covariation between family constructs and current or later display of problem, aggressive, criminal, or violent behaviours.</p>	<p>119 longitudinal studies</p>	<p>Meta-analysis</p>	<p>Significant but weak correlation between both child maltreatment and adolescent criminal behaviour (Adj r=0.213) and violent behaviour (Adj r= 0.100).</p>
<p><b>Duke et al. (2010)</b> This study explores the relationship between multiple types of adverse events and distinct categories of adolescent violence perpetration.</p>	<p>136,449 US students</p>	<p>Data from the 2007 Minnesota Student Survey. Linear and logistic regression models were used to determine if 6 types of adverse experiences were significantly associated with risk of adolescent violence perpetration.</p>	<p>This paper concludes that multiple each type of adverse childhood experience was significantly associated with adolescent interpersonal violence perpetration (delinquency, bullying, physical fighting, dating violence, weapon-carrying on school property) and self-directed violence (self-mutilatory behaviour, suicidal ideation, and suicide attempt). For each additional type of adverse event reported by youth, the risk of violence perpetration increased 35 per cent to 144 per cent.</p>
<p><b>Eckenrode et al. (2010)</b> This study examined the effect of prenatal and infancy. Nurse home visitation on the life course development of 19-year-old youths whose mothers participated in the programme.</p>	<p>310 young people, US-based</p>	<p>Randomised control trial</p>	<p>Prenatal and infancy home visitation reduced the proportion of girls entering the criminal justice system. For girls born to high-risk mothers, there were additional positive program effects consistent with results from earlier phases of this trial. There were few programme effects for boys.</p>

Citation and purpose	Population sample size	Design	Findings and implications
<p><b>Fang and Corso (2007)</b> This study uses a nationally representative sample to examine the developmental relationship between child maltreatment, youth violence perpetration, and young adult perpetration of intimate partner violence.</p>	<p>9,368 US adults</p>	<p>Data describing self-reported youth violence perpetration (or victimization) from Wave I of the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (1994/1995) were matched with self-reported IPV perpetration (or victimization) in young adult sexual relationships and retrospective reports of child maltreatment collected during Wave III (2001/2002). Bivariate probit regression models were used to analyse the developmental relationships between child maltreatment, youth violence, and IPV.</p>	<p>The study finds that compared to nonvictims of child maltreatment, victims of child maltreatment are more likely to perpetrate youth violence (a likelihood increase ranging from 1.2 per cent to 6.6 per cent for females and 3.7 per cent to 11.9 per cent for males) and young adult IPV (an increase from 8.7 per cent to 0.4 per cent for females and from 1.3 per cent to 17.2 per cent for males), although the direct and indirect effects vary by type of child maltreatment experienced.</p>
<p><b>Ferguson et al. (2009)</b> This study examines the multivariate nature of risk factors for youth violence including delinquent peer associations, exposure to domestic violence in the home, family conflict, neighbourhood stress, antisocial personality traits, depression level, and exposure to television and video game violence.</p>	<p>603 predominantly Hispanic children and their parents or guardians</p>	<p>Survey data analysed using multiple regression and SEM analysis.</p>	<p>This study finds that delinquent peer influences, antisocial personality traits, depression, and parents/guardians who use psychological abuse in intimate relationships were consistent risk factors for youth violence and aggression. Neighbourhood quality, parental use of domestic violence in intimate relationships, and exposure to violent television or video games were not predictive of youth violence and aggression.</p>

Citation and purpose	Population sample size	Design	Findings and implications
<p><b>Fox et al. (2015)</b> This study examines the relationship between adverse childhood experiences and serious, violent and chronic offending among juveniles.</p>	<p>22,575 'delinquent youth' referred to the department of juvenile justice in Florida, USA</p>	<p>This study compared serious violent and chronic juvenile offenders with 'one and done' offenders with only one non-violent felony offense. Each member of the sample was given a score based on the severity of their adverse childhood experiences. Researchers then conducted multivariate logistic regression to determine whether ACE scores predicted serious, violent and chronic offending.</p>	<p>The results of this study exposure to adverse childhood experiences increase the risk of becoming a serious, violent, and chronic juvenile offender. Experiencing physical abuse as a child increases the odds of becoming a serious, violent and chronic juvenile offender (compared to an offender who commits one offence only) by 58 per cent, and experience of household violence increased these odds by 23 per cent (both significant at the 0.05 level, controlling for gender, race, family income, impulsivity, and anti-social peers).</p>
<p><b>Ghosh Ippen et al. (2011)</b> Evaluation of the efficacy of Child-Parent Psychotherapy (CPP)</p>	<p>75 pre-school aged children and their mothers</p>	<p>Dyads were randomly assigned to CPP or to a comparison group that received monthly case management plus referrals to community services and were assessed at intake, post-test, and 6-month follow-up. Treatment effectiveness was examined by level of child traumatic and stressful life event (TSE) risk exposure (&lt;4 risks versus 4+ TSEs).</p>	<p>For children in the 4+ risk group, those who received CPP showed significantly greater improvements in PTSD and depression symptoms, PTSD diagnosis, number of co-occurring diagnoses, and behaviour problems compared to those in the comparison group. CPP children with &lt;4 risks showed greater improvements in symptoms of PTSD than those in the comparison group. Mothers of children with 4+ TSEs in the CPP group showed greater reductions in symptoms of PTSD and depression than those randomised to the comparison condition. Analyses of 6-month follow-up data suggest improvements were maintained for the high-risk group.</p>

