

Cultural Perspectives on Pathways
from Child Maltreatment to Delinquency:
A Cross-cultural Mixed Methods Inquiry
in the U.S. and South Korea

A DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY
OF UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA BY

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IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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May 2019

Acknowledgements

I could write a dissertation length of acknowledgements for the people who have helped me complete my dissertation, but I will keep this brief. First and foremost, I would like to express the deepest appreciation to my advisor, Dr. Wendy Haight, who displayed the utmost patience while sharing her incredible knowledge and insight into cross-cultural research during the course of creating this dissertation. Without your guidance and support to this process, the publication of this dissertation would not have been possible. She is the best role model for an academic advisor! I would also like to express my heartfelt thanks to my dissertation committee chair, Dr. Liz Lightfoot, for her mentoring and ongoing support throughout my academic career. I also want to thank the rest of my committee: Dr. Jeffrey Waid and Dr. Lindsay Wailer for their advice and thoughtful comments throughout this process.

My dissertation work was supported by the Minn-LInK project. I thank the team at Minn-LInK, especially Saahoon Hong, Kristine Piescher, and Nicole mickelson for their support to help me access statewide administrative data from Minnesota Department of Education, Minnesota Department of Human Services, and Judicial branch.

The PhD program can be a relatively lonely and all-consuming experience, but I was blessed to have support. I would not have made it through this program without my peers, especially Chittaphone, Molly, Ndilimeke, Ruth, Youngji, Cary, and Heejung. To my great friends outside academia: Yanggyun, Heejin, Sooyeon, Soonmo, Hyemin, Donna, Jihee, Hanna, Jihye, Seoyoung, Seongsoo, Sujung, Bomi, Jinyoo, Hana, Wonsuk, Guiyun, Sujin, Jaeho, Sooyoung, Dalhee, Somi, Joonghyun, and Jiyoung. They helped

keep me sane and enriched my graduate school days. Thank you to these wonderful, life-long friends.

Finally, I would like to thank my family in Korea: my mother (Yongsuk), brother (Joonki), sister in law (Hyun), and lovely nephews (Hana, & Hyunsoe) for trusting me to achieve the goals I set out and for their continued prayers, support and commitment to seeing this process through. Without their unfailing love and encouragement, I could have never reached my goals in this journey. I also could not have completed my graduate school and this dissertation study without the incredible support and love from the Schmitz family in Minnesota: Diane, Kristen, Joe, Olive, Gabe, Lauren, Chris, Kylo, Karen, Brian, and Steven. To my amazing faith community, I am especially grateful for Cristy and Darin, for their nurturing and surrounding my life with so much love and continued prayers.

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my late father, without whom this accomplishment would not have been possible.

Abstract

This study explores cultural perspectives on pathways from child maltreatment to delinquency in the U.S. and South Korea (hereafter Korea). The involvement of maltreated youth in delinquency is a persistent global concern. Involvement in the juvenile justice system compounds risks to children already vulnerable due to maltreatment and involvement in the child welfare system (Chapin & Griffin, 2005; Morris & Freundlich, 2004). What constitutes child maltreatment (Kobin, 2002; Wells & Johnson, 2016) and delinquency (Bartollas & Schmallegger, 2014) varies cross-culturally. These various definitions may affect the pathways from child maltreatment to delinquency. Cross-cultural comparative research on crossover youth is particularly important for the design and implementation of culturally sensitive policies and practices that prevent the involvement of maltreated children with diverse cultural backgrounds in the juvenile justice system.

Guided by “universalism without uniformity (Shweder & Sullivan, 1993, p. 514)” from developmental cultural psychology, this study employed a cross-cultural, mixed methods study design (Haight & Bidwell, 2016) to examine cultural variations in understanding risks for involvement in delinquency of maltreated children in the U.S. and South Korea. Using an explanatory sequential mixed methods design, the initial quantitative analyses on risk factors for delinquency in both countries were followed by qualitative inquiries for the purpose of triangulation, contextualization, elaboration, and complementarity.

In the quantitative component of this study, a prospective, longitudinal cohort study design was used to examine risk factors for delinquency in the U.S. and Korea,

respectively. The U.S. quantitative study investigated delinquency rates over a 6-year period and factors associated with the risk of early onset of delinquency for maltreated youth beginning in 3rd grade in academic year 2008-2009. Utilizing an integrated data set from state departments of Education and Human Services, and Judicial Branch, this study tracked the administrative records of 5,200 maltreated children for their first-time delinquency. Approximately 7% of maltreated youth (n = 332) were adjudicated as delinquent over a 6-year period from 3rd to 8th grade. The results of the Cox proportional hazard model indicated significant risk factors for early onset of delinquency in maltreated children: being male, belonging to particular racial minority groups (Black, Native Indian, and Hispanic youth), receiving a diagnosis of emotional/behavioral disabilities, receiving an out-of-school suspension, and experiencing more than three previous maltreatment incidents.

The Korean quantitative study investigated the rates of delinquency, the impact of maltreatment on delinquency, and other risk factors for delinquency among South Korean youth. Using Korean Children and Youth Panel Survey data, this quantitative study followed two cohorts of middle (n=2,275) and high (n=2,272) school Korean youth until their first-time self-reported delinquency over a 4-year period from 6th to 9th grade for the middle school cohort and from 9th to 12th grade for the high school cohort. To create complete and balanced data, ten imputation data sets were generated, and the results present the pooled estimates of these data sets. Approximately 19% of middle and 11% of high school youth engaged in delinquency over the 4-year period. Maltreatment was associated with delinquency only for high school youth. The results of the discrete-time hazard model indicated that in both cohorts, males and youth with high levels of

aggression were more likely to engage in delinquency. Consistent with the existing research in Western countries, the Korean quantitative study found additional risk factors including high levels of depression, negative attitudes toward school rules, father's education less than high school, and low levels of self-control. This study also found some risk factors that require understanding of the sociocultural context in Korea including mother's education more than high school and higher family income.

The subsequent qualitative component of this mixed methods study examined cultural perspectives on the risk factors identified in the first two quantitative studies through the interpretations of U.S. and South Korean professionals. Cross-cultural analysis was conducted on data from the in-depth, semi-structured individual interviews with 21 U.S. and 20 Korean professionals serving various roles in the child welfare and juvenile justice systems, including child protection workers, probation officers, attorneys, and judges. The professionals described common and culturally unique risk factors for delinquency in maltreated children. The common risk factors discussed by the U.S. and Korean professionals included: (1) psychosocial vulnerabilities of individual youth; (2) difficulties in parent-child relationships; and (3) challenges to systems' interventions. Yet their interpretations were culturally nuanced, reflecting differences in the social, cultural, and practice contexts between the two countries: (1) external attribution (U.S.) or internal attribution (Korea) to youth's psychosocial vulnerabilities; (2) parent history of their own trauma (U.S.) and a lack of parental responsibility (Korea) as underlying difficulties in the parent-child relationships; and (3) a lack of cross-systems collaboration (U.S.) and a lack of accountability among child-serving systems (Korea) as challenges to systems'

interventions. Professionals' discussions also revealed culturally unique risk factors in each country: racism (U.S.) and social justification for physical punishment (Korea).

As the first cross-cultural, mixed methods study, findings of the current study can contribute to the conceptual understanding of the pathways from maltreatment to delinquency in various cultural contexts. The findings of the current study also can contribute to a broader knowledge base for the training of professionals pertaining to maltreated children at risk for delinquency involved in multiple child serving systems. Furthermore, study findings can facilitate new perspectives among professionals by illuminating their own taken-for-granted assumptions and socialization practices in addressing risks for delinquency in maltreated children. Therefore, findings of this study can promote different ways of thinking to strengthen existing practices and policies as well as to develop culturally tailored interventions that prevent maltreated ethnic minorities from engaging in delinquency.

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Chapter One Introduction

A substantial body of research in Western countries, including the U.S., indicates that childhood maltreatment increases the risk of delinquency (Herz, Ryan & Bilchik, 2010; Jonson-Reid, 2002). In the U.S., “crossover youth” are broadly defined as maltreated youth who have engaged in delinquency (Stewart, Lutz, & Herz, 2010). Existing data in the U.S. indicates that overall, maltreated children are reported as having 47% - 53% higher rates of delinquency than non-maltreated children (Ryan & Testa, 2005; Widom, 1989). In addition, repeated maltreatment further increases youth’s risk of reoffending (Hong, 2013; Jonson--Reid, 2002; Lemmon, 2006; Shin, 2008; Suh et al., 2001; Williams, Van Dorn, Bright, Jonson-Reid, & Nebbitt, 2010). Jonson-Reid (2002) found that in Missouri, more than three reports of maltreatment were associated with a higher risk of juvenile corrections with a 54% increase in the odds.

A growing number of U.S. studies have uncovered a variety of developmental outcomes specific to youth who were involved in both child welfare and juvenile justice systems. Cumulative research outcomes contribute to identifying unique needs for services to interrupt negative developmental trajectories and support positive development (Stewart, Lutz, & Herz, 2010). Maltreated youth who engage in delinquency are at heightened risk relative to non-maltreated and delinquency-only youth for negative developmental outcomes in adulthood, including mental health challenges, occupational and educational difficulties, substance abuse, criminal behaviors, domestic violence and intergenerational maltreatment. Mental health problems are prevalent among maltreated youth. For example, Halemba, Siegel, Lord, and Zawacki (2004) found

that 80% of crossover youth in Arizona had substance abuse problems, 61% had other emotional/mental health issues, 61% had a history of prescribed psychotropic medications, and 27% reported suicidal ideations/attempts. In addition, recidivism rates among maltreated children are concerning. They are two times more likely than delinquency-only youth to recidivate (Halemba et al., 2004). Educational outcomes also may be problematic in that the majority of those youth (59% - 76%) had chronic truancy and grade retention problems and were involved in special education and disciplinary systems (Halemba et al., 2004; Herz & Ryan, 2008; Kelley et al., 1997).

Those outcomes may result, in part, from the compounding of risks associated with maltreatment and involvement in the child welfare and juvenile justice systems. Involvement in the child welfare system, especially out-of-home placement, can place maltreated children at further risk for psychosocial problems due to a disruption of family relationships and other positive contexts such as school and extracurricular activities (Dworsky & Courtney, 2010; Grogan-Kaylor, Ruffolo, Ortega, & Clarke, 1992). They also remain in the child welfare system for longer periods of time than non-maltreated children (Halemba & Siegel, 2011; Herz et al., 2010; Wiig & Tuell, 2007). Maltreated youth tend to enter into the juvenile justice system at younger ages than their delinquent counterparts who are not maltreated (Halemba & Siegel, 2011; Herz et al., 2012; Lee & Villagrana, 2015; Ryan, Herz, Hernandez, & Marshall, 2007). Early involvement in the juvenile justice system can further compound their risks, for example, through exposure to delinquent peers and stigmatization (Munson & Freundlich, 2005; Redding, Lexcen, & Ryan, 2005). In addition, maltreated youth tend to receive biased and harsher treatment in the juvenile justice systems than their counterparts without maltreatment histories (Ryan

et al., 2007). Youth with maltreatment histories received harsh treatment in the juvenile justice system. For example, juvenile offenders with maltreatment histories are more likely to be adjudicated and detained. They also tend to spend more time in custody (Halemba & Siegel, 2011). Additionally, they are more likely to be placed in group home or correctional facilities rather than receiving probation (Ryan et al., 2007).

Problem Statement

Crossover youth are disproportionately ethnic minorities in the U.S., particularly African American, Hispanic, and Native American youth (Herz et al., 2012). The involvement of maltreated youth in the juvenile justice system is also a global concern. Yet there is relatively little research that examines the pathways in various cultural contexts. Cross-cultural comparative research is particularly important for the design and implementation of culturally sensitive policies and practices that prevent maltreated ethnic minorities from becoming involved in the juvenile justices system. However, international comparisons on risks for delinquency in maltreated children are complex. What constitutes child maltreatment (Kobin, 2002; Wells & Johnson, 2016) and delinquency (Bartollas & Schmallegger, 2014) varies cross-culturally. How parents and children understand parenting behaviors that constitute maltreatment may impact the relationship between socialization practices and child outcomes such as delinquency (Rogoff, 2003). Furthermore, how professionals understand these pathways is likely related to their intervention strategies. These various understandings may affect the pathways from child maltreatment to delinquency.

Korean society is undergoing a transition between traditional and new practices after the recent establishment of a child protection law in 2014 (Korean Ministry of

Government Legislation, 2014). Although the recent change in Korean policies contributed to acknowledging child maltreatment as a crime for the first time in Korean society, law enforcement is limited to serious cases (e.g., significant delays in children's physical and psychological development, or physical and mental impairments).

Variations in child protection policies and practices between the U.S. and Korea may reflect differences in cultural beliefs and socialization goals related to child care between the two countries. Given the recent changes in policies and practices, research from a Korean cultural context can provide a unique opportunity to identify variations in our understanding of risks for maltreated children's involvement in delinquency.

In the U.S., the data on prevalence rates of maltreatment and delinquency are more comprehensively available for empirical research than in Korea. For example, higher prevalence rates of delinquency are reported when the studies measure the prevalence of maltreated youth at the time when they are arrested (up to 45%) (Smith & Thornberry, 1995) than those at the time when they are actually adjudicated (found to be guilty) (as low as 4.5%) (Bogie, Johnson, Ereth, & Scharenbroch, 2011). Researchers using self-report data generally report higher prevalence rates than those using administrative data. Although only 16% of the youth had a court record of maltreatment, 83% of youth in a juvenile temporary detention center in Illinois self-reported maltreatment (Swain et al., 2006). Studies also vary in prevalence rates depending on how deeply juvenile delinquents have become involved in the juvenile justice system. The official delinquency rate among maltreated youth ranged from 7% who received probation supervision (Halemba et al., 2004) to 89% who were incarcerated (Halemba & Lord, 2005). As for the maltreatment type, Ryan and Testa (2005) reported 62% of youth

as having official reports for neglect, 46% for physical abuse, 15% for sexual abuse, 2% for substance exposure, and less than 1% for emotional abuse in Cook County, Illinois. Herz and Fontaine (2012) also observed a similar pattern in maltreatment types among crossover youth in King County, Washington: 80% for neglect, 35% for physical abuse, 5% for sexual abuse, and 10% for other types of abuse including emotional abuse and medical neglect.

It is more difficult to estimate the prevalence of maltreated youth who have engaged in delinquency in Korea. First, official records for both child maltreatment and delinquency are not available for the purpose of research. Most studies have used several national survey data sets which sampled the general student population. Various methods with different strengths and limitations have been used for obtaining prevalence data. Researchers using self-report methods generally report higher prevalence rates than those using administrative data. Most Korean studies on maltreated children who become delinquents measured both childhood maltreatment and delinquency using Likert scales focused on severity and type with little attention to prevalence. A few Korean scholars have used self-report data from delinquent youth on probation or in correctional facilities to identify the prevalence of maltreatment. There are only two Korean studies that provide maltreatment rates among juvenile offenders (Kim, 2009; Kim, 2014). Using a sample of 177 male offenders on probation supervision for multiple violent or property offenses, Kim (2009) observed 79% of the youth experiencing some form of physical abuse, 70% experiencing emotional abuse, and 46% experiencing neglect. Another study investigated the relationship between physical and sexual abuse and violent delinquency (Kim, 2014). Of the 300 male youth offenders either in correctional facilities or on

probation supervision, 14% of them reported physical abuse and 35% reported sexual abuse.

Another reason it is difficult to estimate the prevalence of maltreatment among delinquent youth is because there had been no established definition of child maltreatment in Korea until the revised Child Welfare Law in 2000 (Hong et al., 2011). Even after the legal definition of child maltreatment, empirical studies do not report the child maltreatment rates and maltreatment types consistently. For example, using nationwide data from Seoul Panel Study of Children (SPSC), Jung et al., (2006) observed approximately 47% of the children reporting neglect, 38% reporting emotional abuse, and 31% of the children reporting physical abuse. This study involved 1,785 students in 4th grade from 11 elementary schools in Seoul. On the other hand, Kim and Nam (2012) identified 50% of the children reporting minor physical abuse (i.e., hitting, slapping or spanking) and 22% reporting severe physical abuse (i.e., choking or burning) more than once for the past year, 63% reporting emotional abuse, and 2.7% reporting neglect. They drew on data from the 2010 National Survey on Domestic Violence that involved 1,013 students from 5th to 11th grades. The difference in definitions makes it difficult to compare across studies.

Compared to the U.S., the prevalence rate of child maltreatment in Korea is estimated to be much lower and considerably different in type than the U.S. In 2012, U.S. state and local child protective services (CPS) reported that 686,000 (9.2 per 1,000) children were victims of maltreatment with 78% victims of neglect, 18% of physical abuse, 9% of sexual abuse and 11% of other types of maltreatment including emotional abuse and lack of supervision (National Center for Injury Prevention and Control, 2014).

Despite an increasing trend, prevalence rates of child maltreatment in Korea is still far lower than the U.S from 0.18 per 1,000 in 2001 to 0.24 per 1,000 in 2011 (Korean Ministry of Health and Welfare, 2014). The prevalence by maltreatment types also appears to be different from the U.S. In 2014, of the 17,782 children who were referred to the local Child Protection Agencies in Korea, approximately 38% were victims of emotional abuse, 33% of physical abuse, 25% of neglect and 4% of sexual abuse (Korean National Child Protection Agency, 2015).

The lower prevalence of child maltreatment may not mean that less child maltreatment occurs in Korea. In addition, it cannot be concluded that the higher prevalence of physical abuse in Korea leads to more serious consequences than in the U.S. Rather, it requires a cross-cultural lens to understand how differently child maltreatment is defined and how differently societies respond to it. Korean parents tend to believe that a disobedient child potentially will not assume a duty of filial piety to parents (Paik, 2001). Obedience to parents is essential to maintaining family functioning and harmony. If a child does not behave, it is attributed solely to poor parental education at home and the blame for the child's misbehavior is often put on his/her parents. Parental discipline may be severe in order to ensure a child's obedience and loyalty (Hahm & Guterman, 2001). Under these cultural beliefs, physical punishment is not considered to be maltreatment. Even severe corporal punishment, such as slapping the child on the face or kicking, can be viewed as the parents' sincere love and concern for their children, as well as the maintenance of family integrity and honor (Hong et al., 2011; Yang, 2000).

Empirical studies in Korea support positive beliefs towards physical punishment. Kim (1998) found that 92% of mothers and 83% of fathers reported positive attitudes

toward employing corporal punishment. Yoon's (2000) national survey reported that Korean people in general, except for some specific professional groups such as social workers and medical doctors, do not regard physical punishment as child maltreatment. Shin and Koh (2005) also found that a majority of Korean parents and teachers believed that excessive corporal punishment is an effective method to prevent children's misbehaviors. Furthermore, both parents and teachers worried that banning corporal punishment would promote children's misconduct and disregard for adults (Shin & Koh, 2005). The general attitudes towards corporal punishment among Korean people are referred to as a "rod of love," which implies that "Because I love you, I must whip you when you don't behave" (Hahm & Guterman, 2001, p. 176). Due to the acceptance of corporal punishment, Koreans tend to consider only extremely harmful cases, such as cases that lead to child death, skull fractures, and severe delays in physical development as maltreatment (Chang, Rhee, & Weaver, 2006).

These Confucian values and beliefs are also reflected in the perception of Korean juvenile delinquent youth on the physical punishment that they experienced. They may regard corporal punishment by parents as sincere concern and love expressed by those who try to correct their misbehaviors. In a case study of the relationship between experiences of physical abuse and violent behaviors among Korean delinquent youth in correctional facilities, Kim (2006) found that Korean delinquent youth perceived parental physical abuse as a way by which their parents expressed their love or disciplined them, even though some of the physical abuse cases were severe (e.g. being beaten for 4 hours or threatened by a knife). Those youth believed that their wrongdoing deserved such parental abuse. Furthermore, Kim (2006) highlighted that a youth's strong belief about

family blood ties enable them to accept parental physical abuse as true love that only biological parents can show towards their children. In other words, they believed that those types of parental abuse would not happen if they were not biologically related to their parents.

Cultural justification and a high tolerance for physical punishment in Korea contributed to a delay in not only raising awareness of child maltreatment as a serious social issue but also connecting child maltreatment and delinquency (Hahm & Guterman, 2001; Hong et al., 2011). Due to such shared beliefs on corporal punishment among Korean people, Korean scholars argue that childhood maltreatment itself may not lead to the same negative developmental consequences in adulthood as found in the U.S. literature. For example, in contrast to U.S. empirical studies supporting intergenerational child maltreatment (Kaufman & Zigler, 1987; Marshall, Huang, & Ryan, 2011; Romano, Zoccolillo, & Paquette, 2006), a parent's history of childhood maltreatment is not associated with abusive behavior toward their own children (Kim & Seok, 2003).

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this cross-cultural, mixed methods study is to investigate cultural variations in understanding pathways from child maltreatment to delinquency in the U.S. and South Korea using an explanatory sequential mixed methods design. The aims and research questions are appropriately adjusted to data available in each country as well as the cultural and practice context of the respective country. The current study has five aims:

1. To describe the rates of delinquency among U.S. maltreated youth

2. To investigate risk factors associated with early onset of delinquency for U.S. maltreated youth
3. To describe the rates of delinquency in Korean youth
4. To investigate factors associated with the risk for delinquency among Korean youth
5. To explore professionals' understandings of common and culturally specific risks for maltreated children's involvement in delinquency in the U.S. and Korea

The first two aims will be achieved by a quantitative study in the U.S., and the next two aims will be achieved by another quantitative study in Korea. The last aim will be addressed by the qualitative phase of the study. The findings of the current study can make significant contributions to theoretical frameworks that explain the relations between childhood maltreatment and delinquency. In addition, findings of the current study can contribute to the conceptual understanding of the pathways from maltreatment to delinquency in various cultural contexts. Furthermore, study findings can suggest effective strategies to prevent or intervene in maltreated children's trajectories into the juvenile justice system. Lastly, study findings provide insight for future research to understand multidimensional needs and developmental trajectories of crossover youth from different cultural communities.

Research Questions

The current study addresses the following seven specific research questions:

1. What proportion of U.S. maltreated youth first in 3rd grade cross over to delinquency over a 6-year period (from 3rd to 8th grade)?

2. What factors predict early onset of delinquency among U.S. maltreated youth?
3. What proportion of middle (from 6th to 9th grade) and high (from 9th to 12th grade) school Korean youth engage in delinquency over a 4-year period?
4. To what extent does child maltreatment impact delinquency among Korean youth in middle and high school?
5. What additional factors are associated with the risk for delinquency among Korean youth in middle and high school?
6. What common risk factors do U.S. and Korean professionals describe in their interpretations on pathways from child maltreatment to delinquency?
7. What culturally specific risk factors do U.S. and Korean professionals describe?

Chapter Two Literature Review

This literature review provides an overview of risks for maltreated children's involvement in delinquency in the U.S. and Korea. Although maltreated children are at increased risk for delinquency, empirical research indicates that a substantial number of those children do not become delinquents. Individual variation in the involvement of maltreated youth in delinquency likely results from differences in exposure to risk and protective processes in multiple social systems as well as the developmental timing of those experiences.

Risks for Delinquency at the Individual Level

In the U.S., empirical research on crossover youth suggests that maltreated children with disabilities experience additional risk factors for delinquency (Halemba et al., 2004; Leone & Weinberg, 2010). As suggested in trauma theory, maltreatment can increase children's risk of disabilities through direct trauma to the developing brain (De Bellis, 2001; Strathearn, Gray, O'Callaghan, & Wood, 2001). Maltreated youth with disabilities may experience additional risk factors for delinquency as they struggle due to the academic and social challenges of disabilities at school (Halemba et al., 2004). Indeed, the U.S. literature reports a high rate of documented disabilities among crossover youth ranging from 40% to 75% (Haight, Bidwell, Choi, & Cho, 2016; Halemba et al., 2004).

The Korean literature highlights self-esteem and self-regulation on the individual level as mediating factors that decrease the effect of child maltreatment on delinquency (Kim, 2009; Choi, 2008; Lee, 2015; Lee & Yoo, 2011; Jung et al., 2006; Oh, 2013). To be specific, Jung et al., (2006) found that maltreated children were more likely to have low self-esteem, which was associated with higher levels of delinquency. Lee (2015)

found that child maltreatment had an indirect effect on delinquency through self-regulation. In other words, maltreated children with low self-regulation were more likely to engage in delinquency.

Risks at the Family Level

Most of the existing theories underscore the immediate environment of the family as the most important group in which major behavioral effects on a child emerge. A variety of family-level risk and protective factors for delinquent behaviors were found in both countries. While the U.S. literature highlights a wide range of family problems that contribute to delinquency among maltreated children, the Korean literature focuses mainly on parental influence, such as parental education and children's attachment to their parents.

The U.S. literature indicates that maltreated youth with multiple, chronic family problems may experience additional risk factors for delinquency, including damaged relationships with adults (Halemba et al., 2004; Herz et al., 2012; Jonson-Reid, 2002; Lee & Villagrana, 2015; Ryan & Testa, 2005; Robertson, Baird-, Thomas & Stein, 2008). Herz and Ryan (2008b) reported that 72% of crossover youth in Los Angeles had a parent with a history of substance abuse, 24% had parents with mental health problems, and 36% had parents with a history of criminal behavior. Also, at least 33% of crossover youth were exposed to domestic violence and 17% were born exposed to drugs (Herz & Ryan, 2008b).

On the other hand, some U.S. studies also discovered family-level protective factors (Halemba et al., 2004; Herz et al., 2012; Jonson-Reid, 2002; Lee & Villagrana, 2015; Ryan & Testa, 2005; Robertson, Baird, -Thomas & Stein, 2008). These include

consistent parental supervision, a supportive family, family income of more than \$35,000, and appropriate parental punishment (Lee & Villagrana, 2015; Ryan et al., 2013). Among neglected youth, consistent parental supervision was a significant factor to prevent recidivism. This hazard decreased by 7% for those youth with consistent parental supervision in the home (Ryan et al., 2013).

In Korean studies, parental education was negatively correlated with delinquency among the general Korean student population who self-reported experiences of child maltreatment (Oh, 2013). In addition, Lee (2014) suggests that attachment to parents had an indirect effect on the relationship between child maltreatment and school violence through attachment to school.

Risks at the Neighborhood Level

In the U.S., Sampson and Groves (1989) found that “Socially disorganized neighborhoods,” characterized by high levels of social isolation, economic deprivation, and other adverse circumstances can create risk processes by weakening children’s social bonds to key socializing institutions. Schuck and Widom (2005) also found that maltreated children from more disadvantaged and unstable neighborhoods were arrested at a rate of one and a half times higher than maltreated children from less disadvantaged and more stable neighborhoods. To investigate the moderating effect of positive neighborhood characteristics, i.e., social cohesion and collective efficacy, on the link between child maltreatment and aggressive behavior, Yonas et al. (2010) used nationwide data from the Longitudinal Study of Child Abuse and Neglect (LONGSCAN). The findings suggest that youth with a history of neglect had lower externalizing behavioral problem scores on the Youth Self-Report in neighborhoods with higher levels of

“collective efficacy,” i.e., shared trust and willingness of neighborhood residents to engage in social control. Neighborhood level risk and protective processes have not been studied in Korea as a potential moderating factor in the relationship between child maltreatment and juvenile and criminal behaviors.

Risks within Child-serving Systems

School. Social control theory suggests that bonds to school serve as an additional protective factor to mediate delinquent behaviors (Gottfredson and Hirschi, 1990). The literature in both countries highlights the role of school for maltreated children at risk for delinquency. For example, school can play a key role in providing a place of safety or structured environment for maltreated youth to achieve successful transitions to adulthood. School can also operate as a risk-prone environment when maltreated children have negative experiences, such as isolation from peers, punitive reactions from school personnel without addressing their needs and low academic achievement (Leone & Weinberg, 2010).

In the U.S., positive attitudes towards rules, attachment to teacher, extracurricular activities, and good attendance are found to be protective processes at school, while risk processes include higher rates of suspension, association with gang members or anti-social peers, drop-out, restrictive special education and low academic achievement (Halemba et al., 2004; Herz & Ryan, 2008b; Lee & Villagrana, 2015; Ryan et al., 2013). More specifically, in Washington State, neglected youth with prior out-of-school suspensions were 2.67 times more likely to engage in delinquency than those who had not been suspended (Ryan et al., 2013). On the other hand, youth who reported consistent friends or companions, or association with prosocial friends were less likely

to engage in delinquency (Ryan et al., 2013).

Similarly, positive processes at school in the Korean literature include attachment to peers, teachers, and the school itself (Ko & Lee, 2015; Lee, 2014; Jung et al., 2006; Lee & Yoo, 2011), while risk processes include isolation from peers and exposure to delinquent peers among the Korean general student population (Lee, 2014; Jung et al., 2006). Despite the high priority placed on academic achievement in Korean society, academic achievement did not affect the relationship between child maltreatment and aggressive behavior (Lee & Yoo, 2011).

Child-Serving Institutions. Risk and protective processes in child-serving institutions are unique to the U.S. literature examining maltreated children who are involved in the juvenile justice system. Empirical research in the U.S. suggests that maltreated youth experience additional risks for delinquent behaviors through their involvement in the child welfare system, including out-of-home placement (Herz et al., 2012; Ryan et al., 2016; Ryan & Testa, 2005; Ryan & Testa, 2005; Ryan et al., 2008; Ryan et al., 2010). Herz and Ryan (2008b) reported that almost all crossover youth (98%) in Los Angeles experienced at least one out--of-home placement with an average number of 1.9 placement moves, and 62% had at least one group home placement with an average number of 3.2 group home placement moves. Ryan et al. (2008) also found that youth in Cook County with at least one group home placement were approximately two and a half times more likely to engage in delinquency than those who did not experience group home care.

On the other hand, some protective processes also have emerged from empirical research. Ryan et al. (2008) reported that strong attachment with a foster parent

significantly decreased the risk of delinquency for African American male youth in Cook County foster care system. In addition, commitment to religious organizations also decreased the likelihood of delinquency by 75% (Ryan et al., 2008).

In Korea, child-serving institutions, (i.e., child protection, foster care, adoption, and institutional care), are operate separately and services are rarely connected. Of 10,027 children who were maltreated in 2014, only 0.2% of children were in foster care and 2.1% were in institutional care (Korean National Child Protection Agency, 2015). The effects of services in child-serving institutions on outcomes among maltreated children have not been studied in Korea.

Risks at the Sociocultural Level

Risk and protective processes for maltreated youth's involvement in delinquency are also found in socio-cultural/historical contexts. Issues associated with race, social class, gender, and nationality are manifested in almost every society. Yet the recognition of the importance of those issues varies considerably across socio-cultural/historical contexts because those issues are socially constructed and formed by the intersection of multiple social constructions (Murphy, Hunt, Zajicek, Norris, & Hamilton, 2009).

For U.S. youth involved in the child welfare and juvenile justice systems, issues of poverty often intersect with race and gender to compound risks due to maltreatment (Wulczyn, 2009). Empirical research indicates that youth of color, especially African American youth are overrepresented in the crossover youth population compared to the general, child welfare or juvenile justice populations. To be specific, African American youth mostly from low-income families involved in the child welfare system are even more likely than their White counterparts to become involved in the juvenile justice

system (Center for the Study of Social Policy, 2009; Herz & Ryan, 2008a; Huang, Ryan, & Herz, 2012; Ryan & Testa, 2005) with findings in specific locales ranging from one-third (Halemba et al., 2004) to thirteen times (Saeteurn & Swain, 2009) more likely.

Empirical research in the U.S. also suggests that issues surrounding gender create risks for maltreated youth. Males are more likely to crossover to the juvenile justice system (Bender, 2010, Belknap & Holsinger, 2006; Herz et al., 2012; Grogan-Kaylor et al., 2008), but females comprise a larger proportion of the crossover youth population than the delinquent population (Herz & Ryan, 2008b; Lee & Villagrana, 2015; Stewart et al., 2010). Longitudinal data further suggests gender specific risk pathways linking maltreatment with criminal behavior (Topitzers, Mersky, & Reynolds, 2011; Widom, Schuck, & White, 2006). Even though child maltreatment predicts juvenile delinquency only in males, child maltreatment predicts adult crime for both genders, which suggests that the effect of child maltreatment on delinquency may lag in girls. In explaining these gender differences, scholars suggest that females are more likely to internalize trauma from maltreatment resulting in delayed criminal behaviors while males are more likely to externalize trauma and more immediately engage in delinquency (Topitzers et al., 2011; Widom et al., 2006).

In the Korean society, which is still characterized as homogeneous in terms of race or ethnicity, there exists no research that considers race/ethnicity in the pathways from child maltreatment to delinquency. Despite growing numbers of multicultural and immigrant families, one language and one ethnicity prevail within Korea. Only gender is found to be predictive of delinquent behavior among maltreated children (Lee & Yoo, 2011; Oh, 2013). Using nationwide data from the Korean Children and Youth Panel

Survey (KYPS) which involves 2,438 students in 4th grade, Lee and Yoo (2011) found that boys are more likely to exhibit higher levels of aggression than girls. Oh (2013) also found that male youth are more likely to engage in delinquency than female youth using nationwide data from Seoul Panel Study of Children.