Citation and purpose	Population sample size	Design	Findings and implications
<p><b>Gilbert et al. (2009)</b> This study is a review paper exploring the burden and consequences of child maltreatment in high-income countries.</p>	<p>172 studies reviewed (although not all of these focus on youth offending as a consequence of child maltreatment)</p>	<p>Review paper using a comprehensive search of PubMed, Psycinfo, and Education Resources Information Center (ERIC) for any systematic reviews or overviews related to child maltreatment published after 2000 (to June, 2008). The authors then scrutinised reference lists of relevant studies.</p>	<p>This review reports a strong association between child maltreatment and aggression, violence, and criminality in both prospective and retrospective studies.</p>
<p><b>Holt et al. (2008)</b> A review of the literature on the impact of exposure to domestic violence on children and young people.</p>	<p>139 studies reviewed (although not all of these focus on youth offending as a consequence of exposure to domestic violence)</p>	<p>Review article focusing on papers published between 1995 and 2006.</p>	<p>This review finds that children and adolescents living with domestic violence are at increased risk of experiencing emotional, physical and sexual abuse, of developing emotional and behavioural problems – including preparation of intimate partner violence as young people.</p>
<p><b>Hopkins, Webb and Mackie (2010)</b> This is a report commissioned by the Youth Justice Board exploring the proportion of young people within the youth justice system receiving assistance from children's services and whether best practice in partnership working was being achieved.</p>	<p>7000 young people, UK</p>	<p>A national online survey of YOT managers and children's services directors, Case file data analysis from 4000 remanded/convicted young people and 3000 young people at risk of offending, semi-structured interviews with practitioners in five YOT areas.</p>	<p>This study produced a number of key findings relevant to this review: the Asset core profiles highlighted that a high proportion (43 per cent) of those young people with complete Asset profiles have had previous Children's Services contact, and 15 per cent have current contact. Overall, young people with any previous children's services contact recorded were most likely to have a voluntary arrangement for accommodation in place (30 per cent), to be child protection registered (27 per cent), or to have had a care order in place (18 per cent). A total of 10 per cent of young people from the sample of at-risk cases were also recorded as known to social services.</p>

Citation and purpose	Population sample size	Design	Findings and implications
<p><b>Indig et al. (2011)</b> This paper reports the findings of the first Young People in Custody Health Survey conducted by the NSW Department of Human Services – Juvenile Justice</p>	<p>242 Australian young people</p>	<p>Baseline and follow-up surveys including a health questionnaire, health assessment, and offending behaviour and psychological assessment.</p>	<p>Key findings relevant to this review include: that while males are consistently more likely to offend than females, adolescent females who did offend and spend time in custody were more likely to have been maltreated than adolescent males.</p>
<p><b>Kennedy et al. (2010).</b> This paper explores the clinical and adaptive features of young offenders with histories of child-parent violence</p>	<p>223 juvenile offenders in Florida, USA</p>	<p>This study compared the clinical and adaptive features of juvenile offenders (N=223) who were violent towards their parents (CPV) with those who had no history of violence against their parents (NCPV), using descriptive statistics and between-subjects factorial analysis.</p>	<p>The study found that youths in the CPV group were more likely to (a) associate with peers who own guns, (b) affiliate with gang members, (c) belong to a gang, The CPV group also committed a greater number of nondomestic violent offenses.</p>
<p><b>Lowell et al. (2011)</b></p>	<p>157 mother-child dyads (US-based)</p>	<p>Randomised control trial</p>	<p>At the 12-month follow-up, Child FIRST children had improved language (OR = 4.4) and externalizing symptoms (OR= 4.7) compared to Usual Care children. Child FIRST mothers had less parenting stress at the 6-month follow-up (OR = 3.0), lower psychopathology symptoms at 12-month follow-up (OR = 4.0), and less protective service involvement at 3 years postbaseline (OR = 2.1) relative to Usual Care mothers. Intervention families accessed 91 per cent of wanted services relative to 33 per cent among Usual Care.</p>

Citation and purpose	Population sample size	Design	Findings and implications
<p><b>Maas, Herrenkohl, and Sousa, (2008)</b> Review of research on child maltreatment and violence in youth, examining the differences in the prediction of adolescent violence as a function of duration and timing of maltreatment.</p>	<p>32 studies</p>	<p>Review paper, prioritising longitudinal studies.</p>	<p>The results of the review 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.</p>
<p><b>Manchikanti Gomez (2011)</b> Study of the impact of child abuse on perpetration of adolescent dating violence.</p>	<p>4,191 US participants in the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health</p>	<p>Regression analysis using data from three waves of the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health.</p>	<p>Child abuse and adolescent dating violence are common in this study population and are highly predictive of IPV. In regression models stratified by gender, child abuse and adolescent dating violence are significant predictors of IPV victimization and perpetration for both men and women, with victims of child abuse having 97 per cent higher odds of perpetrating IPV as young adults compared to those who were not abused (controlling for parental factors, family structure, neighbourhood factors, significant at the 0.01 level). However, the magnitude of these associations differs by gender with women abused as children 4 per cent more likely to become perpetrators of dating violence (although this may be attributable to reporting bias).</p>

Citation and purpose	Population sample size	Design	Findings and implications
<p><b>Mersky and Reynolds (2007)</b> This study employs data from the Chicago Longitudinal Study (CLS) to investigate the relation between child maltreatment and the incidence and frequency of violent delinquency</p>	<p>1,404 low-income, minority children from Chicago, USA, for whom maltreatment and delinquency status were verified</p>	<p>Multivariate regression analysis</p>	<p>The study found that maltreatment is significantly associated with all violent outcomes investigated. Maltreatment was associated with a 51 per cent increase in the likelihood of being adjudicated for a violent offense (significant at the 0.01 level, controlling for demographic and parental factors). Effects are comparable for physically abused and neglected children.</p>
<p><b>Moylan et al. (2010)</b> This study examines the effects of child abuse and domestic violence exposure in childhood on adolescent externalizing behaviours including delinquency and violence perpetration.</p>	<p>Following 459 males and females through childhood and adolescence. (US based)</p>	<p>A longitudinal study capturing survey data on participants at pre-school age, school age, and during adolescence. The study measured exposure to violence, adolescent psychosocial functioning and behaviour, and then conducted regression models using the MPlus structural modelling programme to explore the relationship between exposure to violence and a variety of behaviours in adolescence.</p>	<p>This study finds that children who had experienced both child abuse and domestic violence were more at risk for these higher levels than those who had only experienced one of these two forms of violence. Children with dual exposure (3.71 coefficient (significant at a 0.01 level), for delinquency, compared to 1.88 (sig at 0.1 level) for child abuse only and 1.84 for domestic violence exposure only (this result was not significant), controlling for the impact of gender.</p>
<p><b>Murray, J. and Farrington, D.P., (2010)</b> This study is a review of key longitudinal studies that explore the risk factors for conduct disorder and delinquency.</p>	<p>164 studies reviewed (although these focused on a variety of risk factors – not just on family violence</p>	<p>Review paper</p>	<p>The review concluded that experiences of child physical abuse are strongly associated with delinquency in adolescence.</p>