Chapter Three

Theoretical Perspectives and Conceptual Framework

Traditionally, social control (Hirschi, 2000) and social learning (Akers, 2011; Sutherland, 1947) theories are most commonly used in criminology to explain the link between maltreatment and delinquency. More recent explanations of the link between maltreatment and delinquency take into account developmental and life course perspectives, including trauma (Cicchetti & Banny, 2014) and general strain theories (Agnew, 1992, 2001, 2006).

There is no unifying or comprehensive theory that considers the various pathways from child maltreatment to delinquency. Existing scholarship sheds light on various ecological levels that encompass the risk and protective processes through which maltreated children became delinquent. However, they mostly focus on the individual level and their immediate social environments to explain the potential risk and protective processes in the developmental trajectory from child maltreatment to delinquency with less attention to the effect of larger social structures, (i.e., history, culture, policy or institutional discrimination). To be specific, trauma and general strain theories focus on the individual or psychosocial level in explaining the association between child maltreatment and delinquency. Social learning and social control theories provide frameworks conducive to understanding risk and protective factors in the immediate environment, (i.e., family, school, and peers). Although there are few theoretical frameworks focusing on factors from larger social structures, empirical studies have found risk and protective factors found in larger social structures (Sampson & Groves, 1989; Schuck & Widom, 2005).

In addition, most theories that explain the link between child maltreatment and

delinquency were developed and tested in the West. Little is known about whether the theoretical frameworks are applicable to other cultural contexts. Currently, there are few studies conducted in non-Western contexts, which allow for international comparisons in understanding the pathways from child maltreatment to delinquency using these theories. Despite the lack of literature outside of Western contexts, certain differences emerge between the U.S. and Korea when applying the theories to studies of developmental pathways. The purpose of this study is to aid in exploring the application of these theoretical frameworks outside of Western contexts.

Social Learning Theory

Social learning theory is one of the most commonly used theories to explain the link between child maltreatment and delinquency. Social learning theory posits that attitudes and behaviors are learned and reinforced by a subject's external environment (Bandura, 1973). For example, social learning theory would suggest that delinquency results from learned attitudes and behavior favorable to violating the law, especially at the family-level (Edwin & Cressey, 1947). According to social learning theory, maltreated children tend to model deviant or aggressive behaviors as well as to internalize the appropriateness of such behavior from those parents or caregivers who administer maltreatment (Widom, 1989). Maltreated children may implicitly learn from their parents or caregivers that it is acceptable to openly express hostility or disregard others. Guided by social learning theory, a significant body of U.S. literature highlights "the cycle of violence" in which victims internalize maladaptive and violence-supporting beliefs and attitudes that are then expressed in subsequent abusive behaviors in other relationships (Kaufman & Zigler, 1987; Marshall et al., 2011; Romano et al., 2006;

Widom, 1989).

In contrast to the U.S. empirical studies supporting intergenerational child maltreatment, Korean scholars found that a parent's history of childhood maltreatment is not associated with abusive behavior toward their own children (Kim & Seok, 2003; Shin, 2008). For example, Kim and Seok (2003) examined the intergenerational cycle of child maltreatment among 324 mothers and their children from four elementary schools in a metropolitan city in Korea. The results of this study indicated that a mother's history of childhood maltreatment did not directly predict the experience of maltreatment among her own children. A mother's history of childhood maltreatment had only an indirect effect on her children's maltreatment through an authoritarian parenting style, low self-control issues on the part of the mother, spousal conflict, and negative parent-child relationships.

Despite lack of research on the intergenerational cycle of child maltreatment in Korea, scholars argue that maltreatment may not be internalized by victims of abuse due to cultural beliefs, which are influenced by Confucianism. Rather, as stated previously, parental abusive behaviors can be perceived as parents' love and concern for their children's misbehaviors in Korean society (Hong et al., 2011; Kim, 2009; Kim & Seok, 2003; Shin, 2008). In addition, some Korean parents without a history of childhood maltreatment use excessive forms of corporal punishment (hitting for several hours, threatening with a knife or slapping in the face) (Hong et al., 2011; Shin, 2008; Yang, 2009). A report of a national survey on domestic violence indicates that parents with and without experiences of childhood maltreatment became perpetrators of child maltreatment at almost the same rates of 66.7% and 66%, respectively (Ministry of

Gender Equality and Family, 2008). Unlike the premise of social learning theory, child maltreatment may not necessarily be learned behaviors from abusive parents in Korean society. Rather, child maltreatment may be a consequence of values and practices influenced by the social sanction of physical punishment as a purpose of discipline and shared beliefs about hierarchical family relationships.

Social Control Theory

Social control theory suggests that consistent social bonds reinforced by socializing agents' investments in the care, education, and supervision of children results in greater compliance and commitment from children (Hirschi, 2002). These attitudes and behaviors prevent them from engaging in delinquency (Hirschi, 2002). Ties to family, school and other aspects of society can serve to reduce an individual's propensity for deviant behavior. Crime occurs when such social bonds are weakened or not well established. As an abnormal form of investment from parents, child maltreatment deprives children of opportunities to develop mutual relationships of commitment, trust, and obligation. As a result, maltreated children are more likely to experience low self-control characterized by behavior that is impulsive, physical, risk-taking, short-sighted and nonverbal. In other words, they become prone to delinquent behaviors (Furstenberg & Hughes, 1995; Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990).

Guided by social control theory, a great deal of empirical research has confirmed the link between child maltreatment and delinquency in the U.S. For example, child maltreatment has been tied to poor social control (Herrenkohl et al., 2002) and poor emotional regulation (Maughan & Cicchetti, 2002). Such characteristics were stronger for children in disrupted families but were mediated by their attachment to their mothers

(Benda & Corwyn, 2002), and good school performance (Zingraff et al., 1994). The consequences of child maltreatment are associated with an increased risk of committing delinquency. Using multiple data sources from the Children of the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (NLSY-Child), Chapple, Tyler, and Bersani (2005) found that low self-control, physical neglect, and emotional neglect are significant predictors for adolescent violence. The negative effects of child neglect, even after 12 years, were not mediated by the acquisition of self-control. However, the study findings indicated that experiences of peer rejection mediated the relationship between physical neglect and violence.

Some Korean scholars argue that social control theory is more suitable to explaining the pathways from child maltreatment to delinquency in Korean society where family ties, group harmony and conformity with authority figures are emphasized (Cho & Chang, 1992; Lee, 1995; Lee & Jeon, 2009; Kim, 2007). However, the results are somewhat mixed. Using the first wave of data from the Seoul Panel Study of Children (SPSC), Jung et al. (2006) investigated the developmental pathways from child maltreatment to delinquency, focusing on the mediating effects of self-esteem, peer rejection, and school attachment. Child maltreatment was operationalized as an average score of three latent variables that measured physical abuse, neglect, and emotional abuse. Delinquency was measured using the Korean-Youth Self Report (K-YSR). They found that the relationship between child maltreatment and delinquency was indirectly mediated by self-esteem, peer rejection, and school attachment. In other words, students who reported experiencing maltreatment were more likely to have low self-esteem and low school attachment, and more likely to be rejected by peers, which was also associated with higher levels of delinquency (Jung et al., 2006). On the other hand, using the third

wave data from the Seoul Panel Study of Children (SPSC), Oh (2013) found that emotional abuse was significantly associated with delinquency and the association was not moderated by social support that was measured by bond to parents, social services received, peer rejection, and peer support. Neither physical abuse nor neglect had a significant effect on delinquency (Oh, 2013). Despite some differences in the results, empirical research in both countries highlights the importance of social bonds and supports the proposition of social control theory in which social bonds protect maltreated children from engaging in delinquency.

General Strain Theory

General strain theory explains that strain, referring to “events or conditions that are disliked by individuals,” generates negative emotions such as anger, depression, fear, and anxiety (Agnew, 2006, p. 4). Such negative feelings pressure adolescents to engage in delinquent actions to express the negative emotions (Agnew, 2006). Childhood maltreatment can generate negative emotions by exposing children to negatively valued stimuli, which leads to low social control, and creates pressure or incentives for criminal behaviors as their coping strategy. In other words, childhood maltreatment can be a potential source of strain in the daily lives of children and can result in committing deviant behaviors for many reasons (Agnew, 1992, 2001).

Findings from the U.S. lend partial support to the proposition of general strain theory because maltreatment as a source of strain continues to exert significant effects on general and serious delinquency even after controlling for negative emotions, (i.e., anger, anxiety, and depression), and both individual and family characteristics. Using data drawn from the first and second waves of the Youth in Transition survey (YIT), Brezina

(1998) found that anger decreased the direct effect of maltreatment on delinquency by nearly 40 % even when controlling for social learning and social control processes, such as parental attachment, commitment to school, deviant beliefs, and approval of aggression. Using the five-year longitudinal data from the National Survey of Children (NSC), Hay (2006) tested the theory about the relationship between violent victimization and involvement in delinquency focusing on the mediating effect of negative emotion in the form of anger. Results of the study indicate that the direct effect of violent victimization on violent and property crimes diminished and ceased to be significant for substance use and general delinquency in part because of the mediating effect of anger (Hay, 2006). Hollist, Hughes, and Schaible (2009) also used data from the first and second waves of the National Survey of Children (NSC) to examine the extent to which the effect of maltreatment on general and serious delinquency and substance use was mediated by negative emotions in the form of anger, anxiety, and depression. The results indicate that negative emotions, specifically anger and anxiety, decreased the magnitude of the direct effect of adolescent maltreatment on general and serious delinquency by 16% and 11% respectively (Hollist et al., 2009).

Recently, Agnew (2015) discussed social and cultural differences between Asian and Western societies. He illuminated certain differences in the nature or source of strain that need to be taken into consideration in order to culturally adapt his theory to Asian societies. He points to the Confucian tradition and collectivistic orientation present in many Asian societies where social harmony, the family, and the pursuit of educational achievement likely influence events and conditions that create major strain. He suggests that certain differences in the events and conditions that uniquely generate strain in Asian

societies include actual and anticipated academic achievement, harsh parental discipline, family conflict and teachers' physical and emotional punishment.

Emphasis on educational achievement reflects the unique cultural context in Korea where students spend large amounts of time on academic pursuits, especially for college entrance examinations, or "examination hell" (Lee & Larson, 2000). Korean students are under tremendous pressure from both their parents and teachers to do well academically in order to enter a top university, which guarantees success in many aspects of life, e.g., good jobs, high socioeconomic status, and marriage to a person with high social status (Paik, 2001). Teachers are regarded as parents at school and students are expected to respect and obey them as they do their parents. Students struggling with school may damage their family honor, suffer verbal and physical abuse, and weaken their bonds with teachers and peers (Agnew, 2015). Therefore, academic failure likely becomes an intense strain in Korean society. For these reasons, Korean parents are obsessed with their children's academic achievement and eager to participate in school activities for their children. Given this, the most common reason for corporal punishment among Korean parents includes poor school performance (Hong et al., 2011; Yang, 2009). It is also not surprising that academic achievement is known to pressure Korean youth to engage in delinquency (Hong, Lee, Grogan-Kaylor, & Huang, 2011; Moon & Morash, 2004). However, current empirical studies do not support the effect of academic achievement on the pathways from child maltreatment to delinquency (Kim, 2009; Lee & Yoo, 2011).

Agnew (2015) further suggests that anger may not be representative of the negative emotions created by strain in Asian societies where overt hostility is suppressed

and subject to cultural restraint in order to maintain the hierarchical system. As noted above, filial piety is the central ethic of Confucianism leading to fear of and dependence on authority (Slote & De Vos, 1998). Filial piety clearly defines and guides the behavior and attitudes of children towards their parents including the children's subordination to their parents. One of the principles necessary to practice filial piety is self-regulation. Self-regulation enables one to exercise moderation in all activities and thoughts (Slote & De Vos, 1998). Children are forbidden to reveal anger toward their parents and even to have the conscious awareness of hostile impulses. Instead of expressing anger, the suppression of anger is relieved through self-blaming, shame or guilt. In Korea, shame is considered important to the functioning of individuals and families because it facilitates acceptance of social norms (You, 1997). For example, parents and teachers often use shame as a mechanism to socialize children. As a result of such socialization practices, children tend to feel shame or guilt toward their parents for their misbehaviors. Indeed, interviews with prisoners in Korea revealed that most of them feel severe shame and guilt toward their parents more than toward the victims of their criminal behaviors (You, 1997).

Moon, Morash, McCluskey, and Hwang's study (2009) describes the cultural differences in understanding negative emotions. Using longitudinal data from a sample of 569 students from three different middle schools, the researchers tested general strain theory (GST) in a Korean context. Considering the unique cultural context in Korea, they included examination-related strain and teachers' use of physical or emotional punishment as school-generated strains. Each of the factors was found to be significant for violent and property crime among general Korean student populations. Additionally, this study highlights distinct cultural practices shared in East Asian countries. The

associations may reflect the high priority placed on academic achievement in obtaining status in Korea, the amount of time spent in academic pursuits, and the importance of teachers.

Another interesting finding from Moon et al.'s (2009) study, is that the mediating effects of negative emotion (i.e., anger and depression) did not exist in the connection between parental punishment and violent or property delinquency. It is generally assumed that negative emotions produced by parental maltreatment alone are not likely to increase delinquency in Korea and other East Asian countries (Agnew, 2015). For these cultural differences, Moon et al. (2009) suggest that to test the general strain theory with Asian populations, future studies should include additional negative emotions as mediating effects, such as anxiety, shame or frustration because the level of acceptance of certain emotions may vary considerably across cultures.

Current studies on academic achievement have found no effect on the relationship between child maltreatment and delinquency (Kim, 2009; Lee & Yoo, 2011). Therefore, it is uncertain that examination--related strain and teachers' use of physical or emotional punishment have the same effect on maltreated children in their pathways to delinquency as general student populations. In addition, considering that Korean studies found that the most common feelings of prisoners toward their parents are shame and guilt (Kim, 2006; You, 1997), the inclusion of such emotions may make the pathways from child maltreatment to delinquency through negative emotions more apparent.

Trauma Theory

Trauma theory also has been used to explain the association between childhood maltreatment and delinquent behavior. In trauma theory, the most serious and far--

reaching effect of trauma is a weakening of executive functioning; that is, the individual's ability to regulate their emotions, thoughts, and behaviors (Van der Kolk, 1987). The overwhelming nature of the traumatic experience can lead to a failure to integrate or recover memory. Unintegrated traumatic experiences can lead to a heightened alertness to possible danger and generally violate the victim's sense of safety and belief in the world as a safe place (Van der Kolk, 1987; Van der Kolk & McFarlane, 2012). Children traumatized by maltreatment may develop maladaptive emotional mechanisms and experience a lack of ability to regulate their emotions and behaviors. As a result, they may be impulsive and engage in various forms of delinquency, such as aggression directed at others and substance abuse (van der Kolk, Hostetler, Hoerron, & Fisler, 1994).

Although there are relatively few studies that elucidate the link between child maltreatment, psychological problems, and delinquency in a single study, the literature implies that mental health problems mediate the relationship between childhood maltreatment and delinquency. More specifically, one line of research suggests that childhood maltreatment results in a variety of psychological problems (Anda et al., 2006; Copeland et al., 2007; Twardosz & Lutzker, 2010) and another line of research suggests that such psychological problems are highly associated with delinquent behavior (Ford et al., 2008; Kerig et al., 2009; Underwood, Beron, & Rosen, 2011).

In the U.S., Widom (2014) identified meaningful variations in the development of violent behavior among maltreated children. She studied 551 cases from multiple sources using official records from 1967 to 1971 from a Midwestern metropolitan area. Records involved 139 maltreated individuals and 355 individuals in comparison groups matched on a variety of demographic characteristics, such as gender, age, race, and family

socioeconomic status. Violent behaviors were grouped into four categories: 1) a group of children who had arrests for violence but no history of child maltreatment, 2) a group of maltreated children who became violent, 3) a group of maltreated children who developed PTSD and then became violent (PTSD first), and 4) a group of maltreated children who became violent and then developed PTSD (violence first). Widom (2014) observed many distinguishing characteristics among the group of maltreated children who developed PTSD and then had been arrested for violence. Despite lower arrest rates for violence, those individuals exhibited the highest rates of internalized disorders in young adulthood; specifically, they had the highest levels of anxiety, depression, and dissociation in middle adulthood, and the highest percentage of homelessness at age 28 or younger compared to the other three groups.

Currently, there is no Korean research that investigates the association between childhood maltreatment, trauma, and delinquency in a single study. Ha, Lim, and Joe (2015) did investigate the prevalence of mental disorders among abused children. They obtained data from semi-structured interviews with 61 children whose cases were substantiated by provincial offices of the Korean Child Protection Agency. The “Kiddie-Schedule for Affective Disorders and Schizophrenia-Present and Lifetime Version-Korean Version (K-SADS-PL-K)” (Kaufman et al., 1997)” was used during the interview to collect the information for psychiatric diagnoses of the participating children. The researchers reported that half of the abused children (50.8%) had more than one psychiatric disorder. The most frequently diagnosed disorders were attention-deficit/hyperactivity disorder (23%), posttraumatic stress disorder (21.3%), depressive disorder (16.4%) and oppositional defiant disorder (8.2%). The study also found that

abused children had a higher risk of suicide (30%) than the general child population (8-9%). In addition, using self-reported data from 177 male offenders on probation for violent or property offenses more than 2 times, Kim (2009) examined the effect of child maltreatment on emotional maladjustment among juvenile offenders focusing on the moderating effect of self-esteem. The study found that neglect had a significant effect on aggressive behavior, hyperactivity, and depression, and emotional abuse had an impact on depression while physical abuse was not associated with any of the symptoms of emotional maladjustment. The findings of the study also suggest that the effect of physical abuse on depression was mediated by self-esteem (Kim, 2009). These studies support a one sided relationship between childhood maltreatment and psychological problems and delinquency.

In trauma theories, cultures create meaning systems that explain the causes of traumatic events (Van der Kolk & McFarlane, 2012). The types of threats that are perceived as traumatic may vary across cultures and how traumatic events are interpreted leads to different reactions to trauma. For example, social sanctions for harsh parental discipline in Korea may result in a high tolerance of physical abuse among Korean children and different interpretations of parental abuse according to social norms, such as children's unquestioning obedience and parents' true love derived from filial piety. In contrast to U.S. children who are taught values of individual rights and self-assertion, Korean children may feel less traumatized by parental physical abuse. Yet the existing studies in both countries have not examined such cultural difference, which is reflected by the gaps in our understanding of maltreated children who become delinquent.

Conceptual Framework for the Current Study

This study examined U.S. and Korean professionals' understanding of risk factors for involvement of maltreated children in delinquency through the lens of developmental cultural psychology (Gaskins, Miller, & Corsaro, 1992; Miller, Hengst, & Wang, 2003). This study is particularly guided by the concept of "*universalism without uniformity*" (Shweder & Sullivan, 1993, p. 514). The basic idea of "universalism without uniformity" is that there are certain human issues such as child maltreatment and children's misbehavior that are common across diverse cultural groups, for example, the U.S. and Korea. Nonetheless, the meanings of and responses to these issues vary in relation to cultural beliefs and social norms for children's development and socialization practices. The vast majority of parents want their children to be healthy and to do well. Yet the specific parenting goals that shape children's behaviors require an understanding of the sociocultural context. Each society has their own goals for socializing their children towards what they consider positive values and encouraging behaviors that support those values (Haight, 2002; Miller, & Sperry, 1987). In other words, cultural groups vary in parental practices that encourage or discourage the development of children's social skills and behaviors guided by their cultural beliefs about healthy child development. Broadly speaking, European American parents positively respond more to their children's behaviors conducive to the socialization of a potentially independent, outgoing, self-assertive child oriented to their own desires and interests (Miller & Sperry, 1989; Rubin & Chung, 2006). Those behaviors can be perceived as maladaptive or abnormal in many Asian cultures, including Korea where the cultural beliefs and practices emphasize interdependence, control when displaying their own thoughts and feelings as well as

sensitivity to others. Accordingly, parents will attempt to encourage these attributes (Farver, Kim, & Shin, 2000; Park & Kwon, 2009; Rubin & Chung, 2006).

Likewise, both child maltreatment and delinquency are common challenges across cultural groups. Yet what is considered child maltreatment and how people respond to the issues vary widely across cultures (Korbin, 2002; Haight & Cho, 2017). Korean parents tend to believe that a disobedient child potentially does not assume a duty of filial piety to parents and children's misbehavior may be regarded as a lack of parental discipline (Paik, 2001). Even severe corporal punishment, such as slapping the child on the face or kicking, can be viewed as parents' sincere love and concerns about their children for the purpose of not only fostering socially desirable behaviors but also maintaining family integrity and honor (Hong et al., 2011; Yang, 2009). There are also variations in social awareness of and societal responses to maltreated children who engage in delinquency between the U.S. and Korea. For example, crossover youth have received relatively more attention in the U.S. than in Korea. This has led to initiatives in the child-serving systems, e.g., integrated system and cross-system collaboration, which are targeted to interrupt the negative developmental trajectories of crossover youth (Stewart et al., 2010). In Korea, maltreated children who engage in delinquency remain as a completely hidden population.

Sociocultural perspectives promise to illuminate cultural beliefs and socialization practices by which understandings of risks for maltreated children's involvement in delinquency are shaped. Understanding the social, cultural, and practice context pertaining to maltreated children who engage in delinquency allows us not only to reflect on our taken-for-granted assumptions and practices that might otherwise go unseen, but also to strengthen our cultural sensitivity to better serve those children and their families.

Chapter Four Research Methods

Cross-cultural Approach

The involvement of maltreated youth in delinquency is a persistent global concern. Yet relatively little research has examined risks for delinquency among maltreated children in diverse cultural contexts. In many Asian studies, harsh and strict parental discipline is found to be only weakly associated with delinquency (Bao, Haas, & Pi, 2004; Cheung & Cheung, 2008; Maxwell, 2001; Moon & Morash, 2004; Moon, Morash, McCluskey, & Hwang, 2009). In Korea, cultural beliefs and values have led to a delay in promoting awareness of child maltreatment and the establishment of related laws. The Korean government established a child protection law entitled, “Act on Special Cases Concerning the Punishment Etc. of Child Abuse Crimes” in 2014 and revised the corresponding child welfare laws (Korean Ministry of Government Legislation, 2014). Empirical research is also beginning to identify the extent to which child maltreatment contributes to delinquent behaviors (Hong & Jang, 2016), pathways from child maltreatment to delinquency (Jung, Park & Ku, 2006; Kim & Jung, 2017), as well as mediating factors that buffer or exacerbate the relationship between maltreatment and delinquency (Bae & Lee, 2018; Cho & Kim, 2015). Although recent changes in policies and practices have contributed to acknowledging child maltreatment as a crime for the first time in Korean society, law enforcement is still limited to serious cases that result in severe developmental delay or physical and mental impairments.

Most of the literature on pathways from maltreatment to delinquency comes from Western countries, where the perception of acceptable parental discipline and child maltreatment greatly differs from Korea. A cross-cultural approach to understanding the

pathways within the U.S. compared to Korea can contribute to a broader knowledge base. Confucian values in Korea emphasize hierarchy in parent-child relationships (Slote & De Vos, 1998). Such hierarchical relationships justify strict parental discipline, including severe physical punishment and an ambiguous boundary between acceptable parental discipline and maltreatment. Thus, the extent to which maltreatment is associated with the risk of delinquency and other related factors may differ from the findings in Western studies. Given a transition between traditional and new practices for child protection, research from a Korean cultural context can provide a unique opportunity to identify variations in our understanding of risks for maltreated children's involvement in delinquency.

Mixed Methods Approach

The current study employs an explanatory sequential mixed methods design (Haight & Bidwell, 2016) involving three research projects in which quantitative analyses are followed by qualitative inquiries. As shown in Figure 1, in the first phase of the current study, quantitative data was analyzed to examine rates and risks for delinquency in the U.S. (Study 1) and Korea (Study 2), respectively. The quantitative data in both countries, however, was not completely comparable. In comparing the results from the quantitative studies, a set of common risk factors emerged between the two countries including male gender, repeated maltreatment incidents, youth's psychosocial vulnerabilities (e.g., emotional and behavioral disorders, aggression, depression, and self-control), and school behaviors (e.g., out-of-school suspension and negative attitudes toward school rules). Given the different nature of the data in each country (i.e., administrative records in the U.S. and self-reports in Korea), there were some factors

only available in either country such as reading and math scores on standardized tests and out-of-home placement in the U.S. as well as satisfaction with academic achievement and mother and father's education level in Korea.

The availability of data pertaining to child maltreatment and delinquency in each country itself may reflect cultural variations in understanding the pathways from child maltreatment to delinquency. Even if all variables are comparable in the quantitative studies, how those risk factors are understood may vary in the sociocultural context of each country, resulting in different societal responses to addressing those risks. In other words, the limitations of the quantitative study results necessitate further qualitative inquiries regarding the cultural similarities and differences in risk factors between the U.S. and Korea. The subsequent qualitative study (Study 3) was conducted for a variety of purposes, taking into account these limitations.

One of the purposes of conducting the qualitative study was to triangulate whether U.S. and Korean professionals' interpretations resonate with the risk factors identified in the quantitative studies. Another purpose was to elaborate if there are other risk factors beyond the risk factors included in the quantitative studies considering that the quantitative studies did not include all risk factors identified by existing theories. Next, the cross-cultural analysis of the interview data contextualized the risk factors in the sociocultural context of each country through the professional's interpretations. In addition, as the primary purpose of the qualitative study, the cross-cultural analysis identifies common and culturally specific risk factors for maltreated children's involvement in delinquency between the U.S. and Korea.

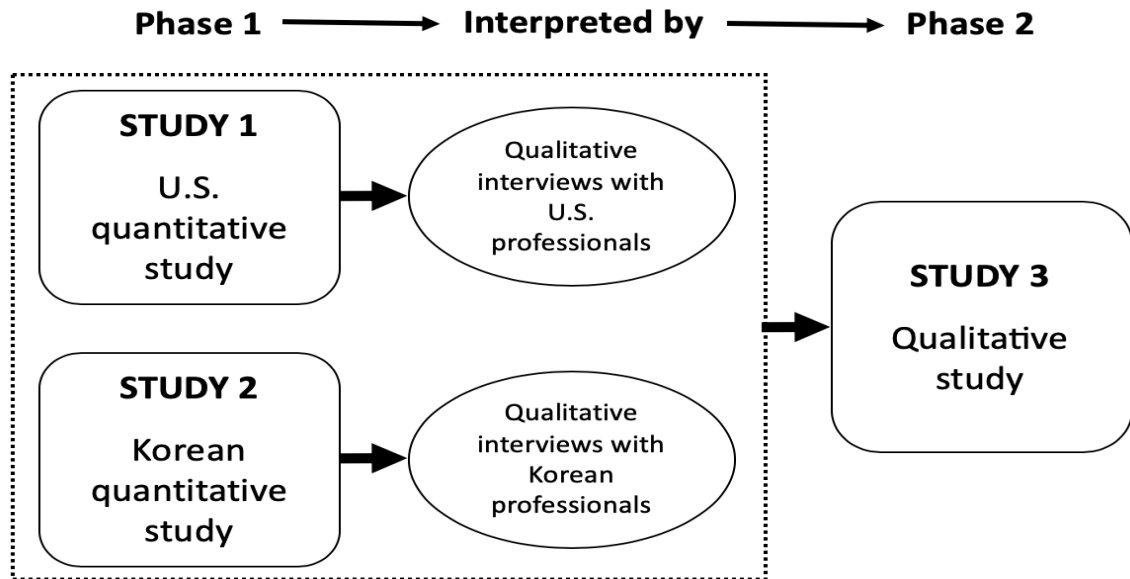


Figure 1. Explanatory Sequential Design

The quantitative and qualitative data were integrated using the iterative process of analysis to ensure that the data from the different methods were fully incorporated (Haight & Bidwell, 2016). During the initial phase of analyses, quantitative and qualitative data were analyzed separately to inform subsequent analyses of each data set or further integrative analyses. At the midstream phase of integrated analyses, findings of the quantitative studies informed the interview protocol and were integrated into qualitative interviews. During the final phase of the integrated analyses, the inferences from separate quantitative and qualitative components were interpreted to make cohesive inferences for similar and culturally specific understandings of risks for maltreated children's involvement in delinquency. The quality of integration of quantitative and qualitative components in this study was assessed by weakness minimization legitimization that refers to the extent to which the weakness from one approach can be compensated by the strengths from the other approach (Onwuegbuzie & Johnson, 2006). Although the use of national or statewide data representing youth in the quantitative component of this

study is conducive to being able to generalize the risk factors, it is limited when making a direct comparison of the risk factors because of the different data available in each country. The qualitative component of this study compensated for those weaknesses that emerged from the quantitative analyses. The extent to which professionals' interpretations resonate with risk factors identified in the quantitative study contributed to the credibility of the quantitative study results. The qualitative component of this study also contributed to an in-depth and comprehensive understanding of commonalities and cultural subtleties as well as details regarding risks for delinquency among maltreated children. It also allowed for the elaboration and contextualization of the risk factors through the professionals' interpretations.

Ethical Considerations

To ensure high ethical standards in the conduct of the current study, study specific documents were reviewed by the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board (IRB) at the University of Minnesota. This study was approved as an exempt study (IRB Study Number: 1703E10344) by the University Institutional Review Board due to its use of de-identified secondary data and qualitative data from interviews with adult professionals (e.g., child protection workers, probation officers, attorneys, and judges). To obtain data for the quantitative study in the U.S., I requested data sharing agreements with the Minnesota Department of Education, the Department of Human Services, and the Judicial Branch through the Minn-LInK project. Administrative data from each department was linked by Minn-LInK staff to identify individuals with common identifiers based on public school enrollment data, (i.e., last name, first name, date of birth) through the use of Link Plus, probabilistic matching software program. Once all the data sets were linked,

the original identifiers were stripped out and replaced by arbitrary identifier codes. To create an integrated analytic data set for this study, I used the arbitrary identifier codes. Data for another quantitative study in Korea utilized public-use data, the Korean Children and Youth Panel Survey (KCYPS) available through the National Youth Policy Institute Youth and Children Data Archive (<http://archive.nypi.re.kr>). The KCYPS is entirely public-use data with no requirement for data sharing agreement or permission for the institute.

Chapter Five

Study 1: A Quantitative Study in the U.S.

This section presents a prospective, longitudinal cohort study in the U.S. to examine rates of delinquency and risk factors for early onset of delinquency in maltreated children.

Introduction

The involvement of maltreated youth in the juvenile justice system is a pervasive societal problem. Overall, delinquency rates are 47% - 53% higher for abused and neglected youth than youth from the general population (Ryan & Testa, 2005) with recurrences of maltreatment increasing youth's risk of delinquency and recidivism (Lemmon, 2006). Such "crossover youth" are broadly defined as maltreated youth who have engaged in delinquency (Stewart, Lutz, & Herz, 2010). Youth can cross over in either direction. The vast majorities (92%), however, are first involved in the child welfare system and then commit delinquent acts (Huang, Ryan, & Herz, 2012). Therefore, in this study, we focus on youth who were maltreated first and subsequently engaged in delinquency.

Maltreated youth not only tend to enter into the juvenile justice system at younger ages (Herz et al., 2012; Ryan, Herz, Hernandez, & Marshall, 2008), they receive harsher treatment (Ryan et al., 2008a) than their counterparts without maltreatment histories. The early onset of delinquency for crossover youth is of particular concern. Early delinquency may reflect the outcomes of existing risks, for example, poor relationships with adults due to maltreatment and family disruptions. It also presents additional risks, such as exposure to delinquent peers in detention and stigmatization that may negatively affect

subsequent developmental outcomes. Indeed, crossover youth are more likely than their delinquent counterparts without maltreatment histories to experience mental health, educational and vocational challenges, continue delinquent and/or criminal behaviors, and maltreat their own children (Herz et al., 2012; Halemba, Siegel, Lord, & Zawacki, 2004).

The design of preventive interventions requires an understanding of the constellation of risk factors operating in multiple, embedded social systems to identify and provide support for maltreated youth at highest risk for delinquency (Cutuli et al., 2016). Some promising interventions, including the Crossover Youth Practice Model (Stewart et al., 2010) and Project Confirm (Conger, 2006), have been implemented to reduce the extent of maltreated youth's involvement in the juvenile justice system once they have become involved (Conger, 2006; Haight, Bidwell, Choi, & Cho, 2016). Few interventions, however, are specifically focused on preventing maltreated youth from ever becoming involved in delinquency. The aim of this study is to provide foundational knowledge on which to build such preventive interventions. Therefore, this study focuses on identifying risk factors experienced by maltreated youth who cross over in early adolescence; that is, between ages 9 and 14 (Piquero, 2008; Tolan & Thomas, 1995).

Risk factors for delinquency among maltreated youth

Although maltreated youth are at increased risk for juvenile justice system involvement, a substantial number of those youth do not become delinquent. Wide variation in maltreated youth's developmental outcomes likely result from differences in exposure to a constellation of risk factors. Risk factors, including child maltreatment, increase the likelihood of initiating and persisting with delinquent behaviors (Farrington,

Gaffney & Ttofi, 2017). Harm to the developing child can rapidly escalate as additional risks compound, for example, as poverty intersects with gender and racial discrimination, and maltreatment (Marshall & Haight, 2014). In addition, risk factors for maltreated youth's involvement in delinquency may be present in a number of contexts central to development including the family, school and child welfare system. For example, gender and racial biases may be present across developmental contexts.

Wide variation in maltreated youth's developmental outcomes also likely results from differences in the developmental timing of exposure to risk factors. The impact of risk factors can be particularly strong during periods of rapid development (Haight, Kagle, & Black, 2003). Adolescence is a time of transition during which tremendous growth takes place in a wide range of interrelated developmental domains (Steinberg, 2017). Risks factors likely vary depending on the particular physical, emotional, cognitive and social changes youth are experiencing at the time of their exposure to risks. Youth in early adolescence, for instance, experience puberty and marked changes in their physical appearance that affect psychological and social development (Steinberg, 2017). They also begin to experience social pressure to acquire academic or vocational skills, and an increasing need for autonomy. Existing scholarship, however, typically aggregates maltreated youth crossing over at widely varying ages to examine the risk factors for delinquency.

Individual risks. Certain relatively fixed attributes of individual youth such as race, gender and disability may present risk factors as youth interact with others in multiple developmental contexts. Maltreated youth's race can expose them to a variety of risks for crossing over, such as differential access to resources at school and in the child

welfare and juvenile justice systems (Voulgarides, Zwerger, & Noguera 2014). Indeed, a disproportionate number of crossover youth are from communities of color. In Los Angeles County, for instance, 10% of youth from the general population were Black, but 63% of crossover youth, 37% of child welfare-involved youth, and 28% of youth referred to probation departments were Black (Herz & Ryan, 2008).

Maltreated youth's gender also can expose them to factors for delinquency, for example, through gender role socialization and bias. Indeed, boys are much more likely than girls to cross over to the juvenile justice system (Stewart et al., 2010). It is, however, worth noting that girls comprise a larger proportion of the crossover youth population than the delinquent population (Herz et al., 2012). For example, the proportion of girls in the crossover youth population ranges from 33% in Los Angeles County in California (Herz & Fontaine, 2012) to 40% in King County in Washington (Herz & Ryan, 2008) compared to 29% of the delinquency population nationally (Snyder & Sickmund, 2006). Some research also indicates higher rates of recidivism in female than male crossover youth, 65% and 61%, respectively (Halemba et al., 2004).

Disability also may place maltreated children at heightened risk for delinquency as they struggle with cognitive and social challenges across multiple developmental contexts including family and school (Haight et al., 2014a). Maltreated children have a heightened risk of disability due, for example, to direct trauma to the brain from physical abuse, or the adverse effects on brain development caused by exposure to domestic violence or neglect. Indeed, 61% of crossover youth in Minnesota have an individualized education plan (IEP) for a diagnosed disability (Haight et al., 2016) and 44% of crossover youth in Arizona have a documented disability (Halemba et al., 2004). Maltreated

children also are at heightened risk for emotional and mental health problems. Statistics from two Arizona counties indicated that 61% of crossover youth had emotional/mental health problems and a similar proportion of the youth were taking psychotropic medications (Halemba et al., 2004).

Family risks. Family is an important developmental context that can present a range of risk factors for youth. For crossover youth, issues of family poverty often intersect with race (Jonson-Reid, Drake & Kohl, 2009) and gender (Postlethwait, Barth, & Guo, 2010) to compound risks for delinquency due to maltreatment. In a large urban county in a Midwest state, 70% of crossover youth were eligible for free or reduced lunch at school, a proxy for family poverty (Haight et al., 2016). Jonson-Reid et al. (2009) found that maltreated children from low-income families had higher rates of negative developmental outcomes, including mental health issues, delinquency and teen pregnancy, than either children from low-income families with no maltreatment reports or children from higher income families with maltreatment reports. Using Washington state Juvenile Court Assessment data, Ryan, Williams, and Courtney (2013) found that family income below \$35K was a significant predictor of recidivism for neglected youth with an 8% increase in the hazard for recidivism.

Parents' behaviors also can create risk factors for maltreated youth. Halemba et al. (2004) reported that 72% of crossover youth in Arizona had parents who abused alcohol and/or drugs, and 53% had incarcerated parents. Herz and Ryan (2008) also observed that 72% of crossover youth in Los Angeles had parents with a history of substance abuse and 36% had parents with a history of criminal behavior.

School risks. School is another important developmental context that can present a range of risk factors for maltreated youth. Maltreated youth often exhibit higher rates of out-of-school suspension, mobility, dropping out, restrictive special education placements, and low academic achievement than delinquent youth who are not maltreated (Leone & Weinberg, 2012). In Illinois, the hazard for delinquency among maltreated African American youth in foster care with prior out-of-school suspensions was 2.67 times higher than those who were not suspended (Ryan et al., 2008c). In Washington State, the risk for delinquent behavior increases by 15% for youth associated with antisocial peers or gang (Ryan et al., 2013).

Child welfare system involvement risks. For maltreated youth, child welfare institutions also are important social contexts that can present risk factors for delinquent behavior, especially, out-of-home placements. Halemba et al. (2004) reported that 204 crossover youth in Arizona experienced an average of 10.3 placements per youth over 2.5 years. Herz and Ryan (2008) also observed that 98% of crossover youth in Los Angeles had at least one out-of-home placement and 62% had at least one group home placement. Ryan et al. (2008a) found that the relative risk of becoming delinquent is approximately two and one half times higher for maltreated youth in Cook County with at least one group home placement than their counterparts who did not experience group home placement.

Early onset of delinquency among maltreated youth

Maltreated youth tend to begin their delinquent careers at younger ages than their counterparts who have no maltreatment histories. Using administrative records from an urban county, Lee and Villagrana (2015) found that the mean age of first arrest for

crossover youth was younger (13.8 years) than for delinquency-only youth (14 years). Arizona State data (Halemba et al., 2004) for youth on probation supervision indicated significant differences between crossover youth and delinquency-only youth in the mean age at first delinquency referral (13.1 vs. 14), first delinquency petition (13.8 vs. 14.8) and first time detention (14.1 vs. 15.1).

A considerable body of research in criminology and psychology indicates two distinct trajectories of antisocial behavior: youth who commit delinquent acts in early adolescence (before age 14) are more likely to engage in adult crime than those who commit delinquent acts later in adolescence (Piquero, 2008; Tolan & Thomas, 1995). Based on the age-crime curve found in the criminology, youth crossing over at early ages may be more likely to continue their criminal behavior and commit more serious offending. Indeed, crossover youth have higher recidivism rates than delinquency-only youth (Herz et al., 2010). Among first-time violent juvenile offenders, the risk of recidivism was 1.36 times greater for youth with an open child welfare case for maltreatment than those who were not under the supervision of the child welfare system at the time of arrest (Ryan, Abrams, & Huang, 2014).

Understanding the timing of delinquency is foundational for designing effective preventive interventions targeted to risk factors for continuing delinquent and/or adult criminal behaviors. Existing research consistently supports that the early onset of delinquency results in more adverse developmental outcomes than the later onset of delinquency. Yet research on crossover youth has not focused on the risk factors for the early onset of delinquency. This study explores risk factors associated with the early onset of delinquency for maltreated youth in Minnesota. The research questions are:

1. What proportion of maltreated youth first cross over to the juvenile justice system by age 14?
2. What factors predict early onset of delinquency (prior to age 14) among maltreated youth?

Methods

Data

Data were obtained through the Minn-LInK Project at the Center for Advanced Studies in Child Welfare in the School of Social Work at the University of Minnesota. Minn-LInK holds statewide administrative datasets received from state departments of Education, Human Services, and Judicial Branch. De-identified data were provided under data sharing agreements with each of the state departments. For the purpose of this study, an integrated data set was created by merging three sources of state-level administrative data: 1) data from child protection services and out-of-home placement records were obtained from the Minnesota Department of Human Services' Social Service Information System (SSIS), 2) data from the Minnesota Automated Report System (MARSS), Disciplinary Incident Reporting System (DIRS) and Minnesota Comprehensive Assessment (MCA) were obtained from the Minnesota Department of Education, and 3) juvenile court data were obtained from the Minnesota Judicial Branch. Link Plus, a program developed by the Center for Disease Control and Prevention, was used to match each youth's educational record with his/her MNCIS and SSIS records by date of birth; and first, middle and last names. After linking the three data sources, all records were de-identified prior to analyses.

Sample

This prospective, six-year longitudinal study tracked the administrative records of a cohort of maltreated youth beginning in 3rd grade (approximately ages 9-14 years) in the Minnesota public school system. The cohort was drawn from a total of 62,248 3rd graders who were enrolled in Minnesota public schools in academic year 2008-2009. In Minnesota, the youngest age at which a youth can be adjudicated delinquent is 10 years old (Minnesota Juvenile Court Jurisdiction, n.d.). However, the juvenile court data includes youth who had their cases adjudicated at 9 years of age. To ensure that this study captures the first entry into the juvenile justice system among maltreated youth, we observed the occurrence of delinquency from 3rd graders. When we linked the education data with the child protection data, we identified 6,740 youth with maltreatment histories. These youth were alleged victims in at least one report of child maltreatment including neglect, physical abuse, sexual abuse, and other (mental injury and emotional harm) in the Social Service Information System.

This study purposely included both unsubstantiated and substantiated child maltreatment reports. Existing research indicates that unsubstantiated cases are similar to substantiated cases relative to risks for future maltreatment (Kohl, Jonson-Reid, & Drake, 2009). In addition, Minnesota has been implementing two tracks for incoming allegations of maltreatment since 2003. Those allegations deemed to be most severe are formally investigated and may be substantiated. Those allegations deemed to be less severe are not subjected to formal investigation (or substantiation) but are tracked to “Family Assessment Response” (FA), known in other jurisdictions as Differential or Alternative Response, where families are offered services. In addition, Minnesota child protection

services have a separate indicator for medical neglect cases and those cases comprise only 0.03% of total maltreatment victims (Minnesota Department of Human Services, 2016). In the current Minnesota child protection system, medical cases are likely either screened out, or go on the family assessment track, which has no substantiation process. Overall, approximately 70% of all child protection cases in Minnesota at the time of this study were Family Assessment cases (Minnesota Department of Human Services, 2017; Ramsey County Community Human Services Department, 2013). Restricting the sample to substantiated cases would thus omit a substantial quantity of data resulting in selection bias. To ensure that our sample was not biased by substantiation, we also run sensitivity analysis. The results of sensitivity analysis indicated that not only was the substantiation not associated with the risk of delinquency, but the inclusion of the variable indicating substantiation in the full model also did not change the coefficients of other predictors in the original analysis (Appendix 1).

We then excluded 1,736 youth whose first known maltreatment occurred subsequent to their first offense date yielding a sample size of 5,004 youth. Of those youth, two more were excluded because their offenses occurred prior to the study start date; this yielded a final sample size of 5,002 youth. The cohort was tracked longitudinally to examine any initial involvement in the juvenile justice system over a 6-year period from academic year 2008-2009 through 2013-2014 (Appendix 2. Sampling Procedure).

Measures

The event: First time adjudication of delinquency. There is no standard method to measure delinquency. Previous research has used a variety of methods with different strengths and limitations including self-report surveys (Snyder & Smith, 2015), official arrest records (Chiu, Ryan, & Herz, 2011), official delinquency petitions in juvenile court (Ryan & Testa, 2008c), and official adjudications of delinquency (Haight et al., 2016). In the current study, the subgroup of maltreated youth considered delinquent were those who were adjudicated, (i.e., found guilty in court). Given that there are many youth who are formally or informally diverted from legal processing (Department of Public Safety Office of Justice Programs, 2010), an adjudication of delinquency provides a more conservative measure of delinquency. This study excluded youth whose only offenses were status offenses such as truancy, the use of alcohol or tobacco, or running away; traffic offenses such as speeding, or other moving violations; and technical violations such as violations of valid court orders, probation, or parole. In this study, the event of interest, crossing over, is the maltreated youth's first adjudication of delinquency. First time adjudication of delinquency was coded as (1) if a youth had his or her offense adjudicated for charges, excluding status offenses and traffic and technical violations, and (0) if no case was adjudicated.

Individual, family, school, and child welfare system involvement variables.

We selected relevant individual, family, school, and child welfare system variables available to us through the aforementioned administrative data bases. Note that many other variables of interest to understanding maltreated youth's involvement in delinquency, for example, parents' substance abuse, were not available. Data on protective factors also were limited.

Individual variables. Individual and family-level variables were drawn from youth's educational records. Race/Ethnicity was coded in one of the five categories with the majority group, White, used as the reference group: (1) Native Indian or Alaskan Native, (2) Asian or Pacific Islander, (3) Hispanic, (4) Black, not of Hispanic origin, and (5) White, not of Hispanic origin. Gender was coded as (0) for male and (1) for female. Disability was identified through special education status and coded into two groups: students who were (0) ineligible or (1) eligible for an Individualized Education Plan (IEP) for a disability in AY 2008-2009. Emotional and behavioral disorders (EBD) were coded as (1) when the primary disability for the individualized education plan (IEP) was listed as emotional/behavioral disorder as the primary disability and (0) otherwise.

Family variable. Socioeconomic status was coded into two groups: students who were (0) ineligible or (1) eligible for reduced or free school lunch in AY 2008-2009 MARSS. Eligibility for reduced or free school lunch is a proxy for family poverty.

School variables. Attendance rate was calculated by dividing sum of average daily attendance (attendance days) by sum of average daily membership (membership days) (Minnesota Department of Education, 2017). Out-of-school suspension was coded as (1) for students who had at least one official record for out-of-school suspension and (0) for those who had no out-of-school suspensions. Reading and math scores were used as raw scores in the Minnesota Comprehensive Assessment (MCA) data. Standardized test scores in both reading and math range from a minimum of 1 to a maximum of 99 with scores ranging from 50 to 63 "meeting standards" and the scores ranging from 40 to 49 "partially meeting standards."

Child welfare involvement related variables. Age at first known episode of maltreatment was calculated as the difference of the episode occurrence date and the youth's date of birth. Number of maltreatment episodes was coded as (1) if a youth had more than 3 and (0) if less than 3 records of maltreatment allegations prior to the study start date of September 1, 2008. Out-of-home placement was coded as (1) if the youth had at least one official placement record before the study start date and (0) if there was no such record.

Analytic strategies

Descriptive statistics were used to examine youth's demographic characteristics. A life table was constructed to display the proportion of youth surviving without crossing over by using a yearly interval. A life table estimated the hazard function (Allison, 1984). The hazard in this study is the probability of first-time adjudication in a given year, given that the individual youth had not already engaged in delinquency while considering the number of youth censored at the end of the year.

Cox proportional hazards regression was used to model time to youth's first involvement in the juvenile justice system, and to identify factors associated with risk for crossing over. The Cox proportional hazards regression model is most appropriate for this study because it enables us to calculate the odds of crossing over while considering the time a given youth was at risk (Allison, 1984). The Cox regression model was conducted using 'Survival version 2.41-2' in software R (Therneau & Lumley, 2017).

To create the time variable, the following procedures were used. First, the number of days between the observation start date and a youth's first adjudication of delinquency was calculated by subtracting the starting date of the study observation (September 1,

2008) from the date of first adjudication for delinquency. Second, for maltreated youth who did not cross over into the juvenile justice system during the study observation period, the difference in days between the end date of the study observation (August 31st, 2014) and the start date of the study observation (September 1st, 2008) was calculated. Third, right censoring was employed for maltreated youth who had not crossed over by the study end date. This study also included censoring cases for youth who left the public school system prior to the end date of the study (August 31, 2014). Status end codes in the public school system were used to identify these cases, including private school attendance, migration to other states, dropout, death, etc. Approximately 4.1% of the youth left the public school system during the study observation period.

Study data met the proportional hazards assumption for the Cox regression model fit (Allison, 1984) based on a test of whether Schoenfeld's residuals were correlated with time and reviewing plots of the deviance residuals. Multicollinearity was not present among the predictor variables with variance inflation factors (VIF) of approximately 1.

Results

Sample characteristics

Table 1 provides study sample characteristics. Approximately half of youth were male (50%). They were primarily White (58.5%), but youth of color are disproportionately represented. For example, the proportion of Native American crossover youth was approximately 7% compared to 2% of all Minnesota public school students (Minnesota Department of Education, 2017). In addition, the proportion of Black crossover youth was approximately 23% in contrast to only 11% of all Minnesota public

school students in AY 2008 - 2009 (Minnesota Department of Education, 2017). Youth with disabilities also were disproportionately represented: 20% of crossover youth had Individualized Education Plans (IEPs) compared to 15% of all Minnesota public school students (Minnesota Department of Education, 2017). Five percent of youth with IEPs had emotional/behavioral disorders (EBD), which is similar to the 6% of all Minnesota public school students (Minnesota Department of Education, 2017). In contrast to 38% of all Minnesota public school students, the large majority of youth (71%) were from low-income families.

Mean scores in reading and math standardized test were 54.5 (SD=19.9) and 53.6 (SD=11.5), respectively. Overall, maltreated youth met or partially met state competency standards in reading and math. More than half of the youth (60%) were attending school at rates similar to others in the state public schools given that the state average attendance rate was 94.8% of school days (Minnesota Department of Education, 2017). Some maltreated youth (4%) experienced out-of-school suspensions before they crossed over. The mean age at the first incident of maltreatment was 3.5 (SD = 2.4). In interpreting the ages at first involvement in the child welfare system, it is important to note that administrative records available for the current study only went back to calendar year 2000. Thus, we were not able to identify any maltreatment and out-of-home placements that occurred during the first year of life for the sample. Therefore, the actual mean age at the first incident of maltreatment likely is lower than reported. Approximately a fifth of youth had more than three child maltreatment reports and approximately 10% of youth had experienced out-of-home placements by 3rd grade.

Table 1

Descriptive statistics (n = 5,002)

	3rd graders (n=5,002)	
	N (%) or Mean	SD
Gender		
Female	2518 (50)	
Male	2484 (50)	
Ethnicity		
Asian	180 (3.6)	
Black	1133 (22.7)	
Hispanic	428 (8.6)	
Native American	335 (6.7)	
White	2926 (58.5)	
Special Education (IEP ¹): Yes	986 (20.0)	
Emotional/behavioral disabilities: Yes	271 (5.0)	
Socioeconomic Status (FRL ²): Yes	3534 (71.0)	
Attendance Rate: Above the State Average ³	3022 (60.0)	
Academic Achievement		
Mean Score in Reading Test	54.5	19.9
Mean Score in Math Test	53.6	11.5
Out-of-school Suspension: Yes	200 (4.0)	
Mean Age at the First CPS	3.5	2.4
Number of Maltreatment: >3 ⁴	945 (18.9)	
Out-of-home Placement: Yes	846 (9.3)	

¹Eligible for Individualized Education Plan; ²Eligible for free and reduced lunch; ³Above the state average attendance rate of 94.8%; ⁴More than three reports for maltreatment

Timing of first-time delinquency

Figure 2 provides a visual representation of the timing of youth's first adjudication of delinquency. Over the 6-year study period, approximately 7% of youth (n = 332) crossed over to the juvenile justice system for the first time. Not surprisingly, the pattern is relatively flat until 6th grade when there is a steady increase through the remaining study period. The average number of years until 332 students crossed over was

4.4 years (1,598 days). The mean age of the first adjudication for those youth was 12.5 (SD = 1.16).

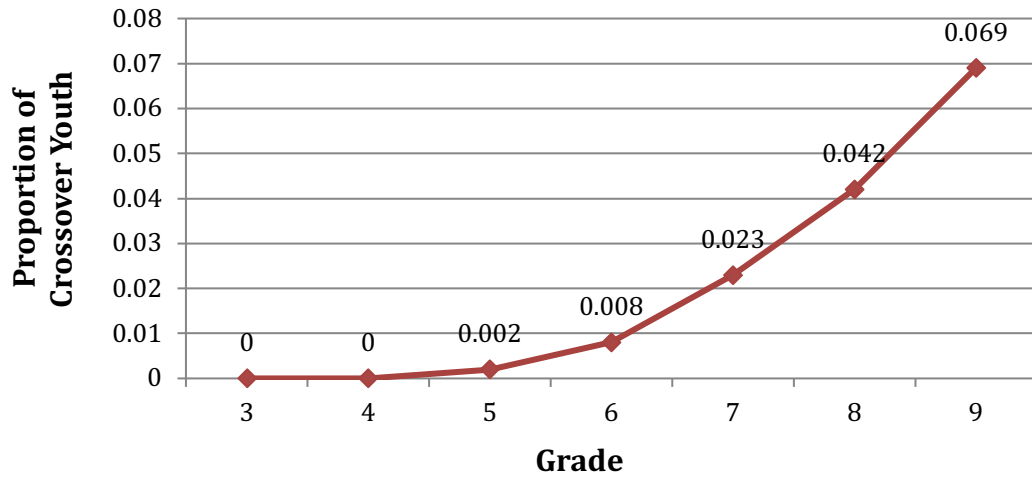


Figure 2. Proportion of maltreated youth crossing over to the juvenile justice system
Note. Each point on the x-axis indicates the beginning of the grade

Cox proportional hazard regression analysis

The results from the Cox proportional hazard regression analyses are displayed in Table 2. A hazard ratio of 1 means lack of association between a risk factor and the outcome, delinquency. A value greater than 1 in the hazard ratio (HR) indicates a greater likelihood of first-time adjudication of delinquency by the end of the observation date.

Gender also increased the hazard of early adjudication among maltreated youth. To be specific, male youth were more likely to be adjudicated with an 87% increase in the hazard (HR=1.87, 95% CI 1.45, 2.40). Belonging to particular racial minority groups increased the hazard of first-time adjudication among maltreated youth. Compared to White youth, Native American (HR=2.34, 95% CI 1.61, 3.39), Black (HR=1.80, 95% CI 1.36, 2.39), and Hispanic (HR=1.73, 95% CI 1.10, 2.71) youth were more likely to cross over with an 80%, 73% and 134% increase in the hazard of crossing over, respectively.

Emotional/behavioral disorders also increased the risk for first time delinquency by 96% (HR=1.96, 95% CI 1.30, 2.93). Out-of-school suspension also was related to a higher hazard for first-time delinquency. The hazard increased by 53% for youth who received out-of-school suspension (HR=1.53, 95% CI 1.04, 2.25). In addition, recurrence of maltreatment placed maltreated youth at increased risk for early entry to the juvenile justice system. More than three previous official records of maltreatment were associated with a higher risk of first-time adjudication of delinquency with a 102% increase in the hazard (HR=2.02, 95% CI 1.54, 2.64).

Table 2

Cox proportional hazard regression model (n = 5,002)

	3rd graders (n=5,002)				
	B		S.E.	Exp (B)	95% IC
Gender: Male	0.62	***	0.13	1.87	[1.45, 2.40]
Race (Reference: White)					
Asian	-0.49		0.58	0.61	[0.19, 1.92]
Black	0.59	***	0.14	1.8	[1.36, 2.39]
Hispanic	0.55	*	0.23	1.73	[1.10, 2.71]
Native	0.85	***	0.19	2.34	[1.61, 3.39]
Special Education (IEP ¹): Yes	-0.03		0.17	0.97	[0.69, 1.34]
Emotional/Behavioral Disorders: Yes	0.67	**	0.21	1.96	[1.30, 2.93]
Socioeconomic Status (FRL ²): Yes	0.25		0.15	1.29	[0.95, 1.73]
Attendance Rate	-0.55		1.64	0.58	[0.02, 4.28]
Academic Achievement					
Reading Score	-0.01		0.01	0.99	[0.98, 1.01]
Math Score	0		0.01	0.99	[0.98, 1.01]
Out-of-school Suspension: Yes	0.42	*	0.2	1.53	[1.04, 2.25]
Mean age at the first CPS	0.42		0.03	1.04	[0.99, 1.09]
Number of Previous CPS: >3 ⁴	0.7	***	0.14	2.02	[1.54, 2.64]
Out-of-home Placement: Yes	0.03		0.15	1.03	[0.77, 1.37]

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$ ¹Eligible for Individualized Education Plan; ²Eligible for free and reduced lunch; ⁴More than three reports of maltreatment

Discussion

This study investigated the cumulative proportion of maltreated youth who crossed over to the juvenile justice system for the first time, and factors associated with risk of early entry into the juvenile justice system among those youth. During this 6-year longitudinal study, the rates of crossing over were 7%. These rates are slightly lower than those found in several previous studies which ranged from 9% to 45% (Kelley et al., 1997; Widom, 1989). This discrepancy may be due to differences in how delinquency was defined. While most existing studies defined crossing over as arrest before youth touched the juvenile justice system regardless of adjudication, this study focused on adjudicated cases in the courts database. Arrest data from police, including diversion cases, were not available for this study.

Younger adolescents experience many physical and social changes from puberty and the transition to middle school (Steinberg, 2017). In transaction with these developmental issues, this study indicates that youth who cross over relatively early have a variety of other experiences and characteristics that place them at risk for adjudication. First, maltreated boys were significantly more likely than maltreated girls to engage in delinquency. This finding is consistent with existing research indicating an increased risk for males' involvement in the juvenile justice system (Belknap & Holsinger, 2006; Topitzers, Mersky, & Reynolds, 2011). The higher male crime rate is often attributed to male gender role socialization. Boys are often encouraged to be tough, active and physical (Kruttschnitt, 2013). This socialization may be conducive to externalizing behaviors and conform to adult expectations of delinquents. In addition, girls tend to display internalizing reactions (e.g., depression and suicidality), resulting in delayed

criminal behaviors. Furthermore, girls are more likely to receive attention from professionals, which may operate as a protective factor for early delinquency. For example, mandatory reporters of maltreatment show higher responsiveness of reporting for girls because they perceive them to be more vulnerable than boys (Herz et al., 2012).

Second, consistent with previous research on crossover youth (Herz et al., 2012), Black, Hispanic, and Native American youth are at increased risk of delinquency in early adolescence. These youth may experience the effects of individual and structural racism including in the child welfare and juvenile justice systems (Marshall & Haight, 2014). Although the disproportionate risk of delinquency for Black and Hispanic youth has been well documented in the crossover youth literature (Herz et al., 2012; Ryan & Testa, 2005), Native American youth have been understudied. The two studies that have included Native American youth (Ryan et al., 2013; Ryan et al., 2016), found that they are not at higher risk of delinquency compared to White youth. This inconsistency may be partly due to different racial composition in the youth population as well as differences in policies affecting youth population across states. The percentage of Native Indian youth in this study (approximately 7%) is slightly higher than that of the previous studies (4% to 5%) allowing for more statistical power to detect differences (Ryan et al., 2013; Ryan et al., 2015).

Emotional and behavioral disorders also were risk factors for youth crossing over for the first time in early adolescence. Emotional/behavioral issues can be manifested as deviant behaviors such as truancy, stealing, substance abuse, or affiliation with delinquent peers in early adolescence (Steinberg, 2017). Although some maladaptive behaviors by young adolescents can be informally handled in the child welfare system, it

is relatively common for child welfare personnel to instead involve law enforcement. The result is maltreated children's early involvement in the juvenile justice system (Ryan et al., 2007; Stewart et al., 2010).

Next, youth who experienced out-of-school suspensions were at heightened risk for delinquency. Out-of-school suspension is a significant predictor for delinquency for child welfare involved youth (Ryan et al, 2008c). When youth are suspended, they may miss academic content and fall behind their classmates and feel disconnected from school. In addition, most students with behavioral challenges cannot afford unsupervised time at home (Haight et al., 2014b). Furthermore, youth may respond to exclusionary discipline in a variety of ways including the development of an oppositional identity that rejects the values and norms of the school. When youth internalize oppositional identities, they may embrace problematic behaviors and values that can ultimately lead to delinquency.

Finally, more than three allegations of maltreatment also are a risk for youth crossing over into the juvenile justice system for the first time during early adolescence. This finding is consistent with previous research indicating that repeated incidents of maltreatment may affect the risk of delinquency of youth in early adolescence (Lemmon, 2006). Children who are neglected may not understand or be motivated to engage in positive relationships with adults. Children who are abused are more likely to model their parents' or caregivers' deviant or aggressive behaviors, and to accept such behaviors as appropriate social responses (Widom, 1989). Difficulties in forming relationships with adults can result in problematic behaviors and increased risk for delinquency, for example, aggressive or disrespectful behaviors at school that result in out-of-school suspensions.

Limitations

Before discussing study implications, it is necessary to consider limitations for the interpretation. First, we have identified factors that *signal risk* for maltreated youth crossing over into delinquency, but we make no claims that these factors are *causal*. For example, out-of-school suspensions are risks for crossing over. Out-of-school suspensions may *identify* youth who are already struggling behaviorally and interpersonally at school and it may be those struggles (and not the suspensions) that are causal in their subsequent delinquency. As discussed earlier, out-of-school suspensions also can create risks for delinquency, e.g., youth may be unsupervised during the day or experience stigmatization when they return to school. However, any causal effect may be bi-directional with vulnerable children being more likely to engage in behaviors that result in suspensions, and suspensions contributing to additional vulnerabilities. Likewise, maltreated youth who experience out-of-home placements are at increased risk for delinquency. Yet the involvement in the juvenile justice system also contributes to multiple out-of-home placements (Ryan et al., 2008a). The administrative data available in this study did not allow us to weigh various plausible alternative explanations nor to distinguish the bi-directional effects.

Second, administrative records for maltreatment only went back to calendar year 2000 and thus we were not able to identify any maltreatment that occurred during the first year of life. Children's Bureau (2016) reported that approximately 12% of victims were between birth to 1 year old. Thus, information on the number of incidents of reported maltreatment in this study is relatively less complete than for other variables. Inclusion of maltreatment from birth might influence the rate of crossing over, as well as overall

delinquency trajectories.

Next, the administrative data available to this study did not include all risk factors found to be associated with the risk for delinquency in previous studies. Note that many other variables of interest to understanding maltreated youth's involvement in delinquency were not available. For example, at the neighborhood level, exposure to adverse circumstances (e.g., crime and economic deprivation) as a consequence of social disorganization may increase risk for delinquency in maltreated children. Schuck and Widom (2005) found that in one Midwestern metropolitan county, maltreated children from more disadvantaged and unstable neighborhoods were arrested at a rate one and a half times higher than their maltreated counterparts from less disadvantaged and more stable neighborhoods. Furthermore, it did not include protective factors. Future studies should include other important factors not available to this study, such as school engagement, parental substance abuse, and neighborhood characteristics.

In addition, this study was limited to adjudicated cases (i.e., youth found by a judge to have committed a delinquent act). The definition of delinquency affects the proportion of maltreated youth identified as crossing over. Previous studies focusing on arrest, including a court's informal adjustment or diversion cases, have reported higher rates of delinquency or recidivism. As mentioned above, the findings of this study are based on official records of delinquency in the juvenile court system. Reliance on the court data inevitably omits those youth who are arrested but diverted before they touched the juvenile justice system. Future research needs to clarify any differences in the delinquency trajectories of adjudicated youth and youth diverted from the juvenile justice court system.

Implications

Existing interventions tend to focus on maltreated youth *after* they have crossed over into the juvenile justice system. Given the additional risks posed by juvenile justice system involvement to the development of these already vulnerable youth, our focus is on prevention. Our research rests on the premise that if we can identify maltreated youth at highest risk of delinquent behavior, then we can focus our scarce resources on supporting them to prevent their involvement in the juvenile justice system and exposure to associated risks. Our research provides foundational research for the design of preventive interventions through identification of individual-, family- and school-level factors that signal risk for early involvement in delinquency among maltreated youth. For maltreated youth, who first crossed over into delinquency by early adolescence, we identified characteristics and experiences that may signal increased risk for delinquency: being male, being a child of color, having a diagnosed emotional or behavioral disorder, being suspended from school, and experiencing more than three allegations of maltreatment.

Once maltreated youth at highest risk of delinquency are identified, preventive interventions may be designed and evaluated. Such interventions should be individualized and non-stigmatizing. Maltreated youth are a diverse group of individuals with varying strengths, challenges and interests. Preventive interventions should be appropriately tailored. In addition, youth with maltreatment histories are vulnerable to stigmatization, e.g., due to their out-of-home placements and/or family challenges such as substance abuse, poverty, etc. Interventions which could place them at increased risk for stigmatization should be implemented with caution.

Mentoring may be one individualized, non-stigmatizing approach to preventive

intervention with maltreated youth at risk of delinquency. Youth could be linked with mentors within their own communities with whom they could establish stable, long-term relationships, and who could encourage and support prosocial activities and relationships (Schwartz, Rhodes, Spencer, & Grossman, 2013). There is a significant body of research describing the characteristics of effective mentoring relationships and programs that can provide guidance. For instance, youth have more positive outcomes when mentoring relationships are stable over time (Hagler, Raposa & Rhodes, 2017). Youth who have already experienced disrupted relationships with adults can actually experience harm if mentoring relationships are prematurely disrupted. In addition, more successful mentoring programs provide ongoing supervision of mentors, especially when serving challenging populations of youth.