Citation and purpose	Population sample size	Design	Findings and implications
<p><b>Oggers et al. (2007).</b> This study aims to identify subtypes of serious and violent female juvenile offenders.</p>	133 female juvenile offenders (US-based)	Latent class analysis using data from official files, self-report measures, semi-structured clinical interviews, and computerized diagnostic assessments.	Girls deemed to have a high likelihood of becoming involved in violence and delinquency had the highest rates across all measures of violence exposure (including exposure to domestic violence, sexual abuse, physical abuse, and neglect). When compared to girls deemed to have a high likelihood of becoming involved in non-violent delinquency, the 'violent and delinquent' group were more likely to have experienced both domestic violence and sexual abuse.
<p><b>Routt and Anderson (2011)</b> This paper considers risk factors for youth involvement in violence against their parents.</p>	1,339 adolescent offenders and their families (US-based)	Interviews with parents and youth, data collected by the Juvenile Prosecutor's office on perpetrators and victims, observations of youth and parents participating in an intervention programme for youth violent towards their parents.	This study found that 53 per cent of offenders who were violent towards their parents had witnessed domestic violence, and 32 per cent had been exposed to domestic violence and had also been physically abused themselves. However, this study does not look specifically at the correlation between these experiences and subsequent perpetration of violence.
<p><b>Salzinger, Rosario and Feldman (2007)</b> This study considered adolescent personal relationships with parents and peers for their mediating roles in the effect of preadolescent physical abuse on adolescent violence delinquency.</p>	200 (100 physically abused adolescents and 100 matched non-abused classmates) US-based	Participants were interviewed and surveyed at 10 years old and then again at 16 years old. Researchers used bivariate analysis and hierarchical linear regression modelling to analyse survey data.	The study found that adolescent attachment to parents and verbal and physical abuse in relationships with parents during adolescence mediated between preadolescent abuse and later violent delinquency ( $\beta = -0.34, p \leq 0.01$ ). Friends' delinquency in adolescence and verbal and physical abuse with best friends in adolescence moderated the relationship between early abuse and later violent delinquency ( $\beta = 0.19, p \leq 0.01$ ).

Citation and purpose	Population sample size	Design	Findings and implications
<p><b>Schaffner (2007).</b> This study explores the relationship between young women's experiences of emotional, physical, and sexual trauma in early childhood and adolescence and their involvements in juvenile delinquency.</p>	<p>100 young women in the USA</p>	<p>Combination of interviews and participant observation.</p>	<p>This study argues that trauma witnessed and experienced from prior childhood and adolescent injuries, many of which are experienced in private, contribute to girls committing acts of violence and coming to the attention of public authorities.</p>
<p><b>Sexton and Turner (2010)</b> Evaluation of the efficacy of Functional Family Therapy (FFT) for youth with behavioural problems.</p>	<p>38 therapists and 917 families (US-based)</p>	<p>Juvenile offenders who had been remanded for probation services were randomly assigned to receive either FFT or usual probation services. In order to ensure group similarity and adequacy of follow up, both the control and treatment group were measured at 12 months post treatment (accounting for six months average processing time) assignment to measure one-year post treatment.</p>	<p>The findings suggest that FFT was effective in reducing youth behavioural problems, although only when the therapists adhered to the treatment model. High adherent therapists delivering FFT had a statistically significant reduction of 35 per cent in felony, a 30 per cent reduction in violent crime, and a marginally significant reduction of 21 per cent in misdemeanour recidivisms as compared to the control condition. This study controlled for criminal history, age, gender, as well as family and peer risk factors.</p>

Citation and purpose	Population sample size	Design	Findings and implications
<p><b>Sousa et al. (2011).</b> This study examines the unique and combined effects of child abuse and children's exposure to domestic violence on later attachment to parents and antisocial behaviour during adolescence.</p>	<p>457 young people from the US</p>	<p>Longitudinal study using survey data from the Lehigh Longitudinal Study – observing participants in early childhood, primary school, and as adolescents. Researchers analysed the data using three-way ANOVA models.</p>	<p>This study considered the impact of children's exposure to violence (comparing no exposure, exposure to domestic violence only, exposure to child abuse only, and dual exposure).</p> <p>Dual exposure (compared to no exposure) remained predictive of minor assault (OR: 2.39), delinquency (OR: 2.07), and status offenses (OR: 3.43). Child abuse remained significantly predictive only of status offenses (OR: 2.86), although, for minor assault, the findings suggest a higher risk for child abuse only compared to no exposure or domestic violence exposure only. This is also true for domestic violence exposure for both minor assault and status offenses, where results approach significance. After accounting for gender and SES, exposure to domestic violence only significantly increased the odds of minor assault (OR: 2.04), but no other outcome. Finally, when SES and gender are added to the model, the presumed (main effect) protective effects of parent-child attachment in adolescence remain only for status offenses (OR: .33).</p>