The findings of the current study also demand further investigation. This study found that maltreated youth in early adolescence were involved with the juvenile justice system for the first time at an average age of 12.5. Empirical studies have found that youth who commit delinquent behaviors prior to age 14 tend to commit more and more serious subsequent offenses and to commit them over a longer period than do those youth who first engage in delinquency at older ages (Piquero, 2008). Conceivably, maltreated youth who engage in delinquency at younger ages are at heightened risk for more serious, continuous offending behaviors while youth who engage in delinquency later in adolescence are more likely to desist from adult crime. Future research on crossover youth needs to compare the criminal trajectories in maltreated youth who engage in delinquency at different periods of development.

Conclusion

Crossover youth are of particular concern to child welfare, juvenile justice and other professionals because of their risks for problematic developmental outcomes. In an effort to alter the negative developmental trajectories of crossover youth, a growing body of research has identified potential risk and protective factors for maltreated youth crossing over into delinquency. This study contributes to the knowledge base informing preventive interventions by investigating risk factors for maltreated youth who cross over at relatively young ages.

Chapter Six

Study 2: A Quantitative Study in Korea

This section presents a prospective, longitudinal cohort study in Korea to examine rates of delinquency and risk factors for Korean youth's involvement in delinquency.

Introduction

This study seeks to understand the effect of child maltreatment on delinquency in Korea by analyzing nationally representative data of Korean youth. Delinquency is a persistent global concern due to its serious consequences. Undoubtedly, all cultures and societies have to bear considerable financial, social and other costs associated with delinquency, including the costs to communities harmed by crime and the costs for confinement (Hewitt & DeLisi, 2016). There is no single factor that accounts for the risk of delinquency. However, decades of research indicate that child maltreatment is a powerful predictor of delinquency (Ireland et al., 2002; Ryan & Testa, 2005; Snyder & Smith, 2015). Existing data in the U.S. indicates that overall, maltreated children are reported as having 47% - 53% higher rates of delinquency than non-maltreated children (Ryan & Testa, 2005; Widom, 1989) and repeated maltreatment further increases the risk of confinement in a juvenile correctional facility (Jonson-Reid, 2002).

Cultural groups vary in how they understand and respond to child maltreatment (Korbin, 2002) and children's misbehavior (Cavan & Cavan, 1968). These cultural variations may impact the relationship between child maltreatment and delinquency. Yet relatively little research has examined risk factors for delinquency, including any risk caused by child maltreatment in various cultural contexts. This study addresses this gap

by examining the relationship between child maltreatment and delinquency in the Korean cultural context.

Understanding the pathways from child maltreatment to delinquency in Korea

Understanding of the effect of child maltreatment on delinquency has received little attention in Korean society. Different cultural beliefs and values in Korea have led to a delay in awareness of child maltreatment and the establishment of relevant laws. Recent policy changes for child maltreatment in 2014 (Korean Ministry of Government Legislation, 2014) have brought some attention to the issue of maltreated children in Korean society. Empirical research is also beginning to identify the extent to which child maltreatment contributes to delinquent behaviors (Hong & Jang, 2016), pathways from child maltreatment to delinquency (Jung, Park & Ku, 2006; Kim & Jung, 2017), as well as mediating factors that buffer or exacerbate the relationship between maltreatment and delinquency (Bae & Lee, 2018; Cho & Kim, 2015). However, existing studies aggregate youth at widely varying ages. In addition, there is little research that examines the impact of child maltreatment on delinquency while considering the timing of delinquency among Korean youth.

Research on the relationship between maltreatment and delinquency in Korea specifically can contribute to a broader knowledge base about the pathways from child maltreatment to delinquency because most of the literature on these pathways comes from Western countries, where the perception of acceptable parental discipline and child maltreatment greatly differs from Korea. Strongly influenced by Confucian values, the Korean parent-child relationship is hierarchical (Slote & De Vos, 1998). Such hierarchical relationships justify strict parental discipline, including severe physical

punishment and an ambiguous boundary between acceptable parental discipline and maltreatment. Thus, the extent to which maltreatment is associated with the risk of delinquency and other factors related to the risk of delinquency may differ from the findings in Western studies.

Additionally, data from Korean youth can contribute to our knowledge base because of recent changes in Korean policies related to child maltreatment. The Korean government established the Act on Special Cases Concerning the Punishment Etc. of Child Abuse Crimes effective since January 2014 and revised the existing Child Welfare Law. The new laws intend to enhance law enforcement to protect child victims and to strengthen punishment for perpetrators (Korean Ministry of Government Legislation, 2014). Although child maltreatment is acknowledged as a crime in Korean society since the establishment of the new laws, law enforcement is limited only to serious maltreatment cases (Huh, 2015). Given these changes, research from the Korean cultural context can provide a unique opportunity to identify variations in our understanding of the relationship between maltreatment and delinquency.

Statistics on child maltreatment and delinquency in Korea

Statistics on child maltreatment in Korea suggest that child protection services still focus on serious child maltreatment cases. Despite an increasing trend in the prevalence of child maltreatment in Korea (from 0.18 in 2001 to 0.24 in 2011 per 1,000), this prevalence is still much lower than in Western countries (e.g., 9.2 per 1,000 in the U.S) (Korean National Child Protection Agency, 2015). In terms of the types of maltreatment, in 2014, of the 17,782 children who were referred to the local Child Protection Agencies in Korea, approximately 38% were victims of emotional abuse, 33%

of physical abuse, 25% of neglect and 4% of sexual abuse (Korean National Child Protection Agency, 2015).

South Korea also provides unique statistics on juvenile delinquency rates by presenting separate delinquency rates for in-school youth who are enrolled in public or private schools and out-of-school youth who have dropped out of school. In 2014, the delinquency rate for in-school youth comprised approximately 60% of the total juvenile delinquency rate (Ministry of Gender Equality and Family, 2016). Although the overall juvenile delinquency rate in Korea increased with age under the age of 19, the delinquency rate of in-school youth peaked between 8th and 9th grade and then gradually decreased. This unique separation between in-school and out-of-school youth in Korea provides valuable insight into the relationship between child maltreatment and delinquency. This study investigates delinquency rates and the extent to which child maltreatment impacts delinquency while considering other factors associated with the risk of delinquency among Korean youth in middle school and high school. Specifically, this study addresses the following research questions:

1. What proportion of middle and high school Korean youth engage in delinquency over a 4-year period?
2. To what extent does child maltreatment impact delinquency among Korean youth in middle and high school?
3. What additional factors are associated with the risk for delinquency among Korean youth in middle and high school?

Methods

Study design

The current study employed a prospective, longitudinal cohort design to test the association between child maltreatment and delinquency among Korean youth in middle and high school. The prospective cohort study design is an appropriate scientific method for measuring the effects of a risk factor on an outcome by following a group of individuals, known as cohort, over a period of time (Shadish, Cook, & Campbell, 2002). The observation of a cohort helps ensure that the sample experiences similar policies and regulations in school, the child welfare system and the juvenile justice system in the same sociocultural context. In addition, simultaneously investigating two cohorts (one middle and one high school cohort) can help us interpret the effects of child maltreatment on delinquency during different developmental risk periods. The decreasing pattern of delinquency rate after 9th grade implies that youth in middle and high school may experience a different set of risks for delinquency. Since the current survey only has delinquency data for 4 years, this study selected two cohorts representing middle school and high school youth, respectively. Within one cohort, delinquency rates are tracked over shorter periods. Across cohorts, the continuity of delinquency and prediction for the relationship between maltreatment and delinquency can be studied over a relatively longer period of time by combining results from the two cohorts.

Data

This study utilized nationally representative longitudinal data of Korean youth from the Korean Child Youth Panel Survey (KCYPs). The primary sampling frame of the KCYPs is a list of national elementary and middle schools from the Ministry of

Education in 2009 (National Youth Policy Institute: NYPI, 2015). The inclusion criteria for the school in the KCYPS were schools with more than 2 classes at each panel grade and 50 students in the class. The KCYPS is a school-based survey study of three panels from 1st, 4th, and 7th graders in 2010 who were followed for 6 years. Using a multi-stage stratified cluster sampling, the survey was designed to investigate the children and youth and the multiple-embedded social contexts in which they live (NYPI, 2015). Schools were stratified by region, urbanicity, school size, and boys/girls school ratio for middle schools (of the 2,320 middle schools, 421 were girls schools and 376 were boys schools). A stratified sample of 271 schools are nested within 27 communities in 16 cities/provinces. The data was collected annually by the National Youth Policy Institute of South Korea (NYPI) for 6 years, from 2010 to 2016. Trained interviewers visited the participant schools to collect the data between October and November of every year. Surveys were group administered in classrooms during a 50-minute to 60-minute period; students absent from school on the day of the survey were administered surveys later under the supervision of trained school personnel. The KCYPS is public-use data and thus available from the website without any data-sharing agreement or permission to download the data (KCYPS, 2015). At the time of the current study, the data is available up to Wave 6 in 2015 and this study utilized data from Wave 1 to Wave 6. This study was approved as an exempt study using public-use secondary data by the University Institutional Review Board.

Samples

This study used data from the 4th grade panel to represent the middle school cohort (from 6th to 9th grade) and 7th grade panel, the high school cohort (from 9th to 12th

grade) from Wave 2 (2012) to Wave 6 (2015) of the KCYPS. The original sample size for the middle school cohort was 2,378 youth and 2,351 youth for the high school cohort. Students were sampled from 95 elementary schools for 4th graders and 78 middle schools for 7th graders. Attrition rates were between 4.8 and 12.9 % for the 4th grade panel and 3 and 11.1% for the 7th grade panel from Wave 2 to Wave 6. Subsequent analysis excluded 103 students in the middle school cohort and 79 students the high school cohort who had no follow-up data between Wave 3 and Wave 6 and therefore no information was available to construct the outcome variable. The final study sample was 2,275 youth in middle school cohort and 2,272 youth in the high school cohort. The longitudinal data of the two cohorts covers seven school years from 6th through 12th.

Measures

The survey instruments were developed by the National Youth Policy Institute (NYPI, 2015). Surveys were self-reports from participating youth and their parents. Youth responded to most survey questionnaires designed to gather information from an ecological framework, including individual characteristics, health issues, family, school, and neighborhood levels. Parents responded to survey questionnaires for household demographics, including household income, parental education, and family structure.

Dependent variable: First self-reported delinquency. The event of interest in this study is delinquency reported by youth for the first time. Delinquency involvement was assessed over a 4-year period, from Wave 3 to Wave 6. At this time middle school youth in between 6th and 9th grade and high school youth in between 9th and 12th grade. Delinquency was measured using 8 items in the KCYPS survey. These items included engaging in severe teasing or ridiculing, bullying, gang fights, physical fighting,

threatening, extorting money or goods, stealing money or goods, and rape and sexual assault. This study excluded status offenses such as smoking cigarettes, drinking alcohol, running away from home, absenteeism, and having sex. Respondents were asked to report each of these acts over the past 12 months with yes/no dichotomous responses. The dependent variable for each student-year was coded 1 if the youth admitted that any of the items indicating delinquent acts in that year; otherwise it was coded zero.

Independent variable. Maltreatment is the primary independent variable in this study. Maltreatment included neglect, physical and emotional abuse. Maltreatment was measured using eight items from the National Youth Policy Institute (2015) Child Abuse Questionnaires. The items were negatively valued on a 4-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (very likely) to 4 (very unlikely). Five out of 8 items were reverse coded so that higher scores indicate higher levels of maltreatment. The items were worded from the respondents' perspective, e.g, “My parents take me to get treated if I am sick,” “My parents always hit me when I do something wrong,” “My parents have treated me harshly to the point that I had bruises or scars left on my body.” Because a youth might experience or perceive varying degrees of maltreatment over the study observation period, maltreatment was measured every year as a time-dependent variable. Cronbach’s alpha indicating a degree of internal consistency for the eight items ranged from 0.74 to 0.79 for the middle school cohort and 0.76 and 0.8 for the high school cohort.

Control variables. This study also included a set of control variables found to be related to risks for delinquency based on the existing Korean literature (Hong & Jang, 2016; Kim & Choi, 2012; Lee, 2015; Jung et al., 2006). Control variables included demographic information, self-control, aggression, depression, attitude toward school

rules, satisfaction with academic performance, peer attachment, relationship with teachers, and perception of community. Most control variables were measured on data from Wave 2 to ensure that those conditions preceded delinquent behaviors measured on data from Wave 3 to Wave 6. However, due to availability and discrepancy in the variables measured on each Wave between the two panels, self-control was measured on data from Wave 1 and both aggression and depression from the Wave 3.

Demographic background variables included gender (0 = male, 1 = female), father's and mother's education levels (0 = less than a high school diploma, 1 = more than a high school diploma), family composition (0 = two parents, 1 = single parents, 2 = no parents), mother's employment status (0 = no, 1 = yes), and household income (continuous variable). The average monthly income was measured in Korean currency (KRW). One million KRW is equal to US\$882.92 in the 2012 exchange rate average (X-RATES, 2012).

Self-control was measured by an inventory that consists of 14 items on a 4-point scale ranging from 1 (very likely) to 4 (very unlikely). All the items were reverse coded so that a higher score of the items reflected a higher level of self-control. The items were worded such as: "When something unexpected suddenly happens, I look to keep my cool and work through it," "I am generous to my friends," and "I like to try new things that I have usually not done." The self-control construct demonstrated good reliability $\alpha = 0.85$ for the middle school cohort and $\alpha = 0.84$ for the high school cohort. *Aggression* was measured by 6 items from the revised version of psychiatric diagnosis (Cho & Yim, 2003) concerning arguing, demanding and fighting, e.g. "Sometimes, I interfere with other's work," "Sometimes, I nitpick at everything," "Sometimes, I get angry all day

long,” and “I try to find other’s faults.” All the items were reverse-coded, and a composite score was calculated so that a higher rating of the items represents a higher level of aggression. Youth reports for the aggression items demonstrated good reliability as indicated by Cronbach’s alpha, 0.84 for the middle school cohort and 0.81 for the high school cohort. *Depression* was measured by 10 items on a 4-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (very likely) to 4 (very unlikely) from the translated and modified Korean version of Child Behavior Checklist Youth Self-Report: K-YSR (Oh, Lee, Hong & Ha, 1998). Items were negatively valued on a 4-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (very likely) to 4 (very unlikely). Depression items included: “I feel unlucky, sad and depressed,” and “I want to die.” All the items were reverse coded so that higher scores present higher level of depression. The depression construct has high internal consistency with $\alpha = 0.92$ for the middle school cohort and $\alpha = 0.9$ for the high school cohort.

Satisfaction with overall academic performance was originally measured on a 4-point scale ranging from 1 (very satisfied) to 4 (very dissatisfied). In this study, the item was recorded as a binary variable (0 = dissatisfied and very dissatisfied, 1 = satisfied and very satisfied). Attitude toward school rules indicates youth’s commitment to following school rules. *Youth’s attitude toward school rules* were measured using 5 items from School Life Adjustment inventory (Min, 1991) which measures overall school adjustment among Korean youth in three areas: school rules, school activities, and teacher relationships. The school rule items were worded such as: “I behave according to the classroom rules,” and “I respect the school’s property as if it were my own.” This construct had a Cronbach’s alpha of 0.79 for the middle school cohort and 0.79 for the high school cohort. *Peer attachment* was measured using 9 items from the Korean

Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment (K-IPPA). Items were negatively valued on a 4-point scale ranging from 1 (very likely) to 4 (very unlikely), e.g., “My friends respect my opinion,” and “My friends trust me.” Six items out of 9 were reverse coded so that a higher rating of the items represented a higher level of peer attachment. Cronbach’s alpha reliability for the peer attachment items was 0.81 for the middle school cohort and 0.83 for the high school cohort. *Relationship with teachers* was measured by 5 items from School Life Adjustment inventory (Min, 1991). Items were negatively valued on a 4-point scale ranging from 1 (very likely) to 4 (very unlikely). All the items were reverse coded so that a higher score on the items indicated a higher level of attachment to teacher, e.g., “I am comfortable talking to teachers,” and “My teacher is kind to me.” This construct demonstrated good reliability $\alpha = 0.92$ for the middle school cohort and $\alpha = 0.84$ for the high school cohort. *Perception of community* was measured by 6 items on a 4-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (very likely) to 4 (very unlikely), e.g., “My neighbors have close relationships with each other,” and “My neighbors trust each other.” Five items out of 6 were reverse coded so that a higher rating of the items represented a higher level of peer attachment. Cronbach’s alpha reliability for the perception of community items was 0.71 for the middle school cohort and 0.74 for the high school cohort.

Analytic strategy

Descriptive statistics on each variable informed the rate of missingness. Missing data were most commonly observed in the independent variable - maltreatment with 9.4% in middle school cohort and 9.5% in high school cohort. The highest missing rate was observed in mother employment with 10.4% in the high school cohort. To determine whether these missing values were completely random (MCAR), Little’s (1988) test was

conducted and indicated that the null hypothesis of no relationship was rejected with $\chi^2 = 4828.83; p < 0.000$ for the middle school cohort and $\chi^2 = 5031.86; p < 0.000$ for the high school cohort. The Little's test results suggested that the deletion of missing data would result in bias and thus multiple imputation technique was used to address the missing data (Rubin, 2004). It is important to note that the dependent variable, first self-reported delinquency did not require multiple imputations. Instead, right censoring was employed for youth who had not engaged in delinquency during the study observation period (Allison, 2001). This study also included censoring cases for youth who dropped out of the survey during the study observation period. To create complete and balanced data, the imputation model was constructed including all independent as well as dependent variables and hazard ratios that have the potential to better explain the missing values in survival analysis (White & Royston, 2009). Ten imputation data sets were generated using 'MICE version 2.64.0' in software R. As the missingness is less than 10%, 10 imputations would carry a 99% efficiency and thus be considered adequate (Rubin, 2004). The main analyses were repeated on the 10 imputed data sets and the results present the pooled estimates of these data sets.

For the main analyses, time to delinquency was modeled with discrete time survival analysis (Allison, 2014). Discrete time survival analysis is suitable to model time to the occurrence of event when time is classified into categorical units (Allison, 2014). In this study, delinquency was reported in discrete time by year. Discrete time survival analysis is an extension of running logistic regression to model time to the log-odds of an event during time-period conditioned on a set of linear predictors while controlling for

the effect of censoring. A central advantage of the discrete time survival analysis is the ability to use time-dependent covariates (Allison, 2014).

The first step in the analysis is to obtain the Maximum Likelihood estimate of the hazard rate by taking the ratio of the number of youth engaging in delinquency in each year to the number at risk in the same year. The calculation assumed that everyone's hazard rate is the same within each year. In other words, it's the simplest model in which the hazard rate varies in each of the 4 years but does not depend on explanatory variables. No clear pattern emerged from the year coefficients, although there is a tendency for the hazard rate to decrease with time. Three forms of the hazard function, (i.e., linear, quadratic, and log-time), were compared for the middle school cohort as well as the high school cohort. The linear model with the smallest Akaike Information Criterion (AIC) was selected.

The main analysis takes into account the unobserved hazard rate that depends on explanatory variables. All but one variable, child maltreatment were assumed to be constant over time. The analysis relaxed the constraint in the hazard rate by allowing it to be different in each of the 4 years even when other independent variables were held constant. This was accomplished by creating a set of three dummy variables, one for each of the first 3 years of observation. The coefficient for each year dummy variable gives the difference in the logarithm of the odds of delinquent youth in that particular year and the log odds of delinquent youth in year 4, net of other variables. A likelihood-ratio chi-square statistic was conducted to compare the null hypothesis with the fit of the full model that allows the hazard rate to be different in each of the 4 years even when other variables are held constant. The null hypothesis was rejected at the .001 level suggesting

that the full model fits the data better than the null hypothesis that constrained the hazard rate. The current study used software R to conduct descriptive statistics and discrete time survival analyses using ‘GLM version 1.1.3’ in R.

Results

Sample characteristics and descriptive statistics

Table 1 represents sample characteristics and descriptive statistics for all measures. In both cohorts, gender composition appeared similar. Nearly half of the youth’s fathers had more than a high school diploma in both cohorts. The number of mothers that had more than a high school diploma was lower than the number of fathers with the same education level. In both cohorts, the majority of youth lived with two parents and less than 10% of the youth lived with a single parent. Approximately 1% of youth in both cohorts lived with no parent. These youth lived either in institutional care or foster care, reflecting the child welfare system in Korea where institutional care is still the most common placements for children in need of permanent families. In the middle school cohort, 63% of youth’s mothers were employed. A slightly higher proportion of the youth’s mothers (68%) in the middle school cohort were employed. The annual household income was approximately 45 million KRW (South Korean currency) [US\$39,731.4] in both cohorts (SD = 29.26 and 24.21, respectively).

Over the 4-year observation period, the mean scores of youth’s self-reports of maltreatment ranged from 1.8 (SD = 0.39) to 1.92 (SD = 0.42) for the middle school cohort and from 1.8 (SD = 0.37) to 2.0 (SD = 0.44) for the high school cohort. The mean score of self-control was 3.02 (SD = 0.49) for the middle school cohort and 2.9 (SD =

0.45) for the high school cohort. The youth self-reported a mean of aggression score of 2.01 (SD = 0.61) for the middle school cohort and 2.12 (SD = 0.57) for the high school cohort. In terms of the level of depression, the mean score reported by the middle school cohort was 1.69 (SD = 0.6) and 1.93 (SD = 0.57) for the high school cohort. There was a notable drop in overall academic performance from the middle to high school cohort in satisfaction: A majority of youth in the middle school cohort (80%) reported being satisfied with their school performance while approximately a third of the youth in the high school cohort (38%) were satisfied with their school performance. The mean score of attitudes toward school rules was 3.04 (SD = 0.53) for the middle school cohort and 2.8 (SD = 0.55) for the high school cohort. The youth in the middle school cohort reported a mean peer attachment score of 3.1 (SD = 0.47) and 2.98 (SD = 0.5) for the high school cohort. Youth's relationship with teachers was reported as a mean score of 3.13 (SD = 0.65) for the middle school cohort and 2.8 (SD = 0.66) for the high school cohort. For perception of community, youth self-scored a mean of 3.08 (SD = 0.52) for the middle school cohort and 2.75 (SD = 0.54) for the high school cohort.

Table 3
Sample Characteristics and Descriptive Statistics

	Middle School Cohort		High School Cohort	
	%		%	
Gender				
Male	52		49	
Female	48		51	
Parents Education Level				
Father Education: Above GED	55		52	
Mother Education: Above GED	44		37	
Family Composition				
Two Parents	91		89	
Single Parents	7		10	
No Parents	1		1	
Mother Employment: Yes	63		68	
Satisfied with Academic Performance: Yes	80		38	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Maltreatment				
2012	1.84	0.4	2.0	0.44
2013	1.92	0.42	1.9	0.38
2014	1.8	0.41	1.8	0.37
2015	1.8	0.39	1.84	0.39
Household Income: million KRW	45	29.26	45.05	24.21
Self-Control	3.02	0.49	2.9	0.45
Aggression	2.01	0.61	2.12	0.57
Depression	1.69	0.6	1.93	0.57
School Rules	3.04	0.53	2.8	0.55
Peer Attachment	3.1	0.47	2.98	0.5
Relationship with teacher	3.13	0.65	2.8	0.66
Perception on community	3.08	0.52	2.75	0.54

Delinquency rates

A life table was constructed to estimate hazard function by using a yearly interval. Figure 1 shows a visual representation of delinquency rates in each year. Over the 4-year study period, approximately 19% of the middle school cohort ($n = 430$) and 11% of the high school cohort ($n = 244$) engaged in delinquency. The mean time until the first self-reported delinquency was 1.83 years ($SD = 0.85$) for the middle school cohort and 1.77 years ($SD = 0.92$) for the high school cohort. Delinquency rates for youth in the middle school cohort peaked for the first two years of study observation when they were in 6th (7.7%) and 7th (8.3%) grade and drastically decreased for the rest two years (3.5% in 8th and 1.2% in 9th grade). The high school cohort showed the peak delinquency rate in the first year of study observation when they were in 9th grade (5.3%) and steady decrease for the rest of the three years (3.6% in 10th, 1.7% in 11th and 0.9% in 12th grade).

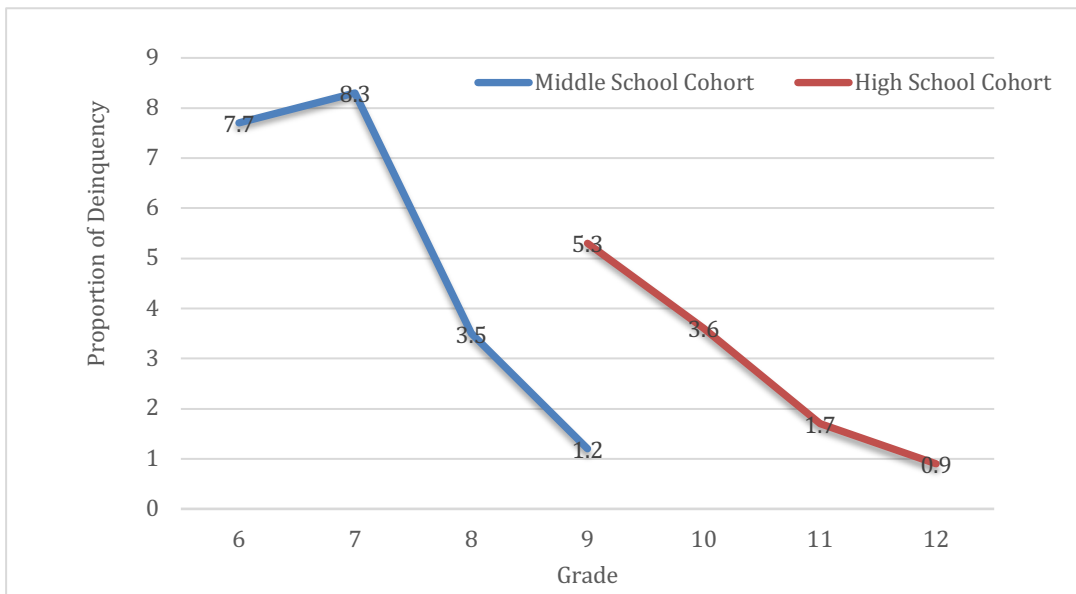


Figure 3. Delinquency rates over 4-year period

Discrete time survival analysis

The results from discrete time survival analyses are presented in Table 2. The

term “hazard” in this study refers to the probability that youth engage in delinquency over a 4-year study period (Allison, 2014). A hazard ratio of 1 means lack of association between a risk factor and the outcome, delinquency. A value greater than 1 in the hazard ratio (HR) indicates a greater likelihood of involvement in delinquency by the end of the observation period. Child maltreatment is found to be associated with delinquency only for youth in the high school cohort. Youth who reported higher scores of parental maltreatment in the high school cohort were more likely to engage in delinquency (HR=1.42, 95% CI 0.03, 0.67). For one unit increase in the maltreatment score, the hazard for delinquency increases by 42%.

In both cohorts, male youth were more likely than female youth to engage in delinquency (HR=1.67, 95% CI 0.3, 0.73 for the middle school cohort and HR=4.81, 95% CI 1.23, 1.91 for the high school cohort). Youth with high levels of aggression experienced an increased risk of delinquency (HR=1.45, 95% CI 0.18, 0.56 for the middle school cohort and HR=1.82, 95% CI 0.35, 0.86 for the high school cohort).

Three variables have a significant impact on the hazard for delinquency in the middle school cohort other than gender and depression. Specifically, the hazard increased by 49% for youth whose mothers had more than a high school diploma than those whose mother had less than a high school diploma. In addition, youth with high levels of depression (HR=1.36, 95% CI 0.12, 0.5) and negative attitudes toward school rules (HR=0.68, 95% CI -0.6, -0.17) are more likely to engage in delinquency.

In addition to being maltreated by parents, gender and aggression, additional risk factors emerged for youth in the high school cohort: father’s education less than a high school diploma, low levels of self-control and high family income. Youth whose father

had less than a high school diploma were at greater risk for delinquency (HR=0.63, 95% CI -0.81, -0.13). The hazard decreased by 37% for youth whose father had more than a high school diploma than those whose father had less than a high school diploma. In addition, youth from higher income families are at increased risk for delinquency (HR=1.93, 95% CI 0.1, 1.2). Youth with low levels of self-control were more likely to engage in delinquency than those with high levels of self-control (HR=0.63, 95% CI -0.14, -0.8).

Table 4

Discrete Time Survival Analysis

	Middle School Cohort (N=2,275)				High School Cohort (N=2,272)			
	B	S.E.	HR	95% IC	B	S.E.	HR	95% IC
Child Maltreatment	0.24	0.13	1.27	[-0.01, 0.49]	0.35 *	0.16	1.42	[0.03, 0.67]
Gender: Male	0.51 ***	0.11	1.67	[0.3, 0.73]	1.57 ***	0.17	4.81	[1.23, 1.91]
Parents Education: Above GED								
Father Education	-0.2	0.13	0.82	[-0.46, 0.06]	-0.47 **	0.17	0.63	[-0.81, -0.13]
Mother Education	0.4 **	0.13	1.49	[0.13, 0.66]	0.07	0.18	1.07	[-0.28, 0.42]
Family Composition (Reference: Two Parents)								
Single Parents	0.16	0.19	1.17	[-0.21, 0.54]	0.12	0.22	1.13	[-0.32, 0.56]
No Parents	0.53	0.39	1.7	[-0.25, 1.3]	0.81	0.43	2.25	[-0.02, 1.65]
Mother Employment: Yes	0.19	0.12	1.21	[-0.03, 0.42]	0.29	0.16	1.34	[-0.32, 0.56]
Income	-0.14	0.12	0.87	[-0.56, 0.27]	0.66 *	0.28	1.93	[0.1, 1.2]
Self-control	-0.1	0.11	0.9	[-0.11, 0.32]	-0.47 **	0.17	0.63	[-0.14, -0.8]
Aggression	0.37 ***	0.09	1.45	[0.18, 0.56]	0.6 ***	0.13	1.82	[0.35, 0.86]
Depression	0.31 **	0.1	1.36	[0.12, 0.5]	-0.01	0.13	0.99	[-0.26, 0.23]

Satisfied with Academic Performance:									
Yes	-0.02	0.13	0.98	[-0.27, 0.24]	-0.08	0.14	0.92	[-0.37, 0.19]	
Attitudes toward School Rules	-0.38 ***	0.11	0.68	[-0.6, -0.17]	-0.27	0.13	0.76	[-0.47, 0.06]	
Peer Attachment	0.17	0.12	1.19	[-0.06, 0.41]	-0.27	0.15	0.76	[-0.55, 0.02]	
Relationship with teachers	0.15	0.09	1.16	[-0.03, 0.33]	0.16	0.11	1.17	[-0.06, 0.4]	
Perception of community	-0.1	0.11	0.9	[-0.31, 0.12]	-0.13	0.13	0.88	[-0.38, 0.12]	
Effects of time: (Reference: Year 2015)									
Year 2012	1.89 ***	0.24	6.62	[1.42, 2.36]	1.75 ***	0.27	5.75	[1.22, 2.28]	
Year 2013	1.98 ***	0.24	7.24	[1.51, 2.45]	1.39 ***	0.28	4.01	[0.85, 1.94]	
Year 2014	1.11 ***	0.26	3.03	[0.6, 1.62]	0.7 *	0.31	2.01	[0.1, 1.3]	

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Discussion

This study prospectively examined delinquency rates among South Korean youth in middle and high school. This study also investigated the extent to which child maltreatment contributes to risk of delinquency while considering other factors associated with the risk of delinquency among Korean youth. To this end, two cohorts of Korean youth from 6th through 9th grade (the middle school cohort) and from 9th through 12th grade (the high school cohort) were followed over a 4-year period. This study informs our developmental and cultural understanding of the dynamic relationship between maltreatment and delinquency.

Delinquency rate over time

It is worthwhile mentioning that the rate of delinquency in the middle school cohort (19%) is higher than the high school cohort (11%). Overall, the delinquency rate of Korean youth is much lower compared to that of U.S. youth. A previous U.S. study found that 46% of youth in grades 7 through 12 ($n = 70,750$) self-reported having been involved in violent offenses (Felson & Kreager, 2015), using nationally representative data from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health (Add Health). Other U.S. studies also reported a similar percentage of youth who engage in delinquency using the same data (Add Health). Boisvert et al. (2018) also identified 42% of self-reports from same-sex twins between 8th and 12th grade ($n = 1,072$) indicating that they had engaged in any form of violent offending behavior.

The pattern of decreasing delinquency rates over time in both cohorts in this study is consistent with statistics on delinquency for Korean youth who are enrolled in schools. In the current study, the delinquency rate declined over time in both cohorts with a peak

at 8th grade for the middle school cohort and at 9th grade for the high school. One way to interpret this decreasing pattern in delinquency among in-school youth is to consider the unique aspects of Korean culture. Originated from Confucianism, education is considered as the key to success in many aspects of life in Korea (Kim & Park, 2000). Korean students are under tremendous pressure from both their parents and teachers to do well in their academic achievement in order to enter prestigious universities, which is seen as leading to a successful life, e.g., good jobs, high socioeconomic status, and marriage to a person with high social status (Paik, 2001). Due to high pressure for college entrance exams, Korean students spend more and more time in studying in each year of high school. A huge drop in youth' satisfaction with academic performance between the two cohorts in this study also supports such increasing pressure. The number of youth who reported being satisfied with their academic performance dropped almost half from 80% in the middle school cohort to 38% in the high school cohort. In this cultural context, ongoing adult supervision at both home and school increases over time. Social control theory explains that adult investment and positive social bonds prevent youth from being involved in delinquency (Hirschi, 2017). High value and societal investment in educational success may contribute to the halt in delinquency among in-school Korean youth.

The impact of child maltreatment on first-time self-reported delinquency

The current study found that the extent to which child maltreatment impacts delinquency is different between the middle and high school cohorts. This study found that maltreatment increases the risk of delinquency only for youth in the high school cohort. This is not to say, however, that maltreatment does not impact delinquency for

younger youth at all. It is important to note that any differences in risk factors between the two cohorts should be interpreted with caution given the different times of development they undergo. The different effects of child maltreatment on the risk of delinquency between the two cohorts may be interpreted as differences in the developmental stage at which the maltreatment occurred. Youth's response to child maltreatment may vary across different times of development (Cicchetti & Toth, 1995). Youth in middle school are relatively more dependent on caregivers while youth in high school are more autonomous and self-determined (Steinberg, 2011). Particularly, in Korean culture where children's unquestioning obedience to parents and strict parental discipline are justified as cultural norms, the perception of child maltreatment among youth in middle school may not be developed yet.

Additional risk factors for delinquency

This study confirmed the robust effects of gender and aggression on delinquency. In both cohorts, males and youth who reported high levels of aggression are more likely than females and youth who reported low levels of aggression to engage in delinquency. Similarly, in the literature, gender (Cho & Cho, 2005; Grogan Kaylor et al., 2008; Yoo, 2016; Topitzers, Mersky & Reynolds, 2011) and aggression (Hong & Jang, 2016; Loeber, Capaldi, & Costello, 2013; Oh, 2013) are identified as powerful predictors for delinquency.

This study also found additional risk factors in each cohort that previous studies have also identified as significant predictors for delinquency. The findings of this study indicated that youth with higher levels of depression were at increased risk for delinquency. This finding is consistent with existing research indicating that depression is

a significant predictor for delinquency in maltreated youth (Fantuzzo & Perlman, 2007; Ryan, Testa, & Zhai, 2008). General strain theory suggests that childhood maltreatment can generate negative emotions such as anger, depression, fear, and anxiety. Childhood maltreatment can be a potent source of strain in the daily lives of children, creating pressure or incentive for deviant behaviors (Agnew, 2006). Such negative feelings pressure on adolescents to engage in corrective actions, which may help them cope with or intensify the strain (Agnew, 2006). The existing research evidences that the effect of maltreatment on delinquency is mediated by depression (Hollist, Hughes, & Schaible, 2009; Kim, 2009).

Attitudes toward school rules were found to be significantly associated with the risk of delinquency in this study. Negative interactions with school can be a risk factor that increases the probability of onset or maintenance of delinquency. The importance of school as a positive context that prevents delinquency is consistently identified in the literature. For example, school suspensions increase the risk of delinquency due to loss of instructional time at school, leading to removal from learning opportunities, failure of mastery of academic skills without alternative education, and isolation from their peers (Gregory, Skiba, & Noguera, 2010). When youth internalize negative perceptions of school rules, they may embrace problematic behaviors and values that can ultimately push them to commit delinquent acts (Rios, 2011).

Consistent with the previous studies, this study found that self-control has a significant impact on delinquency. Guided by social control theory (Hirschi, 2002), a great deal of empirical research has confirmed the mediating effect of self-control on the relationship between child maltreatment and delinquency (Chapple, Tyler, & Bersani,

2005). As a detrimental form of investment from parents, maltreatment deprives children of opportunities to develop mutual relationships of commitment, trust, and obligation. As a result, maltreatment can cause loss of self-control characterized by impulsive, physical, risk-taking, and nonverbal behaviors (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990). In other words, maltreated youth become prone to delinquent behaviors. Some Korean scholars argue that social control theory is more suitable for understanding juvenile delinquency in Korean society where self-control or self-regulation is emphasized to achieve group harmony (Cho & Chang, 1992; Lee, 1995; Lee & Jeon, 2009; Kim, 2007). A number of empirical studies in Korea support the significant impact of self-control on the relationship between child maltreatment and delinquency. Jo, Suk, and Park (2005) observed lower levels of self-control and a stronger impact of self-control on delinquency for delinquent youth in correctional facilities compared to general youth. Cho and Cho (2017) also found that self-control has not only a significant direct effect on delinquency but also a perfect mediating effect on the relationship between parental abuse and juvenile delinquency.

In addition, there are some risk factors identified in this study that may require an understanding of the Korean cultural context for interpretation. First, youth with mothers who had more than a high school degree experienced higher risk for delinquency in middle school than youth whose mothers had less education. This finding is rather different from the results in the previous research even though there is no definitive conclusion. In general, empirical studies support that parent education is negatively correlated with delinquency (Chalfin & Deza, 2017; Oh, 2013). However, a few studies in Korea showed a positive correlation between the level of mother education and delinquency (Kim, 2012; Song & Park, 2017). Possible explanations might be related to

the unique cultural context in Korea that emphasizes the mother's role in child rearing and education. Korean mothers take a primary responsibility for childcare and have a strong commitment to the education of their children. Korean mothers are willing to sacrifice themselves for their children's education. Mothers who have higher education levels have even greater commitment to their children's education as they themselves achieved higher socioeconomic status through higher education (Ellinger & Beckham, 1997). High expectation imposed on child by the mother may become a driving force of delinquent behaviors among youth in middle school (Kim & Park, 2000). Reflecting this cultural context, Korean female labor force participation rate begins to decrease from early 30s until early 40s (Statistics Korea, 2016) because Korean women sacrifice their career for their children's educational success.

On the other hand, youth with fathers who have less than a high school diploma are at risk for delinquency in high school. This finding is consistent with previous research in Korea indicating that father's education level may affect delinquency (Hong, 2013; Song & Park, 2017; Um, 2001). The different effect of mother's and father's education at different times of development (middle versus high school) may reflect the Korean cultural context in which the authority role for discipline shifts from the mother to the father to deal with children's misbehavior as their children grow. Traditionally, fathers in Korea are distant from child rearing activities and house chores (Kim & Park, 2000). Fatherhood is based on strict discipline and guidance in children's education (Kwon & Roy, 2007). These paternal roles become particularly pronounced as their children grow. Because children's misbehavior is out of the mother's control, especially for boys, fathers take the disciplinary role, which suggests the importance of father's role

for older youth (Kwon & Roy, 2007). Future research is needed to explore the effect of the father's role in discipline with relation to the risk of delinquency.

Household income level was also a risk factor for delinquency in the high school cohort. That is, youth from higher income households are more likely to engage in delinquency. This finding is somewhat inconsistent with the previous research that youth from higher income households are less likely to engage in delinquency. Poverty is identified as a major factor associated with delinquent behaviors. Researchers suggest that delinquent behaviors decrease when family income increases (Loeber & Farrington, 2000). However, there are some Korean studies that indicate a positive correlation between socioeconomic status and delinquent behaviors (Kim, 2009; Song & Park, 2017; Um, 2001). For example, Um (2001) found that youth from high-income families were more likely to engage in delinquency compared to those from middle-income families and there was no difference in delinquency rate between youth from high-income and low-income families. A possible reason for this result may be related to the extreme academic expectation in Korean society (Lee, 2005). High-income families have more resources for educational support for their children. Parents in high-income families may invest more resources and set higher expectations for their children's academic success. High expectations for academic achievement may create pressure or incentives for delinquent behaviors among youth from high-income families. Future studies are needed to explore academic pressure as a risk for delinquency among Korean youth in their cultural context.

Limitations

This study has several limitations that should be considered for the interpretation of the study results. First, this study relied on self-report data with unique weaknesses and strengths. Data source may produce variations in not only prevalence but also analysis results. Self-report data generally indicate higher prevalence on delinquency rate than official records. Self-reports are also susceptible to information bias that originates with the respondents. Self-reports, however, can afford researchers to tap into unrevealed information, for example, offending behaviors that are not known to law enforcement. Child protection services in South Korea are still limited to serious maltreatment cases, such as severe physical abuse and neglect cases (Huh, 2015). In addition, delinquent behaviors are likely to be addressed informally at the hands of parents or school personnel (Lee, 2007). In this cultural context, self-reports on both maltreatment and delinquency have the ability to capture unknown information in official records.

Second, variables available in data from the KCYPS are not exhaustive to include all risk factors for delinquency identified in theoretical frameworks. In addition, the limited years of data in the KCYPS holds a risk for information inaccuracy and could have affected longitudinal findings on measurement of first self-reported delinquency, particularly for the high school cohort. Discrepancy in some variables, (i.e., self-control, aggression and depression), between the middle and high school cohort also could have impacted the longitudinal findings.

Third, since the study sample is limited to youth who were enrolled in school, the findings of this study cannot be applied to youth who have dropped out of school in Korea. Ongoing supervision by adults may not be available for out of school youth and thus

lack of supervision as a form of neglect may appear to be high among those youth. The delinquency rate over time and risk factors for dropout youth may be different from those for in-school youth. In addition, the effect of child maltreatment may differ between in-school and dropout youth. Further studies are needed to account for such differences.

Implications and future research

The results of this study have implications for practice, future research, and theory. The decreasing pattern in delinquency rate during high school years among Korean youth highlights the positive role of school that prevents youth from engaging in delinquency. School can be a particularly important context for youth at risk, such as maltreated youth. Maltreated youth who do not have a positive bond to school are placed at heightened risk for delinquency (Ryan et al., 2008). The results also indicate that the positive bond to school can be particularly influential for youth in the middle school cohort. The positive bond to school could be much more important for Korean students in that Korean cultural values emphasize education as a key to successful life. These results together suggest that preventive interventions should be designed to promote youth's interest in and commitment to school.

Given the relationship between child maltreatment and delinquency found in this study, it is important to develop programs to reduce child maltreatment as a means of preventing delinquency. In Korea, cultural justification and a high tolerance for physical punishment contribute to a delay in not only raising awareness of child maltreatment as a serious social issue but also connecting child maltreatment to delinquency. In a case study of the relationship between experiences of physical abuse and violent behaviors among Korean delinquent youth in correctional facilities, Kim (2006) found that even

Korean delinquent youth perceived parental physical abuse as a way by which their parents expressed their love or disciplined them, even though some of the physical abuse cases were severe (e.g. being beaten for 4 hours or being threatened by a knife). Those youth believed that their wrongdoing deserved such parental abuse. Education programs are required for youth, especially in early ages, and for parents to increase awareness of child maltreatment.

The findings of this study also provide implications for future research. Similar and distinct risk factors between the two cohorts and inconsistent results with the previous research conducted in Western countries may reflect the unique cultural context in Korean that influences risks of delinquency, e.g., the acceptance of physical punishment, the transition in the disciplinary role from mother to father over time, and the positive correlation between household income and delinquency. Currently, the empirical evidence that investigates the effect of child maltreatment on delinquency in Korean culture is limited. Future research needs to further explore cultural variations in and understanding of pathways from child maltreatment to delinquency. It would be helpful if qualitative inquiries explore perspectives of professionals providing services to maltreated youth and/or delinquent youth in order to contextualize the risk factors. Furthermore, qualitative researchers could explore what cultural beliefs and values influence the understanding of the pathways from maltreatment to delinquency.

Conclusion

This study provides insight into cultural contexts that are critical in understanding the relationship between child maltreatment and delinquency. Although most risk factors

(e.g., gender, aggression, and depression) found in this study are consistent with those in previous research, this study also identified some factors (e.g., mother's education and family socioeconomic status) whose interpretation requires understanding of the Korean cultural context. Preventive interventions need to identify culturally specific risk factors for youth at increased risk of delinquency and thus these preventive interventions should be culturally tailored.

Chapter Seven

Study 3: A Qualitative Study

This section presents a qualitative study to examine cultural perspectives on risks for maltreated children's involvement in delinquency through the interpretations of U.S. and Korean professionals on the risk factors identified in the previous quantitative study of their respective countries.

Introduction

The involvement of maltreated youth in the juvenile justice system is an international public health concern. In the U.S., delinquency rates for maltreated youth are 47% - 53% higher than their counterparts who are not maltreated (Ryan & Testa, 2005; Widom, 1989) with recurrences of maltreatment increasing youth's risk of delinquency and recidivism (Lemmon, 2006). Such "*crossover youth*" are broadly defined as maltreated youth who have engaged in delinquency (Stewart, Lutz, & Herz, 2010). Involvement in the juvenile justice system compounds risks to children already vulnerable due to maltreatment and involvement in the child welfare system (Chapin & Griffin, 2005; Morris & Freundlich, 2004). Crossover youth are disproportionately ethnic minorities in the U.S. (Herz et al., 2012). What constitutes child maltreatment (Kobin, 2002; Wells & Johnson, 2016) and delinquency (Bartollas & Schmallegger, 2014; Cavan & Cavan, 1968) varies cross-culturally. It is important to understand cultural variations in understanding risks for maltreated children's involvement in the juvenile justice system to inform the development of culturally sensitive policies and practices for those children. Furthermore, how professionals understand the pathways from child maltreatment to delinquency is likely related to their intervention strategies. Yet there is relatively little

research examining cultural variations in our understanding of maltreated youth who engage in delinquency.

Given the recent changes in policies and practices for child protection, research from the Korean cultural context can provide a unique opportunity to identify variations in our understanding of risks for maltreated children's involvement in delinquency. In South Korea (hereafter Korea), cultural beliefs and values have led to a delay in promoting awareness in child maltreatment and establishment of related laws. The Korean government established a child protection law, "Act on Special Cases Concerning the Punishment Etc. of Child Abuse Crimes" in 2014 and accordingly revised the existing child welfare laws (Korean Ministry of Government Legislation, 2014). Although the recent change in Korean policies contributed to acknowledging child maltreatment as a crime for the first time in Korean society, law enforcement is limited to serious cases (e.g., significant delays in children's physical and psychological development, or physical and mental impairments).

Empirical research in Korea also supports variations in understanding of risks for maltreated children's involvement in delinquency. For example, maltreatment is not necessarily associated with the risk for delinquency among Korean youth (Author, 2019; Moon & Morash, 2004; Moon, Morash, McCluskey, & Hwang, 2009). In the comparison of the results from two prospective, longitudinal cohort studies that examined risk factors for delinquency in the U.S. (Cho, Haight, Choi, Hong, & Piescher, under review) and Korea (Cho, 2019), a set of common risk factors emerged between the two countries including male gender, repeated maltreatment incidents, youth's psychosocial vulnerabilities (e.g., emotional and behavioral disorders, aggression, depression, and self-

control), and school behaviors (e.g., out-of-school suspension and negative attitudes toward school rules). There were also culturally distinct risk factors identified in the comparison. For example, family socio-economic status was identified as a risk for delinquency in both countries. Yet the direction of its effect on delinquency is the opposite. In other words, youth from low-income families were at increased risk for delinquency in the U.S. while youth with higher income families were more likely to engage in delinquency in Korea. Another culturally unique risk factor also includes belonging to particular ethnic minority groups in the U.S. Korea is one of the most ethnically homogeneous nations in the world and thus race or ethnicity is not of interest in understanding any social issues, including crossover youth.

Such variations may reflect differences in cultural beliefs and socialization goals related to child care between the two countries. Cultural perspectives of Korean professionals, who are undergoing a transition between the traditional and new practices, can contribute to a broader knowledge base by identifying variations in our understanding of the pathways from child maltreatment to delinquency. This qualitative study is to examine cultural perspectives on risks for maltreated children's involvement in delinquency among U.S. and Korean professionals in the child welfare and juvenile justice system.

Theoretical framework

This study examined U.S. and Korean professionals' understanding of risk factors for involvement of maltreated children in delinquency through the lens of developmental cultural psychology (Gaskins, Miller, & Corsaro, 1992; Miller, Hengst, & Wang, 2003). This study is particularly guided by the concept of "*universalism without uniformity*"

(Shweder & Sullivan, 1993, p. 514). The basic idea of “universalism without uniformity” is that there are certain human issues, such as child maltreatment and children’s misbehavior, that are common across diverse cultural groups, for example, the U.S. and Korea. Nonetheless, the meanings of and responses to these issues vary in relation to cultural beliefs and social norms for children’s development and socialization practices. The vast majority of parents want their children to be healthy and to do well. Yet the specific parenting goals that shape children’s behaviors require an understanding of the sociocultural context. Each society has their own goals for socializing their children towards what they consider positive values and behaviors supporting those values (Haight, 2002; Miller, & Sperry, 1987). In other words, cultural groups vary in parental practices that encourage or discourage the development of children’s social skills and behaviors guided by their cultural beliefs about healthy child development. Broadly speaking, European American parents positively respond more to their children’s behavior conducive to the socialization of a potentially independent, outgoing, self-assertive child oriented to their own desire and interest (Miller & Sperry, 1989; Rubin & Chung, 2006). Those behaviors can be perceived as maladaptive or abnormal in many Asian cultures, including Korea where the childrearing beliefs and practices value interdependence, the control over the display of their own thoughts and feelings, and sensitivity to others, and then parents will attempt to discourage its development of independent and self-assertive behavior (Farver, Kim, & Shin, 2000; Park & Kwon, 2009; Rubin & Chung, 2006).

Likewise, both child maltreatment and delinquency are common challenges across cultural groups. Yet what is considered child maltreatment and how people respond to the

issues vary widely across cultures (Korbin, 2002; Haight & Cho, 2017). Korean parents tend to believe that a disobedient child potentially does not assume the duty of filial piety to parents and children's misbehavior may be regarded as a lack of parental discipline (Paik, 2001). Even severe corporal punishment, such as slapping the child on the face or kicking, can be viewed as parents' sincere love and concerns for their children for the purpose of not only fostering socially desirable behaviors but also maintaining family integrity and honor (Hong et al., 2011; Yang, 2009). There are also variations in social awareness of and societal response to maltreated children who engage in delinquency between the U.S. and Korea. For example, crossover youth have received relatively more attention in the U.S. than in Korea. This has led to initiatives in the child-serving systems, e.g., integrated system and cross-system collaboration, targeted to crossover youth to interrupt their negative developmental trajectories (Stewart et al., 2010). In Korea, maltreated children who engage in delinquency remain a completely hidden population.

Sociocultural perspectives on the pathways from child maltreatment to delinquency promise to illuminate cultural beliefs and socialization practices by which understandings of risks for delinquency in maltreated children are shaped. Understanding the social, cultural, and practice context pertaining to maltreated children who engage in delinquency allows us not only to reflect on our taken-for-granted assumptions and practices that might otherwise go unseen, but also to strengthen our cultural sensitivity as to how to better serve those children and their families.

Attribution of psychosocial vulnerabilities in sociocultural context

Variation in understanding risks for delinquency in maltreated children may reflect, in part, different cultural inferences people make about the causes of their

children's behavior, the traits of their children, or the situational forces operating on their children (Dix, 1993; Dix, Ruble, & Zambarano, 1989). Such cultural inferences likely draw on social expectations for the culturally desirable self and cultural beliefs about socialization practices that foster the cultural self (Shweder et al., 2006). These differences relate to parents' inferences and their actual parenting behaviors to address their children's misbehavior.

External attribution of psychosocial vulnerabilities in the U.S. Generally, the shared concept of a Western self is individualistic (Karkus & Kitayama, 1991). This independent construal values individual's distinct and defining attributes (Miller, Hengst, & Wang, 2003). Individualistic cultures tend to emphasize the flexibility of the social world relative to the self and the independent self is experienced as relatively consistent and immutable (Rothbaum, Weisz, & Snyder, 1982). Individuals from Western cultures are more likely to attribute success to internal causes and failure to external causes (Miller and Ross, 1977). Attribution of failure to one's lack of ability is considered as contradicting the independent, autonomous, and effective agent view of self (Anderson, 1999). The Western self is more likely to maintain a sense of primary control by working within the context of a flexible social world and shaping existing realities to fit individual goals and desires (Heine & Ruby, 2010). Psychosocial vulnerabilities are often attributable to their situations or social world (Rothbaum, Weisz, & Snyder, 1982). Accordingly, when experiencing challenges, individuals with a Western concept of self tend to focus on changing or influencing their circumstances. For example, Gretarsson and Gelfand (1988) reported that American mothers showed a tendency to attribute their children's negative behaviors, such as aggression and disobedience, to external or

situational factors than to the child's personality and the reverse pattern held for positive behaviors and characteristics.

Internal attribution of psychosocial vulnerabilities in Korea. Korea, greatly influenced by Confucian values, takes a socially-oriented view of the self and individual mind. There is a much greater emphasis on the interdependence of the individual to others and the environment (Slote & Devos, 1998). Individual goals should be consistent with social norms and goals (Kim & Choi, 1994; Choi & Kim, 2003). The self is meaningful primarily in the context of social relationships and roles. Under the ultimate goal of harmonious human relations, the need for actualization of the individual self is deemphasized. Rather, individuals are expected to sacrifice themselves for the good of a more significant whole, including their families (Tu, 1998). To achieve harmony in one's personal and social life, self-discipline or self-criticism is encouraged. Confucian cultures value reflecting on one's weaknesses and improvement of the self to meet socially desirable goals (Furukawa, Tangnew, & Higashibara, 2012). Koreans tend to adjust their behavior to the situations in which they interact with others, even in adverse situations to achieve these goals (Farver et al., 2000). Korean children are socialized to internalize and practice values, such as emotional self-control, diligent role performance, and rigorous self-discipline, that are socially defined as desirable and ideal in order to avoid harm to interpersonal relationships (Slote & Devos, 1998).

Such interdependent, collectivistic cultures more frequently use internal attributions in challenging situations. The social world is perceived as somewhat unaffected by individual change efforts, while the self is relatively flexible and incremental (Heine & Ruby, 2010). In this cultural context, attributing psychosocial

vulnerabilities to one's own lack of ability and control is consistent with the interdependent, group-oriented view of self. Attribution of failure to external circumstances may be considered threatening to the unity of the relevant groups (Anderson, 1999). In response to individuals with psychosocial vulnerabilities, interdependent cultures emphasize potent opportunities for individuals to adjust to their surroundings (Morling, Kitayama, & Miyamoto, 2002; Rothbaum, Weisz, & Snyder, 1982). When people adjust to their surroundings, especially to other individuals, they tend to experience strong feelings of relatedness as they receive positive interpersonal responses. For example, in Japan, where many cultural roots are shared with Korea, Morling et al (2002) found that a strong feeling of relatedness was reported among Japanese when adjusting to difficult situations. On the other hand, Americans reported stronger feelings of efficacy and relatedness when they influenced their surroundings and other people. Consistent with the assumption about the internal attributions of psychological vulnerabilities in interdependent cultures, Ju and Lee (2010) observed that Korean children in residential care due to maltreatment attributed causes of the occurrences of maltreatment to themselves and justified their parents' abusive actions for educational purposes.

The nature of parent-child relationships in sociocultural context

The sociocultural context also greatly influences the immediate contexts experienced by children. Cultural beliefs about parenting and socialization goals delineate the way parents and their children relate to each other, such as parental warmth, psychological control, acceptance, rejection, and responsiveness in the context of culture (Rogoff, 2003; Rubin & Chung, 2006). A brief overview of the nature of parent-child

relationships in each culture provides necessary context for understanding variations in the acceptable parental discipline and child maltreatment.

The U.S. parent-child relationship. The extent to which parenting practices impact child outcomes is a complex question, especially in the U.S., a diverse culture with an increasing number of immigrant families and refugees. In general, U.S. models of parenting tend to promote a preference for the independence of individuals. Within white, middle class families, parenting goals emphasize raising children to become a distinct, autonomous, and independent individual (Rogoff, 2003; Shweder et al., 2006). Parents translate such cultural expectations into action. Parents encourage their children to pursue their individual goals (Triandis, 2001) and view their children's happiness as a parenting goal (Hastings & Grusec, 1998). They typically reward their children for self-reliance, self-expression, and self-confidence with praise (Farver et al., 2000). In doing so, parents are viewed as pursuing the goal of establishing their children's independence. Emotional, attitudinal, and functional independence are described as core elements for establishing individual independence between parents and their children (Rubin & Chung, 2006). Over time, interdependence in the parent-child relationships is transformed into independence through processes of negotiations over issues of specifying privacy and boundaries between the generations in order to reduce interpersonal conflict (Cooney & Uhlenberg, 2002).

Research in Western countries has found the link between parenting practices and child behavioral adjustment (Aunola & Nurmi, 2005; Baumrind, 1991; Dwairy, & Achoui, 2010). Drawing upon the traditional parenting style paradigm (Maccoby & Martin, 1983), the parent-child relationship is often described as a combination of parental warmth and

control in relation to child outcomes. A combination of high levels of warmth with high levels of control, known as authoritative parenting, has been identified as the optimal parenting style associated with greater social skills and academic competence in children (Baumrind, 1991; Lamborn, Dornbusch, & Steinberg, 1996; Sanford et al., 1987). By contrast, authoritarian parenting, characterized by low levels of affection with high levels of behavioral control has been associated with negative child outcomes, such as child depression, delinquency, antisocial aggression, hostility, and low academic achievement (Baumrind, 1991; Chorpita & Barlow, 1998; Rapee, 1997).

However, cross-cultural studies have highlighted that the same parenting behaviors related to parental warmth and control may be interpreted as having different meanings across cultural groups, which in turn results in different developmental outcomes in children. For example, Lamborn et al. (1996) found that European American youth who perceived that their parents controlled their decisions in, for example, choice of classes and friends, were more likely to exhibit deviant behaviors and poor academic achievement and psychosocial functioning. Such relation between parental control and later adjustment was not found for Asian American youth.

The Korean parent-child relationship. Guided by Confucian principles, cultural models of parenting in Korea tend to prefer emotional and relational interdependence that consolidates family loyalty, reciprocity, respect for elders within the family and solidarity with the members of the family (Bornstein, 2012; Choi & Kim, 2014). Distinctive patterns of beliefs and behaviors with respect to parenting style shared by many Asian cultures may result in different developmental outcomes in Asian children. Asian parents' discipline is often characterized as more authoritarian than in the U.S. counterparts, but

the meaning of authoritarianism may be differently perceived by Asian parents and children. Rohner and Pettengill (1985) observed that U.S. youth tend to perceive strict parental control as parental rejection and hostility as well as a violation of their right to be autonomous. On the other hand, Korean youth tend to view parental control as an indication of parental warmth and investment in their success. Rohner and Pettengill (1985) suggest that the Korean cultural system is reflected in the youth's perspective of parental control. Consistent with Confucian values, individuals regard themselves as a part of a more significant unit, the family, in Korea. In Confucian cultures, parents take a firm role in guiding their children for the family's welfare and participate in any decisions that affect not only their children but also the family as a whole (Slote & De Vos, 1998).

The parent-child relationship in Confucian cultures, including Korea, is authoritarian in nature because of the hierarchy among family members that is maintained with an emphasis on parental authority (Slote & De Vos, 1998). Certain cultural values that maintain interdependence in the parent-child relationships persist over the lifespan. As a cardinal virtue of Confucianism, for example, filial piety meaning obedience, care, and respect for one's parents, ancestors, and elders ensures harmony in the family through a hierarchical order. Children have an obligation of filial piety to serve and please their parents not only during parents' lifetime, but after their death (Slote & De Vos, 1998). Children are expected to obey their parents and study and work hard in order to obtain a promising future that will bring honor to their family (Paik, 2001). Under the values of Confucianism, parents tend to perceive children as their possessions. Such hierarchical relationships justify strict parental discipline and children's unquestioning

obedience to parents in order to preserve the ideal family as a harmonious and uninterrupted unit (Paik, 2001; Yang, 2009). Korean parents discourage children from expressing their own opinions and disapprove of children's behaviors that draw attention to the self (Farver et al., 2000). In doing so, Korean parents instill in their children socially desirable values, such as group harmony, sensitivity to others, control of negative emotional displays and avoidance of conflict in social interaction. In this cultural context, the boundary between acceptable parental discipline and maltreatment may be ambiguous; hence relating child maltreatment to delinquency is difficult.

Systems' interventions for maltreated youth at risk for delinquency

Variations in understanding risks for delinquency among maltreated children may be related to different U.S. and Korean national policies and practices for those children. The primary focus of the child-serving systems' interventions may reflect the sociocultural context that shapes understandings of risks for maltreated children's involvement in delinquency.

U.S. systems' interventions. A primary focus of U.S. child-serving systems' interventions is addressing children's trauma (Ko et al., 2008; Latham, Dollard, Robst, & Armstrong, 2010; Wilson, Pence, & Conradi, 2013). There has been a growing recognition that chronic and complex traumatic experience is the origin of many behavioral and psychological disorders of children and adults (The Complex Trauma Task Force, 2003). The increased insight gained from the development of evidence-based practices has led to trauma-informed care for the victims of trauma in most social service systems, including the child welfare, juvenile justice, and mental health systems (The Complex Trauma Task Force, 2003). The U.S. laws related to child protection services

also incorporate trauma-informed models in their professional practices. The federal Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act (P.L. 93-247) requires professionals to investigate, assess, and address the impact of trauma experienced by the individual child and to take a comprehensive approach in every phase of professional intervention. The Act also cautions professionals to address additional trauma that may be generated during the system interventions.

Trauma-informed care also aims to address racial disproportionality and disparities within the systems based on stereotypes and biases against specific cultural groups in U.S. society. Overrepresentation of ethnically minority children is a long-standing issue in the U.S. child-serving systems (Fong, McRoy, & Dettlaff, 2014). In particular, African American, Native American, and Hispanic children are disproportionately represented in the child welfare system (Child Welfare Information Gateway, 2016), special education system (Skiba et al., 2008), and juvenile justice system (Spinney et al., 2018). Negative perceptions of families of color can adversely impact children and families' outcomes, such as more frequent removals of children of color and more responsiveness of school and medical personnel in reporting families of color to child welfare system (Chibnall et al., 2003; Dettlaff & Rycraft, 2008). Additional trauma generated by differential treatment within the systems can have a compounding effect on children and families of color at various points of system interventions (Miller, Cahn, & Orellana, 2012).

Along with trauma-informed care, increasing awareness of the connection between child maltreatment and delinquency has recently led to policy changes in the U.S. for creating comprehensive and integrated approaches for maltreated youth involved with

multiple systems (Stewart et al., 2010). Helping the systems work together has become a priority for governments at the local, state, and national levels to improve the services and delivery methods for those youth. In response to the unique needs of youth involved in both child welfare and juvenile justice systems, the federal government amended the Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act (CAPTA) in 2003 to support interagency collaboration. The Juvenile Justice Delinquency Prevention Act also included a requirement for juvenile justice agencies to better address the needs of youth who have a history of trauma caused by child abuse and neglect (Casey Family Programs, 2010). Such approaches typically involve cross-system collaborations, minimally child welfare and juvenile justice professionals, but also health/mental health, law enforcement, and court personnel (Casey Family Programs, 2010).

Korean systems' interventions. The Korean government established the Act of Special Cases Concerning the Punishment, Etc. of Child Abuse in 2014. The Act defines child abuse as a crime for the first time in Korean society. The Act also stipulates special provisions for the punishment of crimes of child abuse, the procedures for protecting child victims, and protective orders against child perpetrators. The establishment of child maltreatment laws in Korea has brought significant shifts in child protection practices within child-serving systems including child protection, juvenile justice, and law enforcement agencies, schools, and community social service centers. Nonprofit organizations (NGOs) began to manage and implement child protection services in Korea by establishing the Korean Association of Child Abuse Prevention in 1989. Even after the establishment of the new laws, most child protection centers are still operated by private

NGOs funded by the central or local government, creating an issue of public accountability deficits in the services (Lee, 2018).

The most important implication of the new laws is to draw a social consensus on perceiving child maltreatment as a serious social problem. The new laws enhance law enforcement for protection of child victims and punishment of perpetrators; however, there is still a lack of infrastructure in place with regard to resources and personnel to address the increasing number of maltreatment cases (Kim, 2016). A lack of accountability and specific regulations as well as the absence of consequences for not implementing the new policies have also created additional barriers to a smooth transition to new practices (Jeon, 2016).