Citation and purpose	Population sample size	Design	Findings and implications
<p><b>Stewart et al. (2008)</b> This paper examines the impact that timing and chronicity of child maltreatment have on juvenile offending.</p>	5,849 Australian children	Administrative data on child protection and juvenile justice contacts were analysed using Semi-Parametric Group-Based trajectory analyses.	This study finds that children whose maltreatment trajectory started or extended into adolescence were more likely to offend as juveniles than children whose maltreatment occurred prior to, but not during, adolescence.
<p><b>Tower Hamlets Safeguarding Children Board (2015)</b> This is a summary report of a thematic review that was instigated following a range of incidents in 2013/14 in which several older children committed grave offences.</p>	Not applicable	Thematic review	The purpose of this review was to better understand the experiences of older children who had committed acts of violence in Tower Hamlets. The review found that all five children had experienced gang involvement, violence and exploitation. All five children had also been exposed to abuse and neglect and violence within the family.
<p><b>Weaver et al. (2008)</b> This study explores the relationships between childhood exposure to violence and adolescent conduct problems.</p>	88 mother-child dyads (US-based)	Regression analysis utilising survey data from an ongoing prospective longitudinal study: the Notre Dame Adolescent Parenting Project.	<p>This study finds that witnessing violence and victimization prior to age ten predicts delinquency and violent behaviours even after controlling for prenatal maternal and early childhood externalizing problems.</p> <p>Bivariate correlations among the total sample revealed that past witnessing of violence was significantly positively correlated with adolescent delinquency, <math>r(67) = .34</math>, <math>p &lt; .05</math>, and violent behaviours, <math>r(71) = .42</math>, <math>p &lt; .001</math>. Victimization from violence was also positively correlated with both adolescent delinquency, <math>r(67) = .28</math>, <math>p &lt; .05</math>, and violent behaviours, <math>r(71) = .36</math>, <math>p &lt; .01</math></p>

Citation and purpose	Population sample size	Design	Findings and implications
<p><b>Worling et al. (2010)</b> Evaluation of The Sexual Abuse Family Education and Treatment Program.</p>	<p>148 adolescent sex offenders in Toronto, Canada</p>	<p>Researchers analysed recidivism data on adolescent offenders comparing those who did and did not participate in the intervention.</p>	<p>Relative to the comparison group, adolescents who participated in specialised treatment were significantly less likely to receive subsequent charges for sexual, nonsexual violent, and nonviolent crimes.</p>
<p><b>Wright and Fagan (2013)</b> This study explores the degree to which neighbourhood disadvantage and cultural norms attenuate or strengthen the abuse-violence relationship.</p>	<p>1,372 youth living in Chicago, USA</p>	<p>Analysis of longitudinal survey data using a multivariate, multi-level Rasch model.</p>	<p>The analysis found that the effect of child abuse on violence was weaker in more disadvantaged communities. Neighborhood cultural norms regarding tolerance for youth delinquency and fighting among family and friends did not moderate the child abuse-violence relationship, but each had a direct effect on violence, such that residence in neighborhoods more tolerant of delinquency and fighting increased the propensity for violence.</p>
<p><b>Zinzow et al. (2009)</b> his study examines whether witnessed community and parental violence represented risk factors for substance use and delinquency among adolescents, beyond the contribution of direct violence and other risk factors.</p>	<p>3,614 US adolescents</p>	<p>Structured telephone interviews assessed demographics, trauma history, witnessed violence, delinquency, and substance use.</p>	<p>This study found that, accounting for trauma history and other risk factors, witnessed community and parental violence were associated with delinquency.</p> <p>In particular, having witnessed parental violence increased children's odds of engaging in delinquency by 77 per cent, compared to those who had not witnessed parental violence.</p>

# 6. Appendix 2: Review protocol

## Search strategy

We developed and designed a review protocol which we shared and agreed with the LGA before proceeding with the review. Using the terms in Figure 15 we conducted a Google Scholar search combining each primary search term with each secondary search term (eg, 'family violence' + 'youth offending', 'sibling violence' + 'future offending'). We reviewed the abstracts of the first 30 articles for each combination of search terms and chose the most relevant articles for the bibliography. We also conducted a standard Google search to make sure key literature not found in journals was also included in the bibliography.

We included articles published between 2007 and 2017, although review articles and meta-analyses may make reference to research published before 2007. All articles focused on the UK or on comparable countries such as the USA or Australia.

**Figure 15 Search terms**

Primary search terms	Secondary search terms
Family violence	Delinquency
Domestic violence	Youth offending
Violence against women and girls	Childhood offending
Sibling violence	Youth justice
Violence	Future offending
Parental criminality	Risk factor
Adverse childhood experiences	Protective factor
	Predictor
	Reason
	Link to

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