The hierarchical social structure in Korea delineating a relatively clear boundary between family and public authorities hinders the system's interventions for children at risk for maltreatment and delinquency (Hong et al., 2011; Hyun, 2001; Zhang, Snowden, & Sue, 1998). The family system is less receptive to external influences and less responsive to change, and members with issues such as disability and mental health challenges may be isolated from the environment (Hong et al., 2011; Rubin & Chung, 2006). The family is a private realm beyond the government's intervention or control of larger social systems, including neighborhood, community and public authorities (Cho & Chang, 1992; Hyun, 2001; Zhang, Snowden, & Sue, 1998). Understandably, Korean people tend to have negative attitudes toward seeking help outside of the family for their family issues (Park, 2001; Yang, 2009). Confucianism values families as an uninterrupted unit and all matters of family are expected to be kept secret for saving face as well as family integrity (Hahm, & Guterman, 2001). Within the rigid roles and boundaries in

social systems, child development and behavior tend to be considered as internal family matters and thus children's misbehavior or delinquent behaviors are likely to be addressed informally at the hands of parents (Lee, 2007). Children's misbehavior can be considered as a parental character flaw. Korean people tend to believe that if parents had been more conscientious and diligent, their children would not have misbehaved.

Due to the dominant beliefs and practices in parenting, Korean people believe that physical punishment is an effective and necessary method to prevent children's misconducts (Kim, 2016). Corporal punishment among Korean people is generally referred to as a "rod of love," which implies that "Because I love you, I must whip you when you don't behave" (Hahm & Guterman, 2001, p. 176). Shin and Koh (2005) found that a majority of Korean parents and teachers believed that excessive corporal punishment is an effective method to prevent children's misbehaviors. Furthermore, both parents and teachers worried that banning corporal punishment would promote children's misconduct and disregard for adults. Noh (2012) suggests that mandated reporters, including educators, nurses, and doctors, are afraid that they may violate the private realm of a family by reporting suspected child maltreatment cases. He further suggests that mandated reporters tend to hesitate to report based on their assumptions about the lack of evidence, seriousness, and understandings of the role of child protection agencies. Despite the recent changes in laws, such traditional, cultural beliefs persist among mandated reporters (Park et al., 2014) and the primary focus of the Korean professional interventions is on the identification of serious child maltreatment cases and punishment of perpetrators (Kim, 2016; Jeon, 2016).

Despite the increasing number of immigrant and multicultural families and foreigners, Korean society still emphasizes homogeneity in terms of race or ethnicity and language. Maltreated children from different cultural backgrounds in Korea have not been identified. The child-serving systems' interventions to prevent maltreated children from engaging in delinquency focus on domestic children and their families.

Current study

This study explored cultural perspectives on risk factors for delinquency in maltreated children through the interpretations of U.S. and Korean professionals. The professionals were asked to describe their understandings of risk factors for delinquency identified in the quantitative study of their respective countries. This qualitative study was conducted for a variety of purposes. The primary purpose of the current study was to triangulate whether the interpretations of professionals of U.S. and Korean professionals resonate with the risk factors identified in the quantitative studies. Another purpose was to elaborate if there are other risk or protective factors beyond the risk factors identified in the quantitative study. Elaboration of the additional risk factors that were not available in the quantitative study can provide a comprehensive understanding of risk factors for delinquency relative to maltreated children. Then, the cross-cultural analysis of the interview data can contextualize the risk factors in the sociocultural context of each country as well as identify common and culturally specific risk factors for delinquency between the two countries. Through in-depth, individual, qualitative interviews with U.S. and Korean professionals providing services to maltreated youth and/or delinquent youth in both countries, this study explored the following research questions: 1) What common risk factors do U.S. and Korean professionals describe in their interpretations of the

pathways from child maltreatment to delinquency? 2) What culturally specific risk factors do U.S. and Korean professionals describe?

Methods

Research sites and participants

Research sites and participants were purposely selected to obtain rich data on a range of cultural understanding of the pathways from child maltreatment to delinquency (see Table 1). Research sites were selected based on the author's previous professional and research experiences. Eligibility criteria for the participants were professionals who have at least two years of work experience with maltreated children and/or delinquent youth. The study participants included professionals occupying a range of roles in the child welfare and juvenile justice systems, including child protection workers, case management workers, probation officers, attorneys, and judges in each country.

In the U.S., research sites were the two counties in Minnesota. Twenty-one U.S. professionals participated in the interview: 9 child protection workers, 7 probation officers, 2 attorneys, and 3 judges. Approximately, 48% were females. Twenty three percent of the participants self-identified as African Americans, 23% as Asians and 59% as White. Their professional experience ranged from 3 to 30 years with an average year of 12.6. In Korea, 20 professionals from four metropolitan cities participated in this study: 9 child protection workers, 9 probation officers, 1 attorney, and 1 judge. Half of them were female. They had experience in child welfare or juvenile justice system ranging from 2.5 to 27 years with an average length of 11.8.

Table 5

Research sites and participants

	Child Protection Worker	Probation Officer	Attorney	Judge	Female	Race	Mean Years of Experience
U.S. n=21	9	7	2	3	10 (47.6%)	12 White 4 Asian 5 Black	12.6
Korea n=20	9	9	1	1	10 (50%)	Korean (100%)	11.8

Researcher

I am a native of South Korea and was educated through my Master’s degree in Child Welfare in Korea before coming to the U.S. to complete Master’s and Ph.D. degrees in Social Work. I also had six years of professional experience in child welfare in Korea as well as five-years post-MSW practice experience in the U.S. I have been engaging in a series of cross-cultural studies on vulnerable children and youth comparing cases in the U.S. and South Korea. My bi-cultural experience in both academia and practice enabled me to acquire insider and outsider perspectives of either culture to interpret and integrate findings from the U.S. and Korea.

Procedures

For the recruitment of U.S. professionals, I contacted county agencies related to maltreated youth and/or delinquent youth, including child protection service units, probation offices, and juvenile courts. I directly sent emails to the agencies with a brief introduction of the research and interview procedure. I also shared flyers of research information on social media, including Facebook and Twitter, through a nationally

renowned institute in child welfare. Professionals who were interested in the interview directly contacted the author for detailed information about the research and interview procedure and scheduled the interview. To ensure diversity in the sample, snowball sampling was also used in the recruitment process. A similar process, except for the use of social media, was applied to the recruitment of Korean professionals.

In-depth, individual interviews were conducted at a time and location of study participants' choice. Given that conversations with professionals during the interviews contain cultural nuances and different meanings in nonverbal communications, a master's level U.S. student was hired to participate in half of the U.S. interviews, and to check the accuracy of the interview transcripts of the U.S. data. A semi-structured interview protocol was developed with questions designed to elicit professionals' perspectives and understandings of risk factors that explain pathways from child maltreatment to delinquency. Participants were asked to sign an informed consent form written in their language at the beginning of the interview and they were provided a copy of the consent form (Appendix 3 for U.S. professionals and Appendix 4 for Korean professionals). The interview protocol included quantitative study results to examine risk factors for delinquency in the U.S. (Appendix 5) and Korea (Appendix 6), respectively. The interview began with a brief explanation of the quantitative study results. The interviewer checked clarity of the study findings with the participants and asked them to comment on the findings if needed. Next, the interviewer asked the participants to elaborate if there are additional risk factors that are not included in the quantitative study but important to explaining maltreated children's involvement in delinquency. The interviewer also asked open-ended questions to draw out case examples related to those factors. The interview

lasted between 50 minutes and 2 hours. I conducted and transcribed all interviews with Korean professionals. The interviews were conducted from the fall semester, 2017 through spring semester, 2018. All participants but judges received a \$25 Target gift card in the U.S. and Starbucks gift card in Korea.

Analysis

The audio-recorded interviews were transcribed verbatim in the participants' native language, either English or Korean. Analytic induction techniques (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Shwandt, 2007) were employed to induce emic codes focusing on the meaning ascribed by the participants to their perspectives and experiences with maltreated youth who move toward delinquency. First, professionals' perceptions and their experiences were analyzed through multiple readings of the transcribed interviews with notes taken during the interviews. In the initial analysis, an emic system was developed. The emic codes were discussed by an independent reader who is an expert in cross-cultural research and modifications were made in the emic codes through the constant discussions. For cross-cultural analysis, common and culturally specific risk factors for delinquency and its cultural nuances that emerged from the interpretations of U.S. and Korean professionals were identified and examined by comparing identified codes and themes between the two countries.

Attempts were made to enhance the credibility of the interpretations of participants' responses through peer debriefing, member checks and the use of thick descriptions and detailed quotes from the participants (Patton, 2015). Peer debriefing allows me to share my thoughts and feelings about the research and the process of data analysis with others. Ongoing, regular-basis conversations with two independent readers

assisted me in checking the consistency of my interpretations of participants' perspectives with existing literature. For the purpose of member checking, two professionals from each country were asked to review and provide their feedback on the accuracy and validity of my interpretation of their meanings.

Results

Interpretations of U.S. and Korean professionals illuminated both common and culturally specific risk factors that link child maltreatment to delinquency. The common risk factors discussed by the U.S. and Korean professionals included: (1) psychosocial vulnerabilities of individual youth; (2) difficulties in parent-child relationships; and (3) challenges to systems' interventions. Yet their interpretations were culturally nuanced reflecting differences in the social, cultural, and practice contexts between the two countries: (1) external attribution (U.S.) and internal attribution (Korea) to youth's psychosocial vulnerabilities; (2) parents' history of their own trauma (U.S.) and a lack of parental responsibility (Korea) as underlying difficulties in the parent-child relationships; and (3) a lack of collaboration across the child-serving systems (U.S.) and a lack of accountability among the child-serving systems (Korea) as challenges to systems' interventions. Their discussions also revealed culturally unique risk factors explaining pathways from maltreatment to delinquency at the sociocultural level: racism (U.S.) and social justification for physical punishment (Korea).

Psychosocial vulnerabilities of the individual youth

Professionals in both the U.S. and Korea discussed psychosocial vulnerabilities of maltreated youth as important factors that increases the risk for delinquency. These

vulnerabilities include emotional and behavioral disabilities, aggression, depression, and self-control problems. Yet these professionals varied in their understandings of how risk factors impact the pathways from maltreatment to delinquency, reflecting cultural beliefs and norms about the causes of psychosocial vulnerabilities and the focus of the systems' interventions.

Psychosocial vulnerabilities of U.S. youth: Trauma and situational attributions.

The U.S. professionals interpreted youth's psychosocial vulnerabilities through a framework of trauma that focuses on an external or situational attribution of the risk for delinquency. Consistent with U.S. trauma focused policy and practice, professionals described how traumatic events, as a situational attribution, negatively impact youth's psychosocial functioning through a trauma lens in understanding the pathways from child maltreatment to delinquency. They explained how past unresolved trauma experienced by youth impacted their emotional and behavioral difficulties. For example, a child protection supervisor described, "Acting out is in fact dealing with their trauma. We have to figure out, where is that trauma coming from?"

U.S. professionals not only considered the history of trauma and the present-day difficulties from which the child is struggling, but also recognized that children's traumatic experiences can be compounded by their involvement in the multiple systems. For example, involvement in child welfare may result in separation from caregivers and frequent changes in schools and other social contexts. A probation officer supervisor stated how he understood not only trauma experienced by individual youth, but also trauma generated by the system when professionals are not sensitive to the underlying issue of trauma:

We are also looking more at individual trauma and historical trauma, in terms of risk factors for not only delinquency, but just for other mental health issues and problems. A frequent trauma response is to be physically aggressive or to act out and be more verbally disrespectful. So I think we see a lot of youth with charges of disorderly conduct where they're not following the rules at a school or wherever in social settings, and people get upset. But again, I think that's how we're interpreting it maybe is more, looking at it through a trauma lens.

Similarly, professionals illustrated that their response to trauma can support or weaken effective interventions for youth's psychosocial functioning. A juvenile court judge explained that her sensitivity to trauma can result in better outcomes for youth:

Youth are at really good ages to make change and for rehabilitation. So if I knew the trauma that they may have suffered when they were younger [I will respond more effectively]. So, being a crossover judge [I] get a bigger picture and look at the youth themselves. So the judges are maybe able to see some traumas that the youth experienced as a child, which might explain some of their behaviors because they might have some PTSD or something that is contributing. So, yeah, as a judge and even as a county attorney it made a difference in what I was recommending. And so I think it's important.

The U.S. professionals extended their interpretations on trauma to enduring consequences of historical trauma for certain ethnic groups, particularly Native Indians or African Americans. One of the child protection workers at an Indian Child Welfare Act (ICWA) unit described:

Just kind of related to some of the cultural things, like their upbringing and I know that with Native Americans, there's a lot of historical trauma that hasn't really been addressed. And even with the black or African American, there's also the historical trauma with slavery. If you think back to historical time when slavery was still part of our history or system, families were separated due to that. Then you're seeing that happening again. There's just not a lot of strong father figures and a lot of single parent households, a lot of anger in these young boys, not really having a good role model, not having intact family. We try our best and I know families try as well, but I think some of those things are a factor and there aren't a lot of resources and services in place to reduce the risk and to address some of these concerns.

Psychosocial vulnerabilities of Korean youth: Internal attributions. Korean professionals also described youth's psychosocial vulnerabilities based on the risk factors found in the quantitative study, but their interpretations drew on the Korean cultural values that focus on the individual youth's internal characteristics as the risk for delinquency. Reflecting Korean cultural values and social norms, the Korean professionals interpreted youth's psychosocial functioning through the Confucian cultural values focusing on the individual youth's characteristics, such as being weak-willed and lacking self-control, in understanding risk factors that explain the pathways from child maltreatment to delinquency. A probation officer commented on youth's dispositional characteristics as more important than any other risk factors:

Most of the youth I met in this [correctional] facility are weak-willed. They are mostly weak-willed and have a lack of emotional self-control. Sometimes I think

that even in the same adverse circumstances (maltreatment), there are some youth who have high self-esteem and strong will and energy to move on with the belief that they are going the wrong path. Those youth would not come here. I strongly believe that abuse and neglect by parents are not the most important factor. That factor doesn't explain 100% [of the risk for delinquency] and there must be other factors, too. But when it comes to the other factors, basically a lack of will for those kids.

Consistent with this cultural attention to individual characteristics, Korean professionals also attributed children's emotional and behavioral issues to their personality or intellectual ability. A probation officer expressed his frustration with youth who were repeatedly put on probation due to the youth's personality and cognitive ability:

These kids don't have enough cognitive skills [for predicting consequences of their delinquent acts]. They are behind their peers in terms of the ability to learn. They know that they did something wrong. They know that that's bad behavior. But they think that they were just unlucky that they were caught because everyone does it [and gets away with it]. They think, "I'll get away with it next time." Because there are so many of those kids, [I think that] there is somewhat [an association between behavioral programs and] personality. Some kids are positively impacted when they come here [to probation] and are investigated at the police office. There are certainly some kids who make their mind up that, "I have to behave." There are others who cannot think in such a way. I believe that it is personality that makes the difference.

In this cultural context where delinquent acts are understood as a lack of self-control or parental discipline, parental physical punishment, even if severe physical abuse, is normalized as a necessary discipline to prevent serious misbehavior of their children. Korean people likely think that children's misconduct provokes maltreatment. Korean professionals' interpretation of risk factors for delinquency fit into this cultural mindset about youth's psychosocial vulnerabilities. A judge described:

Children were hit [by their parents] because they didn't behave. [Child protection] agencies consider it abuse. If abused kids do not do bad things, people at least consider them as good. Once those kids are involved in bad behaviors, people don't think that way because they committed delinquency. Delinquency takes precedence [over maltreatment]. It's not important whether the kid has a history of child maltreatment. In Korean society, if kids were abused but do not engage in delinquency, people think, 'Oh, poor thing.' But they perceive delinquency only because the [abused] kids already committed delinquency. Those kids deserve punishment. Why do we have to protect even such bad kids? They are just bad kids or weak-willed kids. That's how people think.

Accordingly, education programs for character or personality development are the focus of the intervention for maltreated children and/or delinquent youth in Korea. Korean professionals often described the importance of character and personality development. A probation officer stated:

I think that children cannot get on the right direction. We always ask them here, "What is your dream?" Always ask the kids. And [they] just live without life goals. That's the saddest thing. And even school doesn't accept these kids. Then,

these kids should get personality education or other classes to alter [their personality], but it can't happen now. The residential correctional facilities have such programs for personality development. There are a variety of teams to educate the youth personality development and every semester the youth rotate the diverse classes. I don't remember all, there are integrated art therapy, film therapy, and poetry therapy...and...I don't remember the exact title that there is also a kind of reading therapy.

Difficulties in the parent-child relationships

Both U.S. and Korean professionals identified barriers to the parent-child relationship as a risk factor for delinquency among maltreated children. Identified barriers, however, varied in relation to culturally perceived norms regarding socialization goals and expectations for parenting. For U.S. parents, identified barriers included parent's history of child maltreatment and parental mental health issues, incarceration, and substance abuse. Identified barriers for Korean parents were a lack of parenting skills and parental responsibility.

Parents' history of their own trauma in the U.S. U.S. professionals stressed parents' trauma history as a barrier to the parent-child relationship that increases risk for delinquency. Given the nature of U.S. parent-child relationships establishing emotional, attitudinal, and functional independence between parents and their children, parental issues can be considered by professionals as their own issues that need to be addressed separately from the issues of their children while considering their impact on the parent-child relationships. A child protection worker described, "It's just unfortunate that a lot of these children are a product of their environment and the parents are doing the best they

can because they're struggling with their own trauma. So it impacts the kids.” U.S. professionals equally attended to parental issues such as a history of childhood maltreatment, substance abuse, unemployment, and incarceration, while also understanding such trauma experienced by the children in the parent-child relationships. A child protection worker described parents struggling with a wide range of their own issues that affect their children:

A lot of the families were single mothers. Sometimes the fathers may be in jail, a lot of times that's what happens so these women are sometimes struggling. They're trying to survive. Maybe they're working all night and your kids are home alone. And you don't have control over what happens, you know? Maybe the older siblings are watching the younger siblings. I have in particular there's a lady that kept on getting a case over and over and over. She kept on getting reported. So I think she will end up leaving temporarily and left the kids with a grandparent or a parent and what was even on top of that, she was so sad about the way that her parents both died, like within six months of each other. So that was her support system. So she had all kinds of barriers. So she had a disability, mental health, chemical dependency, single parent, homeless.

Accordingly, U.S. professionals conceived that abusive parents' issues are a precursor of trauma experienced by their children that, at the same time, need to be addressed by the systems' interventions. A judge who was dealing with crossover youth cases described their services designed to address the trauma of both children and their parents:

We work in a number of cases with us ordering some sort of therapy or therapies that can be therapy for the children in terms of how to cope with either emotional or physical trauma they've experienced. Sometimes that's therapy for parents about how to cope with what they've been dealing with or cope with personality issues or mental health issues that they have. And then oftentimes then we ended up getting asked to order some sort of family therapy where say - hypothetical example - father is a bit abusive to children, um, father needs to attend to anger management and domestic abuse programs.

Relatively clear boundaries between parents and children means that their respective traumas need to be considered individually, as well as considering how their respective traumas are related each other. Further, the persistence of trauma across generations is often described as a cycle by the U.S. professionals. A probation officer illustrated the generational cycle of trauma:

The other factor I'd like to add [to the risk factors] is a lot of them are using drugs, particularly marijuana. Lately in our county, we've seen an increase in the use of methamphetamine. So drug use is a huge factor too. One of the things that I've noticed with both, they have in common, is a generational effect for the delinquency system. In other words, with a lot of these kids either their father and sometimes their father or grandfather has been involved in the justice system. It's a generational cycle.

U.S. professionals demonstrated challenges in working with parents who experienced the same trauma as their children because the parents do not acknowledge their children's trauma. The repeated patterns of trauma may normalize or minimize its

consequences within families. A child protection worker described her frustration with the intergenerational patterns of child maltreatment within families:

Because the unfortunate piece of me being in child welfare almost 20 years is [that] I've worked with the children that were in the system and out of home placement to now that they're adults. And I'm working with their children. And that cycle of abuse has continued. And it might not be to the point or severity of what it was when they were young, and I see some downplaying of that. For example, it could be when I see cases come in related to sexual abuse. Well, maybe as a child, the parents were abused sexually or trafficked out. But now, as parents, they've allowed someone to inappropriately touch their child. Well, at least [they would say] I'm not trafficking my child out to multiple people. Yeah, maybe my significant other may have touched, but it was one time. I had survived, kind of thing. It's minimizing.

A lack of parental responsibility in Korea. Korean professionals interpreted a lack of parental responsibility as a significant factor that places children at risk for delinquency. Reflecting the cultural models of parenting in Korea that emphasize emotional and relational interdependence within the members of the family, especially between parents and children, Korean professionals often commented on the parents' responsibility for their children's misbehavior. A probation officer described:

During adolescence when kids are developing their identities, many cases show that parents have an impact on their children developing a negative worldview and such negative views persist. It's really hard to change and break such viewpoints. For most kids here, they have parents but most parents are a burden to

them. Parents aren't good for them. Parents don't take their responsibility as a parent. Rather, parents become a burden because... alcoholics and a lot of debt. That debt taken over to their kids. Well, just like that.

Korean professionals' discussions revealed cultural expectations that children's misbehavior is an internal matter and parents hold the primary responsibility for it. A probation chief officer explained that parental responsibility is more important than government interventions to prevent delinquency:

I don't think reinforcing legal punishment is the solution [to prevent delinquency]. When their kids do something wrong, parents need to help their kids realize what they did wrong themselves rather than hitting their kids first and then thinking about the solution.

In this cultural context, strict parental discipline, including physical punishment, is justified for preventing serious children's misbehavior. Typically, mothers take the role for discipline but professionals observed a shift in the authority for discipline centered on physical punishment from the mother to the father to deal with children's misbehavior as their children grow. Because children's misbehavior is out of the mother's control, especially for boys, fathers take the disciplinary role (Kwon & Roy, 2007). A child protection supervisor described:

In case of physical punishment, fathers entirely take over instead of mothers.... Mothers toss it. To fathers. For the issues that the mothers cannot handle as children get older, the fathers intervene. In order to correct their kids with stricter discipline by using physical punishment. By doing this, based on what we have observed, it seems that most of the cases in which fathers are involved in

discipline occur during later middle school and high school ages. In serious cases, children are hit by a golf club. It still occurs these days.

Due to social expectation for parenting as well as social sanction for physical punishment, many parents normalize physical punishment as justifiable discipline and they become extremely hostile to child protection service. An executive director in Korean child protection agency illustrated parents' resistance to the child protection service:

We always hear [from parents] that, "What kind of organization are you to take my child?" "How dare you educate me [for parenting]?" "I [as a parent] am doing fine. It's just discipline." They say like that. Not only do they resist by yelling in front of the judge but also by hitting us, by committing arson, beating our head with a hammer, slapping us on the face, grabbing our neck, and insulting us.

These situations always happen. Of course, I understand that they get upset. They are upset about someone blaming their parenting style.

Korean professionals further explained that the boundary between parental responsibility and child maltreatment is particularly ambiguous for a matter of children's education. Originating from Confucianism, education is considered as the key to success in many aspects of life in Korea, e.g., good jobs, high socioeconomic status, and marriage to a person with high social status (Kim & Park, 2000; Paik, 2001). Korean mothers have strong commitment to their children's education and are willing to sacrifice their career for their children's educational success. Parental strictness is considered as an essential component for their children's academic achievement and educational success (Kim & Choi, 2014). Korean professionals discussed how difficult it is to determine child

maltreatment and intervene in cases of physical abuse due to children's academic achievement. For example, a child protection worker described:

The mother removed the child's room door because the child didn't study hard. Removed the door! But actually, if we get the report for that kind of incident, there is no way we can intervene. It's especially hard to intervene for the cases related to severe physical punishment for education. In a serious case, a child was hit fifty times by his father with a golf club.

Challenges to systems' interventions

Both U.S. and Korean professionals recognized a need for addressing the multidimensional needs of maltreated youth and their families, but described challenges to systems' interventions. Their interpretations on those challenges reflected recent policy initiatives in each country that emphasize cross-system collaboration (U.S.) and legal accountability among the systems (Korea).

A lack of collaboration among child-serving systems in the U.S. U.S.

professionals generally perceived the importance of cross-system collaboration to better serve maltreated children involved in multiple social systems. Yet professionals also described challenges they encounter for collaboration with other systems and how such challenges may create an additional risk for maltreated children to engage in delinquency. A probation supervisor officer articulated the strength and challenges of cross-system collaboration:

I think the strength of the collaboration is that you have a lot of different systems that are looking at different aspects of that youth's life. So then, look at a holistic plan for that youth versus a compartmentalization, where the school says, "Well,

I'm only gonna work school issues on this kid." Or child protection saying, "I'm only gonna work with the parents on this, this, and this." We're here, in probation, saying, "Well, we're only gonna try to reduce the criminogenic factors." That can't work if you're compartmentalized like that. I think we really work hard at trying to develop a holistic plan for that youth. I'll admit; it's a struggle at times because some people don't wanna give up control over something. Or they may not ... It's like they have a blind spot.

U.S. professionals' explanations of challenges to cross-system collaboration mainly focused on communication in everyday practice between professionals from different systems. A probation officer commented on the difficulty of having effective communication between systems and articulated the source of the challenge:

I think the other weakness [of collaboration] is that a lot of times, the systems don't tend to communicate all that well. So when there's not a lot of good, effective communication, it just really leads to a breakdown for the client. I think our system and our administrations are both, um, we tend to work with, are all invested in working with the youth and working together. Well, I mean, I know where it breaks down is with individual person. Some people don't want to collaborate. They think that they know everything about this youth or this family and that they're the only ones that can help. I mean, for some people, there's an inherent mistrust of other systems, whether it's just a lack of knowledge about what each system can do and provide. Then that tends to break down the communication.

Further, U.S. professionals elaborated challenges in communicating with professionals from different backgrounds, education, and guidelines. Collaboration can bring its own challenges to the already complex situation of the youth involved because professionals from other systems must work together and navigate each other's agencies and systems to achieve the common goal of providing the best services. For example, a child protection investigator expressed his frustration with a lack of communication and exchange of resources across systems while attending to the importance of integrated system to address the complex issues of maltreated youth:

These [risk factors] are issues [that] are intersectional. We need to not just look at one thing, we need to look at how can we prevent? Just because you provide them housing, that doesn't mean that solve all the issue. We need to look at housing, we need to look at community resources, we need to look at job training, we need to look at parenting outreach. All of them need to be to work together and right now, we don't have that. Each of this stuff works independently, but there's no communication, there's no exchange of resources and ideas to be one bigger. I think that's the difficult part for a lot of child protection workers, that we have a lot of these resources, but we take more time to actually connect them together than already have it in hand and do it together. We have all these workers in different things who do their own thing, but don't communicate with each other. A lot of time, they are repetitive.

U.S. professionals also pointed to the importance of collaboration with caregivers as a crucial component in cross-system collaboration. A probation officer described how he engages youth's caregivers and family members in the collaboration:

Whether it's a foster parent or a mom or a dad or a grandparent or aunt or uncle, whoever's that youth's primary caregiver is very important to have as part of that collaboration. Just based on my experiences, the challenges are not everyone wants to collaborate [with those family members]. Some professionals see themselves as the only person that can help that child and don't wanna accept a lot of feedback. Obviously, they're [primary caregivers are] the ones that have spent the most time with the child. They know the child way more than we ever will.

We might have some different insights, based on our professional experience and education. But then, to communicate those with the caregiver is important.

Yet collaboration with families is not always a smooth process, especially when there is a lack of communication between professionals involved in the same case. A child protection worker explained that a lack of communication among school personnel, parents and child protection workers may lead to inappropriate and unnecessary involvement in the system:

The schools are...they can't just report every little thing. You know one time I got a report the kid didn't have any socks on. You know? If Johnny comes to school a certain way, won't you first try to reach out to the kid, to the parents and see what's going on? Then if it's off, then make the report. But don't just make a report from any old thing the child says, you know? So they have to have better communication with the parents because sometimes the school don't have any communication with the parent and they just file a report with us. And then they expect us to fix everything. It doesn't work like that.

A lack of accountability within child-serving systems in Korea. Reflecting the new practice context, Korean professional expressed their struggles to adjust to the new policy requirements that provide less clarity in systems' roles and regulations while dealing with their own traditional perceptions on child protection. The extent to which the new policies are implemented depends on the level of professional's understandings of child maltreatment and awareness of a gap from the traditional practices. A Korean judge described the varying levels of sensitivity to child maltreatment across the systems:

Korean laws aren't that strict yet, so, the laws have been established but I think the laws haven't been placed in practice. There are huge differences in sensitivity to child maltreatment between child protection agencies, police, prosecutors' office, and courts. For police officers, they face numerous serious violent crimes and know the reality [of the abused children] and they do that way. So [they asked,] "Where can you possibly send these children?" Because they have observed that when children are separated [from their parents] and sent to institutions, they can mingle with bad kids there and then get further off track [to delinquency]. [The police officers think that] they warned those mothers and fathers enough [to care for their children]. Because they warned, [they believe that] the children will get better.

Similarly, Korean professionals discussed role clarity issues. For example, the new child maltreatment laws ensure that a judicial police officer can accompany the child protection worker to the scene of the child abuse crime upon a request from the head of an investigative agency or the head of a specialized child protection agency. The authority to conduct an investigation about or ask questions to any persons concerned is

limited to the police officer. An employee of a specialized child protection agency is given the same authority only to the extent necessary to protect a child victim only (Korean Ministry of Government Legislation, 2014). Without a specific guideline to determine the extent to which a child victim needs to be protected, there is confusion among professionals in determining the investigation role. A child protection investigator described conflict with police officers in the role of the investigation:

We (child protection workers) don't have the authority to enforce the law. Because I am a public official I can at least say that I have the authority to investigate as stated in Article 66 of the Child Welfare Law, but other private child protection agencies don't even have that authority. Of course, [the child maltreatment law says that child protection investigators from those private agencies] have the authority equivalent to the public official, but in reality it's different. In practice. So I think it would be good if some kind of clear process is set. But now...the police officers [argue that] "You (child protection workers) can visit. Why won't you go?" There are some occasions like that. When [we] need to separate [children from their parents], if it occurs at night, the police officer goes to the family first. [People] rarely call our number [1391 child protection line]. When the report comes in as a 112 call, the police officer can consider [the case as an emergency that needs] separation of the kid, and bring the child, but it doesn't seem to be the case right now. In other words, because both are able to conduct the task, it's very ambiguous [whether who needs to go to first]. Both are avoiding responsibility.

In addition, the laws do not specify any roles or regulations for an early identification of children at risk of maltreatment and the efforts are made by individual professionals depending on their experiences and personal skills to engage and collaborate with professionals from other systems. A child protection worker demonstrated how she encourages school teachers to engage and support families for the early identification of maltreated children:

If the case is not too serious or it's a really trivial case, before we start investigating, I sometimes ask the teachers [at school], "Could you counsel and check with the child and their parents to see if there is anything you can resolve?" If teachers put even a little bit of effort into such things, the situation would not go to the point in which other agencies belatedly identify the issue when children cannot be recovered [from maltreatment]. Really, outside agencies can easily find these children in poverty. [The agencies] are continuously aware those children. But there are middle- and upper-class families and the parents have higher education levels. Maltreatment occurs [in these families] too. If schools take even a little care, it could be resolved quickly. For school-aged children, schools should become a bit more sensitive to the early identification of child maltreatment.

Korean professionals also described some challenges in separating maltreated children from their parents even when the maltreatment case is somewhat serious. It is partly due to a lack of clear guidelines about who holds the accountability for the removal of children from their home (Lee, 2018). According to the new laws, a judicial police officer and child protection worker can determine the level of emergency at the scene of a crime of child abuse for the protection of a child victim. But they hesitate to separate the

child victim from their parents because they know that there are not enough residential facilities to protect those children and the institutional care is poor. A child protection worker described:

It's a bit unfortunate that we don't have enough group homes because the supply is too small compared to the demand. [Maltreated] children [in need of long-term care after being separated from their parents] want group homes. Because group homes have a small number of children and they can live like a real family. Children express a lot of frustration because they can't go to regular school, only alternative schools [affiliated with the institution]. There are a lot of children who want group homes..., but in reality, we can't send them all to group homes. It's a bit unfortunate. Frankly speaking, children, too, still perceive institutions as orphanages or a place that cares for orphans [who were abandoned by their parents]. And also...there are many children who become delinquents because of the negative impact of large institutional care.

Culturally unique risks inherent in sociocultural context

Both U.S. and Korean professionals considered the involvement of maltreated children in delinquency to be a complex issue reflecting the social, cultural, and practice context. Therefore, their discussions revealed culturally unique risks inherent in the sociocultural and practice context, including racism in the U.S. and social justification for physical punishment in Korea.

Racism in the U.S. U.S. professionals' reflection on their own practice highlighted the issue of racism in U.S. society as a significant risk factor that contributes to the disproportionate representation of ethnic minorities in child-serving systems.

Indeed, U.S. professionals consistently described high caseloads of youth who are from ethnic minority groups. For example, a child protection worker estimated the racial disproportionality based on his current cases:

I probably have 40 to 45 cases since I've been on here. Out of them, there's only been two white cases that have been out-of-home placement and the rest of them are people of color. The two cases are going to be closed now. So race does play a role. And the people...the cases I have are mostly African American, they all usually last two to three years on average to close because of all these things (risk factors). So there's a difference between ethnicity.

U.S. professionals stated that racial disproportionality and disparities are strongly influenced by early decisions made at the system's front door and the professional decision-making is impacted by stereotypes and biases against specific cultural groups. For example, a probation officer described how the professionals differently respond to children of color:

I feel bad that it's basically Black, Native American, and Hispanic, I mean, I feel like they're being singled out, especially at younger ages. I have experience working in schools before coming here. I was in a special-ed[ucation] team, so it was more, like, when a black kid acts up, "Oh, something's wrong," but when a white kid, "Oh, he's fine, whatever." It's not good that.

Similarly, a probation officer provided an example of how the initial decision based on institutional and individual racial biases could increase the risk for becoming involved with the juvenile justice systems among children who belong to ethnic minority groups:

The question is, what is driving these high disproportionality numbers with youth of color as compared to, let's say, White youth? Are white youth not committing crimes? I think there's a lot of complicated answers for this. Well, low income neighborhoods are typically more policed. You have a greater number of police in those areas, which will naturally lead to greater police contacts. Let's say a simple thing like shoplifting in the mall, we get some of those kids. I have a friend, she's white, she has a 15-year-old daughter who was at Macy's and she had stolen some makeup or something. She left Macy's and the police stopped her and they took the merchandise back and they told her don't come to the mall any more, and they let her go. But typically, with a youth of color in that scenario, the police would have been called and they would have been charged with shoplifting. And either they would have been ticketed or they would have been brought to the JDC. So you have this ability by law enforcement to make a decision, am I gonna tell this kid to go home and don't steal no more? Or am I gonna bring him in, take a picture, take him down to the JDC and have them charged? There's a lot of discretionary power with law enforcement which drives these disproportionality numbers. A lot of it, you've probably heard this before: implicit bias. I'm not saying that the police are outright prejudiced or racist, but it's like we have these implicit biases that if we don't recognize and address within ourselves, they can create some of this disproportionality.

U.S. professionals discussed that they experience a conflict between their dual roles of representing both the system and the families involved. Child protection workers explained that maltreatment cases involving families from different cultural backgrounds

create challenges to the professionals, especially when professionals have different cultural backgrounds from the families. The professionals were aware that failure to understand such cultural differences can result in unnecessary system involvement among children and families from different cultural backgrounds. An Asian American child protection worker explained the complexity of engaging the families, representing the system, and mediating between the families and system:

Because of my experience with Asian culture...particularly, I am requested to take a lot of Asian cases, kind of interesting. Yeah, a lot of practice. It's very difficult for me to engage in a system where very difficult in many ways. I understand the law here, the policy and the law, and also, I understand where the family coming from, and also understand from my own experience. It's very difficult to explain it to the parents, especially immigrant parents, who is new to the country, nobody explained to them these laws. It's very rewarding, it's very stressful, but it's very important to engage people from families from different backgrounds. Especially, child welfare system...doesn't really have a good reputation in immigrant communities. We all learn, if you ever heard about the child welfare system, these people come and take the kid. It's very hard for us when we engage in the system because social work value, we have to represent the client and at the same time, as the child protection worker, I have to explain to the parents why this is not okay here, but at the same time, I have to explain to the county, the court system, why they should not be engaged with the system because of cultural practices. I think that's very, very, very difficult to explain. It's a challenge to explain to my coworker what it's like, why, that kind of thing.

When I get a case where family came from a lot of backgrounds, after I talk to the family, I understand where they're coming from. When I go back to explain to my supervisor why did they do what they did, it's a very hard. My supervisor is a Caucasian and...You know? Then if we involve the court, I have to explain it to the county attorney, and then I have to explain to different parties.

U.S. professionals further discussed that the differential treatments based on stereotypes and biases toward the minority groups can be internalized by children to develop negative identities. An African American probation officer provided an example of his childhood experience regarding internalized racism:

These kids have teachers who have already formed an opinion of a kid. They say that instead of encouraging a kid to be all they can be it's very easy to tell a kid what they can't do. When I went to school, a long time ago, and I had a tough time in math. That's a true story. I failed an algebra test. And the teacher at that time, I was in the 7th grade, she told me, "Matthew, you will never get math. You just won't ever get it." So I took that, and I believed it, and I had a phobia for math for almost all of my life. Now when I was in grad school, I had to take a statistics course, and I was paralyzed because that seed that was planted many years ago, I'm believing it. And until I got help, and I had somebody who was a math whiz and she showed me how to do this and I had a great instructor, and I aced the course. The systemic bias really influences youths of color. A lot of these kids, they need somebody to believe in them before they believe in themselves. They don't have any role models in their life who have been successful.

Social justification for physical punishment in Korea. The interpretation of Korean professionals also included risks at the social and cultural level. They discussed challenges in addressing a conflict between expectations of implementing the new laws and long-held cultural beliefs and norms related to parenting and child care. Their discussions reflected Confucian values that emphasize authoritarian and hierarchical parenting practices and children's obedience to parents. Such cultural values reinforce social justification of strict parental discipline and a high tolerance for physical punishment. Professionals consistently identified cultural justification for physical punishment as a risk factor that contributes to the link between child maltreatment and delinquency. The following child protection investigator commented on the discrepancy between the new child maltreatment laws and the existing discipline law in Korean Public law (P.L. 93) indicating the level of awareness of child maltreatment:

[Korean] Public law still has discipline law (P.L. 93). This law allows parents to [physically and emotionally] discipline their children. The [discipline] law should be revised to allow discipline only in a non-violent way. Indirect discipline (physical punishment without direct physical contact, such as having someone do push-ups for punishment or holding arms up for an extended period of time) where you can't hit them or emotional verbal abuse...there aren't these kinds of things. Although child maltreatment laws have been revised and the system was set up, if the general public's perception is not changed to respect children's rights, child maltreatment would continue to occur. When the laws are stricter but the general public's perception is not changed, [the laws] will create more criminals. To increase the general public's awareness... although it can't be directly applied

within the family, places like child welfare institutions or schools can start protecting children's rights to gradually change the laws so the people can increase their sensitivity to human rights in general. Prepare those things for 20-30 years and such...Now I believe that we really need such processes to increase the level of awareness or long-term efforts. Korean society was very generous toward domestic violence and child maltreatment. There is an old saying that women and dogs need some beating (Beating women and dried pollocks every three days make them malleable).

Despite a legal definition of child maltreatment provided in the new laws, in this cultural context, professionals experienced confusion in how to determine child maltreatment, which conflicts with the existing cultural beliefs and laws influenced by Confucianism. Korean professionals illustrated how hard it would be to connect child maltreatment with delinquency without change in the prevalent cultural beliefs and clarity in the definition of child maltreatment. A probation officer described:

The conditions in the U.S. allows early identification and intervention through reports of even mild maltreatment, but this concept isn't applicable to Korea's system even when you [the youth] call the police in the same situation. We still have that thing. That thing because of Confucian belief. It can't happen. When children call the police because they were hit by their mother, the police are dispatched but still. The police say something to the parents but don't interpret it as abuse. Only after clarifying the definition of child maltreatment, [we can] discuss what the impact of child maltreatment on delinquent youth. We're at this point because it's [the definition] not in our culture.

Variations in adjusting the new social norms related to child protection result in varying levels of sensitivity to child maltreatment in implementing the new laws across the child-serving systems. A child protection supervisor referred to a child maltreatment case involving a Korean family in Guam, U.S., and described his own reflection on the case¹:

If someone is a judge, the person is literally the one who is most knowledgeable about the laws of Korea but [the case shows] that the level of social awareness [of child maltreatment] is still lacking. And a little bit...when asked if even such a case is considered as child maltreatment, in Korea, now our [perception]... that... coercive parents' attitudes towards education are something unimaginable in Western countries but we take it for granted. So those things like leaving kids in a car. Yeah, [those cases] won't be reported. Americans immediately report it, but, well, if Koreans...[they would] look up the phone number at the front [window of the car] and say, "Huh, there are kids [in the car]!" Like this.... If I were there, I also would hesitate to call 112 (police). Because [it might have been] the time point when I found the kids was just right after their parents left [to the shopping mall]. I would hesitate to call the police with the fear of being retaliated against by [the parents] if I report for no reason. If someone calls the police, the police goes there anyway. But they don't consider the situation as child abuse or neglect.

Korean professionals also discussed challenges in addressing the resistance of parents who normalized physical punishment. They explained that such cultural beliefs

¹ A Korean judge-lawyer married couple were arrested on charges of child abuse in the US territory of Guam on Oct. 2, 2017. They left their two children, aged 6 and 1, in a car unattended while they were shopping. The engine was off and the windows of the vehicle were locked.

and norms make it difficult to provide early interventions for maltreated children. Korean professionals often reflected on their own parenting and revealed their struggle with the new social norms regarding parental discipline. For example, a probation officer reflected on his own parenting and justified the use of physical punishment:

I think, to a certain degree, that maybe Confucian society does not regard it (parental physical punishment) as maltreatment and accepts it. Children too.

When parents physically discipline their children, they say, “This is a rod of love, because I love you.” I also tell my children, “Hey, do you know the scariest thing? Indifference. You know. If I didn’t love you, I wouldn’t even care about you. Because I adore you, I beat you and I’m concerned for you, and I nag you.”

Children may also feel this too.

Similarly, social justification for harsh parenting and physical punishment results in mistrust and thus failure to engage with children. A child protection worker described:

Even police officers say, “Hey, you deserve a beating [by parents].” “You were asking for it.” Like this. During investigation, police officers say, “Hey, you’re the kind of kid who deserves a beating. You deserved it.” When they (police officers) do this, children shut down. Even to us (child protection workers). We think, ‘Ugh, why would they do that? Why is that person intervening and ruining our work? I get that they are trying to help but why would that person do this.’

Then, it now becomes extremely difficult to engage with those children who were reported for delinquency because they already closed up their mind.

Korean professionals’ discussions also revealed children's reactions to the systems reflecting their internalization of cultural beliefs and norms regarding the Korean parent-

child relationships. Korean professionals explained that parental strictness is not necessarily viewed as control by Korean children. They further described that strict parental discipline is particularly regarded as an essential component for academic, economic, and social success for their children. Children also tend to internalize parental physical punishment as an indication of parental warmth or sincere concern. Children's unwillingness to open their adverse experience and resistance to child protection service contribute to the system's limited intervention to serious cases. A child protection worker illustrated how children perceived parental physical punishment and their resistance to child protection service:

There are some children who believe that they were hit [by their parents] because they did wrong. Some children perceive that their parents hit them because their parents want them to be well and do well. So those children want to continue to stay at the home [with their parents]. During investigation, most children say that they were hit because they were bad. But now when we ask those children about what they did wrong, a first grader says they did not get a perfect score on a spelling test. So, they were hit in their shins as many times as they answered wrong on the questions. They say it's because they didn't get a good score on the spelling test. So children say themselves, "It was my fault." Children in adolescence also think in that way. During investigation, they don't reveal it. If they disclose it, [they worry that] their family could fall apart. [They would] cause problems. Now [they want] to protect their family.

Discussion

This study is the first cross-cultural analysis to examine risk factors that explain maltreated children's involvement in delinquency through the interpretations of U.S. and Korean professionals. Professionals' explanations substantiated the risk factors identified in the previous quantitative studies of each country and contextualized those risk factors in their respective social, cultural, and practice contexts. Professionals' interpretations further elaborated common and culturally specific risk factors that explain maltreated children's involvement in delinquency. Professionals discussed risk factors for delinquency based on their perceptions and experiences with maltreated children and/or delinquent youth. Knowing what risk factors the professionals emphasize and how they interpret those factors in their sociocultural context is a prerequisite for sensitive understanding of the pathways from child maltreatment to delinquency in various cultural contexts.

Both U.S. and Korean professionals similarly identified risk factors for maltreated children's involvement in delinquency at multiple-ecological levels from the individual child level to the sociocultural level. These similarities in the risk factors for delinquency in distinct sociocultural contexts may suggest "universalism" in understanding maltreated children who become involved in delinquency. Understanding risks for delinquency in maltreated children is complex. Existing research on the pathways from child maltreatment to delinquency provides insights into the multiple-levels of risk factors at the ecological systems such as disabilities, emotional and behavioral issues, and self-esteem at the individual child level (Halemba et al., 2004; Jung et al., 2006; Oh, 2013), parents with substance abuse, consistent caregiver supervision, attachment to parents, and

parents' education at the family level (Herz & Ryan, 2008; Lee, 2014; Lee & Villagrana, 2015), school suspension, placement instability, and academic achievement at the school and child servicing institution level (Ryan & Testa, 2005; Ryan et al., 2010; Leone & Weinberg, 2010), and neighborhood disadvantage and residential stability at the neighborhood level (Schuck & Widom, 2005; Yonas et al., 2010). These risks are intersecting across multiple-ecological levels creating unique experiences for maltreated children at risk for delinquency. Concerns about the multifaceted nature of risks for delinquency in maltreated children emerged from both U.S. and Korean professionals' discussions.

Cultural nuances also were apparent in professionals' interpretations on the risk factors for maltreated children's involvement in delinquency because professionals' interpretations on the risk factors were situated in their complex social, cultural, and practice contexts. Such variations, however, are subtle and relative. For example, psychosocial vulnerabilities of maltreated children were understood as emerging from external factors by U.S. professionals and internal factors by Korean professionals. Yet emotional and behavioral difficulties and low self-control experienced by maltreated children at risk for delinquency were commonly present in the discussion of U.S. and Korean professionals.

Such similarities and differences in understanding risks for delinquency among maltreated children can promote fresh insight among U.S. and Korean professionals into traditional and cultural understandings as well as new perspectives learned from the other culture. Lessons learned from the professionals have some broad implications for the

culturally sensitive interventions that prevent maltreated children with different cultural backgrounds from being involved in delinquency or entrenched with those systems.

Caveats and limitations

Findings from this study need to be considered in the context of several caveats and limitations before considering the implications of this study. First, this qualitative study intended to understand risk factors on maltreated children's involvement in delinquency through the interpretations of professionals in relation to the social, cultural, and practice context, rather than to establish any kind of representativeness or generalization. Policies and practices regarding child protection and family support vary considerably across jurisdictions, cities, or states. Therefore, this study was designed to establish a rich and trustworthy analysis of a specific cultural phenomenon, maltreated children's involvement in delinquency through the professionals' interpretations.

Second, culture is a complex construct that encompasses people's beliefs, traditions, personal relationships, laws, practices, language etc. Risks for delinquency in maltreated children are also a complex, multifaceted issue that affects not only the child victim but also their families, communities, and society. Considering these complexities, it is important to recognize that there are variations within a cultural group based on various combinations of cultural ideas and practices accepted by individuals with diverse characteristics (e.g., gender, ethnic backgrounds, education, and socioeconomic status) taking various roles in multiple contexts (e.g., homes, classrooms, workplaces, and communities) (Markus & Hamedani, 2007). Although this study included professionals in a variety of roles and work experiences, analyses presented in this study may overemphasize differences between the two cultures. For example, this study may

minimize diverse perspectives and experiences of professionals across the child-serving systems by focusing primarily on culturally common and unique aspects in the professionals' interpretations. Compared to police officers and school teachers, child protection workers may have a different view on risks for delinquency and thus experience different challenges in implementing the child protection policies. For example, the child welfare system views maltreated children as victims while the juvenile justice system may view them as perpetrators. School teachers may see those children as having special educational needs (Leone & Weinberg, 2010). Comparing such diverse perspectives and experiences of professionals across the systems between the U.S. and Korea may reveal other aspects of cultural variations. Future research should explore such variations within cultural groups.

Third, this study focused only on professionals' interpretations on risks for delinquency in maltreated children. Professionals may select what they wish to stress based on their experiences and perceptions. Experiences and interpretations on risks for delinquency among maltreated children and their parents and families may differ from professionals based on their social roles (parent vs. child protection worker) and development (children vs. youth or adults). Subsequent research needs to broaden the scope of analysis by including experiences and perspectives of maltreated children and parents and thus address the extent to which the themes identified in this study vary by social roles and developmental stages.

Fourth, this study focused on risk factors that explain the pathways from victims of maltreatment to perpetrators of crimes. However, a complete account of the pathways in a specific cultural context requires an understanding of protective factors operating in

multiple interacting social systems. More research is needed to probe protective factors or resilience that may emerge from cultural beliefs and norms; for example, self-expression and connection with diverse supporting communities in the U.S. and a strong self-regulation and social expectations to confront adverse experiences in Korea.

Implications

Sensitivity to the various presentations of child maltreatment. Both U.S. and Korean professionals discussed psychosocial vulnerabilities of maltreated children as a risk factor for delinquency. Yet the way they described psychosocial vulnerabilities of individual children were culturally nuanced, reflecting their different inferences about the causes of psychosocial vulnerabilities. U.S. professionals understood that behavioral and emotional difficulties manifest children's unresolved trauma based on their external or situational attributions to the risk for delinquency. On the other hand, Korean professionals tend to attribute psychosocial vulnerabilities of maltreated children who engage in delinquency to internal causes, describing negative character traits or personal weaknesses of individual children.

Dealing with troublesome behaviors and emotional outbursts is one of the most salient challenges for professionals in child-serving systems caring for children with histories of early adversities. However, understanding how children exhibit their internal instability and insecurity is essential in the design of the interventions that prevent maltreated children from becoming involved with the juvenile justice systems. Different inferences about the causes of psychosocial vulnerabilities as risk for maltreated children's involvement in delinquency can broaden our understanding of various presentations of child maltreatment. An outward manifestation of children's internal

instability and insecurity, such as behavioral issues, emotional regulation difficulties, or negative characteristics, can be a clue that alerts professionals to unaddressed trauma caused by previous maltreatment or ongoing maltreatment. Indicators of child maltreatment can be detected by professionals in many roles, such as educators at school and social workers at community centers. Professionals should be very watchful of children who display behavioral changes or emotional struggles for early identification and intervention. Given the variations in the presentations of psychosocial vulnerabilities across cultures, professionals also need to be sensitive to how differently children from various cultural backgrounds disclose the status of inner instability and insecurity. Examination of the inferences about psychosocial vulnerabilities of individual youth can be used as resources for the early identification and preventive intervention for maltreated children at risk for delinquency.

Presentations of psychosocial vulnerabilities based on internal attributions are relatively subtle and may vary widely across cultures in comparison to external attributions. For example, anger may not be representative of the negative emotions generated by child maltreatment in Asian societies where overt hostility is suppressed and subject to cultural restraint in order to maintain the hierarchical system (Agnew, 2015). Children are forbidden to reveal anger toward their parents and even to have the conscious awareness of hostile impulses. Instead of expressing anger, the suppression of anger is relieved through self-blaming, shame or guilt as described by Korean professionals about Korean children's understanding of parental physical punishment. For Korean children, overt emotional withdrawal or excessive shame or guilt may be the

tip of the iceberg of past or ongoing child maltreatment and presentation of risks for delinquency among maltreated children.

Successful engagement with parents. Consistent with the cultural value of the relational independence of individuals in the U.S. parent-child relationships, U.S. professionals highlighted parental issues as a risk for delinquency that needs to be addressed individually while considering its relatedness to the issues of their children. On the other hand, Korean professionals underlined a lack of parental responsibility as a risk for delinquency among maltreated children based on traditional beliefs and practices that emphasize interdependence in the parent-child relationship. Understanding a broader range of barriers to the parent-child relationship identified by U.S. and Korean professionals in this study can be a great resource for facilitating parent engagement as a key for the prevention of maltreated children's involvement in delinquency.

U.S. professionals described the majority of parents involved in the system experience co-occurring family problems, including poverty, domestic violence, mental illness, housing instability, incarceration, substance abuse, and social isolation. Multiple, chronic stressors within the family derail parent engagement in the interventions. Practical barriers to engaging parents include lack of transportation, conflicts between work schedules and mandated services, as well as difficulties in ongoing child supervision. The negative perceptions attached to the system involvement also threaten parent engagement in the interventions.

Emotions expressed by parents involved in the system, such as guilt, fear, anger and stigma, are common in the U.S. and Korea (Kemp, Marcenko, Hoagwood, & Vesneski, 2009; Korean reference: Moon & Morash, 2004 Agnew, 2015). Parents may

become more reluctant to engagement with the system in a cultural context where individuals are exquisitely sensitive to the risks for stigmatization. Engagement with the systems for their children's misbehavior may be considered as placing the parents at risk of losing face. In addition, given that parents perceive parenting and child protection as internal family matters, the system's intervention for those issues may be considered a threat to the family relationship. Understanding of the various obstacles to successful parental engagement with the system in diverse cultural contexts can not only bridge parental needs and the necessary intervention for their children, but also help parents successfully manage their parenting responsibilities.

Cross-system collaboration to prevent maltreated children from involvement in delinquency. Both U.S. and Korean professionals discussed challenges in working together across child-serving systems for maltreated children at risk of delinquency. Yet U.S. and Korean professionals' discussions were culturally nuanced, reflecting distinct practice contexts. Korean professionals' explanations illuminated that the implementation of collaborative services that prevent maltreated children from delinquency requires structural processes within the systems (Haight et al., 2014), minimally legal basis for accountability and formal policies, but also administrative structures, and funding. U.S. professionals' interpretations elucidated that successful cross-system collaborations also require psychosocial processes including individuals' values, communications, and relationships between individuals (Haight et al., 2014).

Collectively, cross-cultural conversations between U.S. and Korean professionals may highlight common ground in establishing cross-system collaborations to address the complex issues experienced by maltreated children who are involved with the juvenile

justice system. In both countries, collaboration across systems is considered to be best practice. The benefits of effective communication and collaboration have been well documented, including less duplication of services, more consistent intervention plans, and a broader range of services available within the systems (Casey Family Program, 2010; Haight, Bidwell, Marshall, & Khatiwoda, 2014; Lee, 2018). However, cross-system collaboration to achieve positive outcomes for those youth is not an easy task. In general, it requires broad system-wide changes across systems, each of which has its own complexities, expectations, and perspectives on maltreated youth and/or delinquent youth (Haight et al., 2014). The sociocultural context also plays a significant role in determining the varying levels of sensitivity to maltreated children at risk for delinquency across the systems.

Cultural perspectives on the challenges to systems' interventions can provide valuable insight that effective cross-system collaboration through both structural and psychosocial systems change are essential for interventions that prevent maltreated children from delinquency. In addition, cross-system collaboration can be reinforced by a holistic perspective that facilitates our understanding of the unique needs of maltreated children who experience risks of delinquency in not only immediate social contexts but also sociocultural and historical contexts.

Mutual understanding between the system and families. This study elaborated risk factors for delinquency among maltreated children in a broader social and cultural system through the interpretation of U.S. and Korean professionals. Cross-cultural conversation between U.S. and Korean professionals about the unique risk factors inherent to each society can promote creative ideas about how to develop culturally

sensitive practice for vulnerable children and families from diverse cultural backgrounds. Racial disproportionality and disparity in the U.S. society stem from biases and stereotypes against members of specific cultural groups (Fong, McRoy, & Dettlaff, 2014). These biases become particularly problematic when individuals in positions of power, like professionals in child-serving systems, neglect the families' cultural upbringing and thus act upon as if their cultural values and normative practices are universal (Fontes, 2005). These false assumptions among professionals can manifest in many ways and enter at all points of interventions in the systems, for example, from the suspicion of child abuse to legal action of detention (Fontes, 2005; Marshall & Haight, 2014; Miller, Cahn, & Orellana, 2012). As the U.S. child protection workers stated, the cumulative impact of such biases and stereotypes also causes a climate of fear and mistrust among members of ethnic minority groups toward the systems.

Korean cultural beliefs and practices may have some implications for U.S. professionals and provide an opportunity to increase their cultural sensitivity in their practice with children and families from diverse cultural backgrounds. For professionals, culturally specific information on working with individuals from particular communities can be helpful, but it could also become a source of stereotypes or assumptions toward those groups. For example, if it is required that professionals understand the cultural roots of behaviors such as a high tolerance of physical punishment among Korean and Korean parents' strong commitment to education, such professional education may create a risk of generating stereotypes that Korean parents are more likely to abuse their children physically. Given that most immigrant parents are unaware of the laws and systems that may significantly differ from their own, it is equally important for parents to be informed

of the implications of their actions in the laws, the systems, and the role of its professionals. As most Korean professionals described, Korean parents' resentment and resistance to the system derive from traditional cultural beliefs and norms that conflict with the new laws. It may also be, in part, due to a lack of information about the new laws and consequences of their continuing actions under the new laws.

Culture is a complex and multifaceted concept that affects people's beliefs, attitudes, interpersonal relationships, practice, policies, and so on. In U.S. society, disproportionality and disparities within the systems are often attributable to the compounded strains experienced by children at individual, family, and community levels including poverty, single parenthood, parental incarceration, violence, crime, and poor schools (Agnew, Brezina, Wright, & Cullen, 2002; Drake, Lee, & Jonson-Reid, 2009; Miller, Cahn, & Orellana, 2012). All of the issues are always subject to stereotypes and biases and each of those system levels can impact a given family in a way that increases or decreases the likelihood of involvement of maltreated children in the juvenile justice system. Although racism is not a pressing issue in the Korean child-serving systems, concerns expressed by the U.S. professionals about the racial disproportionality and disparities can provide fresh insight into the risk of unnecessary involvement with the system for children with multiple vulnerabilities. Therefore, reasonable efforts must be made by the professionals in child-serving systems to understand cultural values and norms specific to certain social and cultural groups. Reasonable efforts must also be made within the child-serving systems to help individuals from different cultural communities understand and navigate the systems that are unfamiliar in their own cultures or conflicts with their traditional beliefs and practices.

Conclusion

As the first cross-cultural analysis of crossover youth, this study provided common and culturally specific risk factors that explain maltreated children's involvement with the juvenile justice system. Social work practice increasingly requires professional competence in international social work and skills for international problem solving to meet the needs of an increasingly diverse population, including immigrant communities. Common yet culturally nuanced interpretations on risk factors for delinquency in this study can facilitate meaningful cross-cultural conversations among professionals to strengthening existing practices and policies and bring creative ideas for the design and implementation of culturally sensitive practices and policies in the U.S. as well as other cultural communities.

Chapter Eight Discussion and Conclusion

This cross-cultural study used a mixed methods approach to investigate cultural perspectives on risks for maltreated children's involvement in delinquency in the U.S. and Korea. This study found common, yet culturally nuanced and unique risk factors between the U.S. and Korea. A mixed methodology allowed for integrated results from multiple data sources and methods. In particular, an explanatory sequential design (Haight & Bidwell, 2016), allowed for more credible and comprehensive understandings of the risks that affected maltreated children's delinquency. The quantitative phase of this study was designed to identify factors that increased the risk for delinquency in the U.S. and Korea, respectively. The qualitative phase of this study provided an in-depth and contextualized description of risk factors through the interpretations of U.S. and Korean professionals to better explain the identified risk factors from the quantitative studies. This section discusses findings integrating the quantitative and qualitative studies to understand similar and culturally distinct perspectives on risk factors for delinquency in maltreated children. This section also presents study limitations, implications for social work policy, practice, and future research.

Discussion of Integrated Results from Quantitative and Qualitative Studies

As a prospective, longitudinal cohort study, the first two quantitative studies examined risk factors for delinquency in the U.S. and South Korea, respectively. Consistent with the previous studies in the U.S. (Haight et al., 2014; Halemba et al., 2004; Lee & Villagrana, 2015; Leone & Weinberg, 2010; Ryan & Testa, 2005; Herz & Ryan, 2008) and Korea (Jung et al., 2006; Ko & Lee, 2015; Lee, 2014; Oh, 2013), this study found risk factors at multiple system levels pertaining to maltreated children's

involvement in delinquency in each country. In comparison to the findings from the quantitative studies in the U.S. and Korea, a set of common risk factors emerged between the two countries including male gender, repeated maltreatment incidents, youth's psychosocial vulnerabilities (e.g., emotional and behavioral disorders, aggression, depression, and self-control), and school behaviors (e.g., out-of-school suspension and negative attitudes toward school rules).

There were also culturally distinct risk factors identified in the comparison. For example, family socio-economic status was identified as a risk for delinquency in both countries. Yet its effect on delinquency appeared to be the opposite. Youth from low-income families in the U.S. were at increased risk for delinquency, while youth from higher income families in Korea were more likely to engage in delinquency. Culturally distinct risk factors also include belonging to particular ethnic minority groups in the U.S. In Korea, characterized as one of the most ethnically homogeneous nations in the world, race or ethnicity is not of interest in understanding the issue of maltreated children who engage in delinquency.

Given the differences in data between the two countries, there were also some factors unique only in either country, including reading and math scores in standardized tests and out-of-home placement in the U.S. as well as mother's and father's education levels in Korea. A lack of comparability and contextual meaning of the risk factors in the quantitative studies facilitated the qualitative inquiries to further elaborate similarities and differences in the risk factors between both countries. Cross-cultural analysis in the subsequent qualitative study identified common, yet culturally nuanced and unique risk factors.

First, U.S. and Korean professionals' discussions highlighted common risk factors in multiple social systems, including psychosocial vulnerabilities of individual children, difficulties in the parent-child relationships, challenges to systems' interventions, and risks inherent to the sociocultural context. Both U.S. and Korean professionals considered risks for delinquency in maltreated children to be a complex, multidimensional issue that creates unique challenges to individual children, as well as their families, communities, and society. This suggests that risks for delinquency in maltreated children are a common human challenge across cultures that is impacted by each of those interacting social systems (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). The nature of risks for delinquency can vary tremendously depending on how the maltreated child is positioned within the larger social context of development. Children actively observe, respond, and participate with others and systems in their daily lives within specific social and cultural contexts where development occurs. For example, structural racism in the social institutions, as discussed by U.S. professionals, can be a risk factor for maltreated racially minorities involved in the juvenile justice system. Youth may respond to such racism in a variety of ways, including the development of an oppositional identity, self-advocating behavior, and the connection with prosocial people (Marshall & Haight, 2014; Haight, Ostler, Black, Sheridan, & Kingery, 2007).

Second, U.S. and Korean professionals' descriptions about the common risk factors also included cultural subtleties and specifics. More specifically, how professionals interpreted the risk factors for delinquency in maltreated children generally varied between the U.S. and Korea, reflecting cultural beliefs and social norms regarding parenting and child care, along with the focus of systems' interventions. It is important to

note, however, that variations in U.S. and Korean professionals' perspectives on risks for delinquency in maltreated children are not absolute; rather relative and subtle.

In contrast to U.S. professionals, who focused primarily on external attributions to psychosocial vulnerabilities of individual children as risks for delinquency, Korean professionals emphasized internal attributions. This is consistent with the shared concept of self that generally values the independent, autonomous and effective self in the U.S. and the interdependent and group-oriented self in Korea. Although Korean society has been increasingly influenced by Western cultures, where the shared concept of self is relatively individualistic, traditional beliefs and practices continue to prevail. Korean society emphasizes a socially-oriented view of the self and individual minds remains strong in their inferences about the psychosocial vulnerabilities of maltreated children who engage in delinquency.

In addition, U.S. and Korean professionals explained risk factors associated with parent-child relationships, reflecting differing priorities in parenting goals. Korean professionals focused more on parental responsibility for their children's misbehavior. They prioritized parental responsibility over government interventions to prevent maltreated children from engaging in delinquency. U.S. professionals, however, pointed to parents' own individual issues that impacted their children's delinquency, rather than parental responsibility. Unlike Korean professionals who saw parent-child relationships as interdependent, U.S. professionals saw parents as relatively independent from their children based on Western parenting goals that emphasize raising emotional, attitudinal, and functional independent individuals. Given the cultural expectations in parenting practices, U.S. professionals' discussions began with parents' history of trauma and then

described how parental issues relate to trauma experienced by children. In Korea where children are generally socialized to develop emotional and relational interdependence, family loyalty, and respect for elders (Choi & Kim, 2014), child maltreatment and delinquency are strictly regarded as a family matter. In addition, involvement in child-serving systems is considered as posing the family at risk of losing face. Consistent with the Korean literature (Ju & Lee, 2010; Lee, 2018), Korean professionals described maltreated children who hid their abuse from CPS in order to save their family. Not only did the children do this, but members of the family also kept any family issues within the family.

Cultural nuances also were apparent as professionals discussed systems' interventions with maltreated children at risk for delinquency. Guided by the trauma-informed care in the child-serving systems, U.S. professionals tend to understand maltreated children who engage in delinquency through a framework of trauma. In this practice context, U.S. professionals identified cross-systems collaboration as challenges to systems' interventions in taking a holistic approach to address the overwhelming effects of trauma on the individual child in multiple domains of development. Similar to U.S. professionals, those in Korea expressed their frustrations with collaboration in the child-serving systems. Yet they consistently identified a lack of legal basis for accountability and specific roles and regulations in the systems as challenges to systems' interventions. This is largely due to Korea's current child protection system which focuses on punishing perpetrators for child maltreatment, enhancing law enforcement to investigate serious cases, and increasing social consensus on perceiving child maltreatment as a serious social problem. As a result, professionals experienced

challenges in collaborating for early identification of children at risk, the level of emergency for the protection of a child victim, and the removal of children from their home.

Lastly, U.S. and Korean professionals' discussions revealed culturally unique risks for delinquency among maltreated children. Both U.S. and Korean professionals acknowledged what is considered to be child maltreatment and delinquency are culturally constructed. They further articulated how their own practices are embedded in the sociocultural contexts and therefore may put maltreated children at further risk. On one hand, Korean professionals often described their frustrations with social sanctions for physical punishment and even violence in Korean society. Their frustrations are rooted in the Korean cultural context where there has been a lack of awareness of child maltreatment and protection due to social expectations for hierarchy in the parent-child relationships and strict parenting (Jeon, 2016; Lee, 2018). On the other hand, U.S. professionals explained how racism exists among professionals, thereby disproportionately affecting maltreated children of color. Their explanations resonated with racial disproportionality and disparities reflected in U.S. society that are caused by racial stereotypes and biases toward individuals from ethnic minority communities. Consistent with existing literature, U.S. professionals considered racism to be microsystem-level as well as macrosystem-level issues impacting the ways in which minority youth and their families are treated by professionals at every phase of the systems' interventions (Marshall & Haight, 2014; Gibson, Wilson, Haight, Kayama, & Marshall, 2014).

Limitations of Study

It is important to consider several limitations when considering the implications of this study. First, international comparison is complex and it is hard to obtain comparable data between the U.S. and Korea. Variables used in the two quantitative studies are not completely comparable. There remains a question about what are similarities and differences between the countries in understanding risks for maltreated children's involvement in delinquency. However, it is important to note that concern about maintaining data equivalence can lead to overlooking cultural variations adequately. The availability of data pertaining to child maltreatment and delinquency in each country may reflect such cultural variations in understanding maltreated children who engage in delinquency. In addition, the same risk factors contextualized in the sociocultural context of each country may be differently understood, resulting in different social responses. Administrative data is not available for the purpose of research in Korea. Even if available, data is biased only to serious cases for both child maltreatment and delinquency.

Second, data available for the quantitative studies were not comprehensive enough to include all risk factors for delinquency identified in the existing theoretical frameworks. Although analytic strategies in the quantitative studies met certain conditions for causal relationships, such as correlation and temporal precedence (Shadish et al., 2002), there is a lack of control for alternative explanations about other risk factors that are not available in this study. Future studies need to include other important factors such as school engagement, parental substance abuse, and neighborhood characteristics.

Third, because the current study only focused on risk factors, this study is incomplete. A complete account of the pathways from maltreatment to delinquency requires an understanding of protective factors that moderate the effects of risks including positive relationship with adults, school-based affirmation, and extracurricular activities. A complete account of the pathways in a specific cultural context also requires an understanding of protective factors operating in multiple interacting social systems. More research is needed to probe protective factors or resilience that may emerge from cultural beliefs and norms; for example, self-expression and connection with diverse supporting communities in the U.S. and strong self-regulation and social expectations to confront the adverse experience in Korea.

Fourth, the U.S. data was only collected in Minnesota. Policies and practices related to maltreated children and/or delinquent youth considerably vary across states. Risks for delinquency among maltreated children are highly influenced by the policy and practice context, which also influences how professionals perceive and react to the issues. This study has no claim for representativeness of the data in their respective countries. For example, the perspectives and experiences of Minnesota professionals who participated in this study are not necessarily representative of the U.S. and even their counties.

Fifth, culture is a complex construct that encompasses people's beliefs, traditions, personal relationships, laws, practices, language etc. Risks for delinquency in maltreated children are also a complex, multifaceted issue that affects not only the child victim but also their families, communities, and society. Considering these complexities, it is important to recognize that there are variations within a cultural group based on various

combinations of cultural ideas and practices accepted by individuals with diverse characteristics (e.g., gender, ethnic backgrounds, education, and socioeconomic status) taking various roles in multiple contexts (e.g., homes, classrooms, workplace, and communities) (Markus & Hamedani, 2007). Although this study included professionals in a variety of roles and work experiences, analyses presented in this study may overemphasize differences between the two cultures. For example, this study may minimize diverse perspectives and experiences of professionals across the child-serving systems by focusing primarily on culturally common and unique aspects in the professionals' interpretations. Compared to police officers and school teachers, child protection workers may have a different view on risks for delinquency and thus experience different challenges in implementing child protection policies. For example, the child welfare system views maltreated children as a victim, while the juvenile justice system may view them as a perpetrator. Likewise, school teachers may see those children as having special educational needs (Leone & Weinberg, 2010). Comparing such diverse perspectives and experiences of professionals across the systems between the U.S. and Korea may reveal other aspects of cultural variations. Future research should explore such variations within cultural groups.

Sixth, this study focused only on professionals' interpretations on risks for delinquency in maltreated children. Professionals may select what they wish to stress based on their experiences and perceptions. Experiences and interpretations on risks for delinquency among maltreated children and their parents and families may differ from professionals based on their social roles (parents vs. child protection workers) and development (children vs. youth or adults). Subsequent research needs to broaden the

scope of analysis by including experiences and perspectives of maltreated children and parents and thus address the extent to which the themes identified in this study vary by social roles and developmental stages.

Implications for Social Work Practice, Policy, and Research

To date, this is the first cross-cultural study on cultural understandings of risks for maltreated children's involvement in delinquency in the U.S. and Korea. Guided by developmental cultural psychology (Shweder & Sullivan, 1993), this study particularly aimed to generate fresh insights for cultural variations in understanding maltreated children who engage in delinquency in the sociocultural and practice context. This study also created viable hypotheses for future research and contributed to cross-cultural applicability of existing theoretical frameworks linking child maltreatment and delinquency.

First, this study can contribute to a knowledge base for cross-cultural applicability of existing theories that explain pathways from child maltreatment to delinquency in various cultural contexts. The study's general contribution to the existing theories is to highlight the social, cultural, and practice contexts in understanding risks for delinquency. Both U.S. and Korean professionals described that maltreated children are at an increased risk for delinquency as they experience multiple risks intersecting within complex sociocultural contexts. That is, maltreated children experience risks for delinquency due to not only the direct harm of maltreatment to their development, such as brain injury or severe developmental delay, but also additional challenges generated by systems' interventions (i.e., a lack of cross-cultural collaboration and public accountability deficits for child protection) and the sociocultural context (i.e., racial disparity and social

justification for physical punishment). The existing theories mostly focus on the individual and immediate social environments, such as individual, family, and school, to explain potential risks for delinquency in maltreated children. This study guided by developmental cultural psychology sheds light on the effect of the larger social structures in understanding risks that explain the pathways from child maltreatment to delinquency, (i.e., traditional cultural beliefs and values regarding socialization practices, system's interventions, and policy or institutional discriminations), in which maltreated children also experience risk processes for delinquency. For example, a weak support for intergenerational transmission of child maltreatment in Korean literature, contrary to the premise of social learning theory, can be explained by findings of the current study that highlight Korean maltreated children's internalization of parents' harsh discipline as their love and concern for their children's misbehavior or academic failure. Korean children tend to believe that their misconduct and low academic achievement deserve parental physical punishment and feel guilty and ashamed when they are involved in child protection services. Such an excessive feeling of guilt and shame experienced by maltreated children in Korea is also consistent with the recent discussion about culturally specific adaptation of general strain theory (Agnew, 2015). Findings of this study support that there are cultural differences in the nature or source of strain as well as presentations of negative emotion between the U.S. and Korea.

Next, findings of the current study can contribute to a broader knowledge base of culturally competent social work policies and practices pertaining to maltreated children and/or delinquent youth involved in multiple child-serving systems. Cultural competence is essential for the effective social work practices in order to meet the needs of an

increasingly diverse U.S. population (National Association of Social Workers, 2015).

Although this study provides no direct implications for policy and practice, it can provide opportunities for policy makers, professionals, and scholars to reflect back on the existing theories, policies, and services related to maltreated children at risk for delinquency or who are already engaged in delinquency.

Attention to variations in understanding risks for maltreated children's delinquency across cultural groups is important for the design of culturally sensitive preventive interventions. Understanding the similar and culturally specific meanings of risks for delinquency in maltreated children across cultures can stimulate thoughts about how professionals might enhance their own culturally-sensitive practices in preventing maltreated children with diverse cultural backgrounds from becoming involved with the juvenile justice system. For example, this study described common and culturally unique risk factors for delinquency between the U.S. and Korea and its meanings in their respective sociocultural context. In-depth understandings of such culturally specific information provided by this study can help professionals guard against stereotypes or false assumptions toward certain groups of individuals who have different cultural backgrounds from the professionals. Understanding cultural roots and beliefs about social justification for physical punishment and maltreated children's internal attribution of their abusive parents to themselves in Korea can help U.S. professionals increase sensitivity to various presentations of instability and insecurity experienced by those children and thus provide early interventions that prevent their delinquency. Yet caution is needed because part of such understanding may include a risk of generating stereotypes that, for example,

Korean parents are more likely to abuse their children physically and thus professionals become more responsive for reporting Korean parents.

In addition, this study indicates that part of the source of parents' mistrust and resistance to systems' interventions derive from a lack of understanding the newly implemented child protection policies and services. This implies that professionals play an important role in helping parents understand and navigate the laws and systems related to the consequences of their continuing actions. For Korean professionals, although racial disproportionality and disparities are not a pressing issue, a sense of awareness of contributors, (i.e., poverty, single parenthood, and parental incarceration), to racial disproportionality and disparity learned from U.S. professionals may foster critical awareness of less biased attitudes to avoid risk of unnecessary involvement with the system for children with multiple vulnerabilities.

Lastly, this study has implications for future research. Consistent with the existing literature (Jonson-Reid, Drake & Kohl, 2009; Marshall & Haight, 2014; Haight et al., 2014; Wulczyn, 2009), findings from both quantitative and qualitative studies suggest that many issues experienced by maltreated youth can intersect, (e.g., race, poverty, and disability). Risks for delinquency among maltreated youth may not be as simple as causal or even bidirectional. Future research should consider complex statistical designs to investigate the multidirectional or compounding effects of risks for delinquency among maltreated children. In addition, this study mainly focused on risk factors through the perspectives and experiences of professionals. Much more attention, however, is needed to investigate protective factors and to understand the meanings and experiences of

maltreated children and their parents for a complete account of pathways from child maltreatment to delinquency in various cultural contexts.

Conclusion

This cross-cultural study utilized both quantitative and qualitative studies to provide rich and comprehensive cultural perspectives on risks for maltreated children's involvement in delinquency between the U.S. and Korea. Examinations of common, yet culturally nuanced and unique risk factors from the different research methods highlighted variations in our understanding of maltreated children who engage in delinquency and such differences are deeply rooted in their particular social, cultural, and practice contexts. The involvement of maltreated youth in the juvenile justice system is an international public health concern. Social work professionals increasingly encounter children and families from immigrant and refugee communities with different cultural understandings of problem solving and strategies for maltreated children at risk for delinquency. Findings of the current study can sensitize social work professionals providing services to maltreated children from diverse cultural communities to prevent those children from becoming involved in delinquency by providing culturally tailored services.

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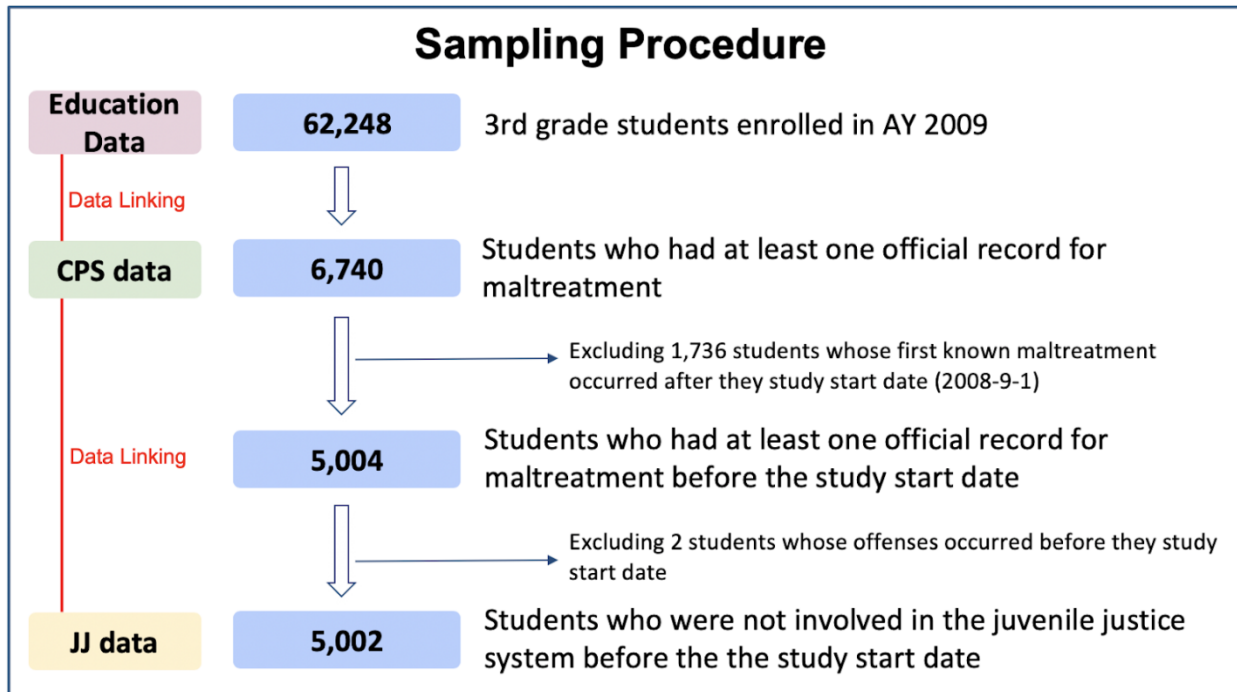
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Appendix 1: Sensitivity Analysis

	Main Analysis				Sensitivity Analysis			
	Early Adolescence (N=5,002)				Early Adolescence (N=5,002)			
	B	S.E.	Exp (b)		B	S.E.	Exp (b)	
Substantiation: Yes					-0.04	0.14	0.96	
Gender: Male	0.62	***	0.13	1.87	0.62	***	0.13	1.87
Race (Reference: White)								
Asian	-0.49		0.58	0.61	-0.49		0.58	0.61
Black	0.59	***	0.14	1.8	0.59	***	0.15	1.81
Hispanic	0.55	*	0.23	1.73	0.55	*	0.23	1.74
Native	0.85	***	0.19	2.34	0.85	***	0.19	2.34
Socioeconomic Status (FRL): Yes	0.25	.	0.15	1.29	-0.25	.	0.15	0.78
Special Education (IEP): Yes	-0.03		0.17	0.97	-0.03		0.17	0.97
Emotional/Behavioral Disorders: Yes	0.67	**	0.21	1.96	-0.67	**	0.21	0.51
Attendance Rate	-0.55		1.64	0.58	-0.54		0.64	0.58
Academic Achievement								
Reading Score	-0.01		0.01	0.99	-0.01		0.04	0.97
Math Score	0		0.01	0.99	-0.01		0.01	0.99
Out-of-school Suspension: Yes	0.42	*	0.2	1.53	0.43	*	0.19	1.53
Age at the first CPS	0.34		0.03	1.04	0.03		0.03	1.04
Number of Previous CPS: >3	0.7	***	0.14	2.02	-0.71	***	0.14	0.49
Out-of-home Placement: Yes	0.03		0.15	1.03	0.04		0.16	1.05

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Appendix 2: Sampling Procedure



Appendix 3: Interview Consent Form (English)

CONSENT FORM

Study Title: Cultural Perspectives on Maltreated Youth who Engage in Delinquency in the U.S. and South Korea

You are invited to be in a study of cultural perspectives of maltreated youth who become delinquents. You were selected as a possible participant because you are currently working with youth who were maltreated, engaged in delinquency or both. I ask that you read this form and ask any questions you may have before agreeing to be in the study. This study is being conducted by: Minhae Cho, a doctoral student in Social Work at the University of Minnesota.

The Purpose of This Study:

The purpose of this study is to explore U.S. and Korean professionals' perspectives on maltreated children who move towards delinquency.

Procedures:

If you agree to be in this study, you will be involved in a 60 to 90 minute faced-to-face individual interview at the time of your convenience. The conversation between you and the interviewer during the interview will be audio-recorded.

Compensation:

You will receive a \$20 gift card for this interview participation.

Confidentiality:

The records of this study will be kept private. Your record for the study may, however, be reviewed by departments at the University with appropriate regulatory oversight. I will not include any information in publications or presentations that will make it possible to identify you. Study data will be encrypted according to current University policy for the protection of confidentiality and be stored securely.

Voluntary Nature of the Study:

Participation in this study is completely voluntary. Your decision whether to participate will not affect your current or future relations with any student or faculty members of the University of Minnesota. If you decline to participate, you are free to not answer any question or withdraw at any time without affecting those relationships. You may choose not to answer any question or discontinue the interview any time during the course of the interview.

Contacts and Questions:

If you have questions about research appointments, the study, research results, or other concerns contact the researchers. You may ask any questions you have now, or if you have questions later, you are encouraged to contact:

Researcher Name: Minhae Cho
Phone Number: 612-707-6069
E-mail Address: choxx384@umn.edu

Researcher's advisor: Prof. Wendy Haight
Phone Number: 612-624-4721
E-mail Address: whaight@umn.edu

To share feedback **privately** about your research experience, including any concerns about the study, call the Research Participants Advocate Line: 612-625-1650 or give feedback online at www.irb.umn.edu/report.html. You may also contact the Human Research Protection Program in writing at D528 Mayo, 420 Delaware St. Southeast, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455.

You will be given a copy of this form to keep for your records.

Statement of Consent:

I have read the above information. I have asked questions and have received answers. I consent to participate in the study.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Signature of Investigator: _____ Date: _____

Appendix 4: Interview Consent Form (Korean)

연구참여 동의서

연구제목: 학대아동의 비행에 관한 한국과 미국의 문화적 시각

귀하는 학대아동의 비행에 관한 문화적인 시각에 대한 연구에 초대되었습니다. 귀하가 본 연구에 최대된 이유는 현재 학대아동이나 비행아동들을 위해 일하고 있기 때문입니다. 연구 참여 여부를 결정하시기 전에 다음의 정보를 읽고, 질문이 있으실 경우 연구 진행자에게 질문해주시기 바랍니다. 이 연구는 미네소타 대학교 사회사업학과에 재학 중인 박사생인 조민혜에 의해 진행됩니다.

연구의 목적:

이 연구의 목적은 한국과 미국의 전문가들의 학대경험이 있는 아동들의 비행에 대한 시각에 대해서 알아보고자 하는 것입니다.

과정:

본 연구에 참여하기로 동의하셨다면, 귀하는 귀하가 원하는 장소에서 60-90 분 정도 소요되는 면대면 인터뷰에 참여하게 됩니다. 인터뷰동안의 귀하와 연구자 간의 대화는 음성녹음될 것입니다.

보상:

연구 참여에 대한 감사의 표시로, 인터뷰 참여 후 2 만원 상당의 문화 상품권을 받게 됩니다.

비밀보장:

본 연구를 통해 수집되는 모든 정보와 기록은 비밀로 유지됩니다. 그러나 귀하의 정보는 적절한 규제 감독하에 대학의 부서에 의해 검토될 수 있습니다. 연구자는 연구결과를 출간하거나 발표하게 될 경우 귀하의 개인 정보는 포함시키지 않을 것입니다. 연구 관련 정보는 현재 미네소타 대학교의 연구 참여자 비밀보장에 대한 정책에 따라 암호화 되고 안전하게 저장될 것입니다.

자발적 연구 참여:

본 연구에 대한 참여는 귀하의 완전한 자발적 동의하에 이루어질 것입니다. 연구에 참여할 것인지에 대한 귀하의 결정은 현재 혹은 미래에 귀하여 미네소타 대학교의 교수진이나 학생들과의 관계에 영향을 미치지 않을 것입니다. 만약 귀하가 연구 참여를 거절하신다면 그 어떤 질문에 응답하지 않으셔도 되며, 연구 참여의 어느 시점에서나 귀하의 연구참여 결정을 철회할 수 있습니다. 인터뷰 도중에 언제든지 인터뷰를 중단하실 수 있고, 대답을 원치 않으시는 질문을 선택하실 수 있습니다.

연락처 및 문의사항:

이 글을 읽고 계신 지금, 연구나 연구 결과 혹은 어떤 우려나 질문이 있으실 경우에는 주저마시고 연구자에게 연락주시기 바랍니다. 추후 질문이 있으실 경우에는 아래의 연구자의 연락처로 연락주시기 바랍니다.

연구자: 조민혜

핸드폰: 010-3211-2588

E-mail: choxx384@umn.edu

연구자 지도교수: Wendy Haight

연구실 전화번호: (미국 국가번호: 1) 612-624-4721

E-mail: whaight@umn.edu

연구에 대한 질문이나 기타 우려사항을 포함한 귀하의 연구 경험을 개인적으로 공유하고 싶으신 경우에는 아래 연구 참여자 보호센터로 연락하시기 바랍니다.

Human Research Protection Program

센터 전화번호: (미국 국가번호: 1) 612-625-1650

웹사이트: www.irb.umn.edu/report.html

주소: D528 Mayo, 420 Delaware St. Southeast, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455

귀하께 본 연구 동의서 사본을 제공할 것입니다.

연구 동의 진술:

본인은 위의 정보를 숙지하였습니다. 본 연구와 관련된 질문을 하였고, 그에 대한 설명을 들었습니다. 본인은 이 연구에 참여할 것입니다.

서명: _____ 날짜: _____

연구 진행자 서명: _____ 날짜: _____

Appendix 5: Interview Protocol (English)

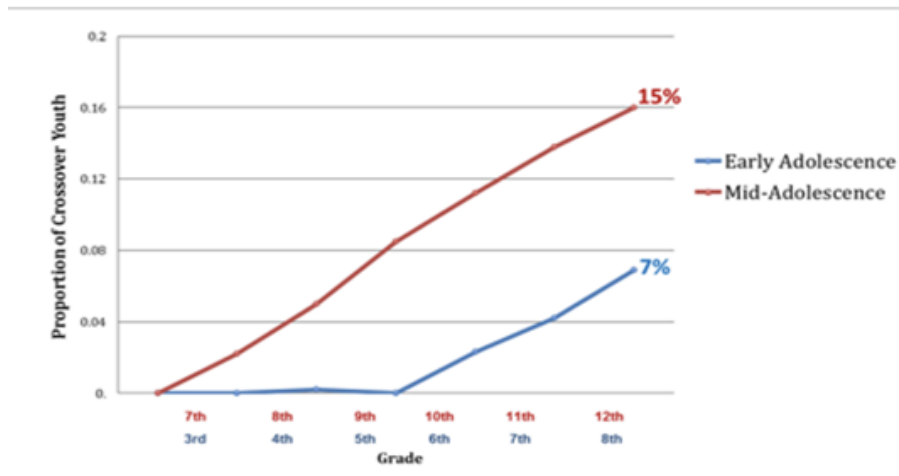
Many youth with maltreatment histories become delinquents even though there are still a substantial number of maltreated youth who do not go on to commit delinquency. I am interested in learning your experiences with those youth.
May I begin the audio-recording?

Introducing dissertation research:

Using statewide administrative data from education, child welfare, and juvenile justice systems, we studied delinquency trajectories and factors related to the risk of delinquency for maltreated youth. We selected 2 groups of maltreated youth and followed them for six years to examine their first involvement in the juvenile justice system. We refer to the first group as the early adolescence following them from 3rd grade through 8th grade. We also followed the second group from 7th grade through 12th. We refer to them as the mid-adolescence.

Do you have any questions?

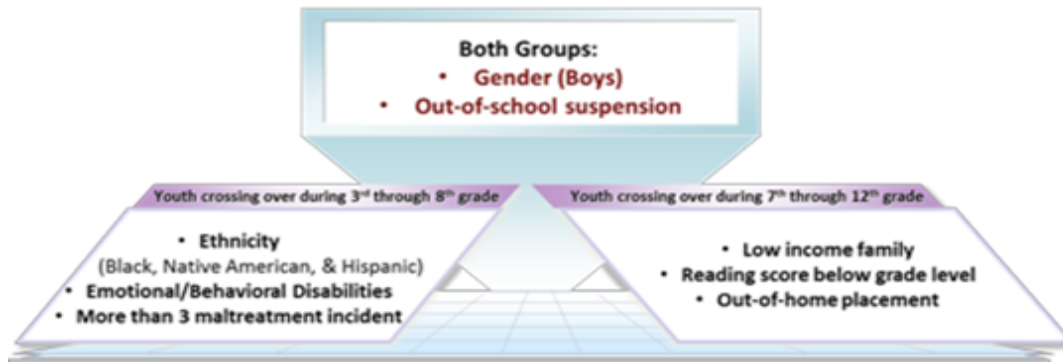
Delinquency Trajectories



From this, you found that for the 6-year study period, approximately 7% of maltreated youth in early adolescence crossed over for the first time during 3rd grade through 8th grade and 15% of maltreated youth in mid-adolescence crossed over for the first time during 7th grade through 12th grade.

Does this make sense to you?

Risk Factors For Crossing Over



We also identify similar and distinct factors associated with the risk of delinquency between youth in the early and mid-adolescence. As you can see in this figure, boys and youth with out-of-school suspension were more likely to engage in delinquency in both groups.

For the maltreated younger youth, ethnicity and gender are important. In addition, Black, Hispanic, & Native American youth with emotional/behavioral disorders and more than three previous maltreatment incidents were significant predictors for maltreated youth crossed over during 3rd and 8th grade crossing over for the first time.

For the older maltreated youth crossed over for the first time during 8th grade and 12th grade, ethnicity and gender are important. In addition, socioeconomic status, academic achievement and out-of-home placement experience are important predictors for crossing over. In other words, youth from low-income families, with reading score below grade level and out-of-home placement history were more likely to become delinquents.

We cannot conclude that factors found to be associated with the risk of delinquency in one cohort do not impact the other cohort at all. Rather, such findings indicate a need to understand the unique experiences of maltreated youth crossing over at different timing of development.

Are these findings consistent with your experience with those youth?

1. How would you interpret these findings?
2. Are there additional risk factors you think that are important to explain maltreated youth who become delinquent? Could you please describe one or two illustrative cases regarding those factors?
3. Are there any protective factors you have observed that can interrupt the pathways from maltreatment to delinquency?
4. What are the implications of this study for your work?

5. Please describe one or two of the most important programs and policies you would like to see put into place in order to interrupt the pathways through which maltreated youth move towards delinquency.

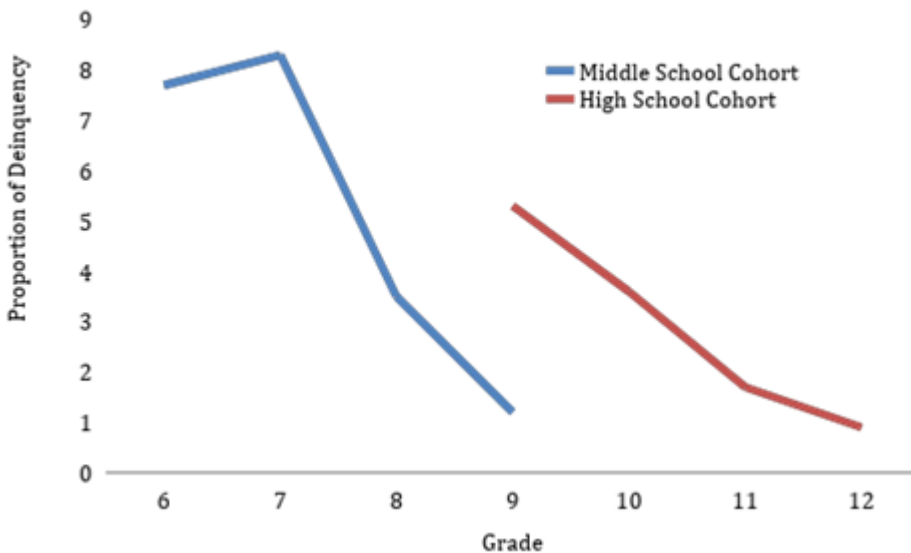
Appendix 6: Interview Protocol (Korean)

학대경험이 있는 아동들은, 범죄나 심리정서 문제 등의, 여러가지 발달상의 문제를 경험할 위험이 높습니다. 실제로 미국에서는 많은 학대아동들이 범죄를 저지를 확률이 높은 것으로 보고되고 있습니다. 한국에서는 학대받은 아동들이나 비행 혹은 범죄 청소년들의 특성이 어떤지 선생님의 경험을 통해서 배우고자 합니다.

음성 녹음을 시작해도 될까요?

연구결과 소개:

한국아동청소년 패널데이터를 사용하여, 그들의 비행행동에 영향을 끼치는 요인이 무엇인가에 대해 연구한 결과, 다음과 같은 결과를 얻었습니다. 연령별로 다른 요인들이 작용할 것으로 생각되어, 초기/중기 두개의 청소년 집단을 선정하여 4년동안 비행행동을 한 청소년이 몇명인지 조사해 본 결과, 6학년부터 중학교 3학년 - 4년 동안 2,275 명의 청소년 중 19% (430 명)의 청소년들이 비행행동을 한 것으로 나타났습니다. 중학교 3학년부터 고등학교 3학년 - 4년동안 2,272 명의 청소년 중 11% (224 명)의 청소년들이 비행행동을 한 것으로 나타났습니다.

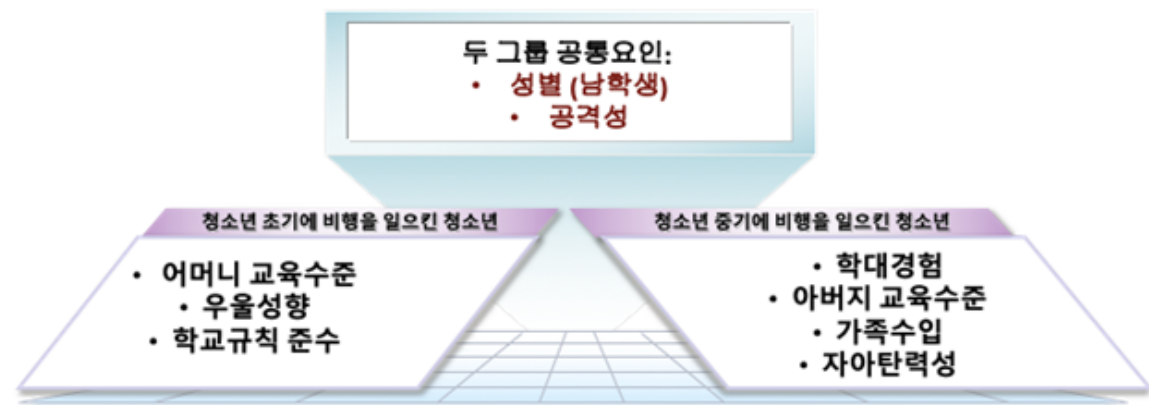


이 결과에 의하면, 청소년들은 고등학생때보다 중학생인동안 더 비행을 하는 것으로 나타났는데, 선생님의 경험과 일치하는 결과라고 생각하시나요?
저는 또한 어떤 요인들이 비행행동에 영향을 미치는지 연구했습니다. 보시는 바와 같이 두 그룹 모두에서 남학생인 경우 그리고 공격성을 가진 청소년들은 비행을 저지를 확률이 높은 것으로 나타났습니다. 성별과 공격성과 함께 초기 청소년 즉, 6학년부터 중학교 3학년까지 비행행동을 보이는 경우에는 어머니의 교육수준,

청소년의 우울성향 그리고 학교규칙을 지키는 정도에 따라 비행행동에 영향을 미치는 것으로 나타났습니다.

중학교 3학년 부터 고등학교 3학년 까지 중기 청소년기에 비행을 저지르는 경우에는 성별과 공격성과 함께 학대경험, 아버지의 교육수준 그리고 가족의 수입 정도와 자아 탄력성 즉, 주어진 상황을 객관적이고 긍정적으로 생각하고 문제를 해결하는 능력의 정도가 비행에 영향을 미치는 것으로 나타났습니다. 선생님의 경험을 토대로 봤을 때, 이 결과가 선생님의 경험과 일치한다고 생각하시나요?

비행과 관련된 위험요인



1. 선생님께서는 이 연구결과를 어떻게 해석하고 싶으신가요?
2. 선생님께서 생각하시기에 이 연구결과에서 나타나는 요인들 외에 다른 중요한 요인들이 있다고 생각하십니까? 그러한 요인에 대한 구체적인 사례를 바탕으로 설명해주실 수 있을까요?
3. 학대아동들이 비행을 저지르는 경로를 예방할 수 있는 보호요인들에는 어떤 것들이 있다고 생각하십니까?
4. 이러한 연구결과가 선생님의 업무에 어떤 영향을 미칠 수 있을까요?
5. 선생님께서 생각하시기에 학대아동들이 비행을 저지르는 것을 예방하기 위해 가장 중요한 프로그램이나 정책에는 어떤 것들이 있다고 생각하십니까?