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Parental abductions in the context of legal, familial, social and cultural variables

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Parental abductions in the context of legal, familial, social and cultural variables

Carmody, Dianne Cyr, Ph.D.

University of New Hampshire, 1991

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PARENTAL ABDUCTIONS IN THE CONTEXT OF
LEGAL, FAMILIAL, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL VARIABLES

BY

DIANNE CYR CARMODY

DISSERTATION

Submitted to the University of New Hampshire
in Partial Fulfillment of
the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Sociology

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This dissertation has been examined and approved.



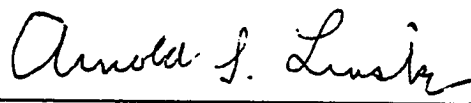
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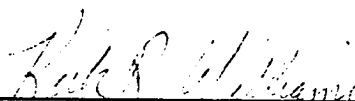
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March 6, 1991
Date

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Dianne Cyr Carmody

DEDICATION

For Bill and Erin

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Throughout my graduate career, I have been fortunate to have supportive and knowledgeable faculty mentors. Murray Straus has freely given of his time and expertise during my years at the University of New Hampshire. He introduced me to social science research and encouraged me to continue my work in this area. Murray has served as chair of both my thesis and dissertation committees. His guidance and support has been invaluable.

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development would be difficult to overstate. During my master's research, Kirk directed and advised me a great deal. It is with him that I coauthored my first professional publication, a landmark event in all graduate students' lives. Kirk also encouraged me to attend professional meetings, knowing that the contacts made there would be invaluable. When Kirk moved to the University of Colorado during the summer of 1990, he continued to review my work. I look forward to continued collaboration and friendship with Kirk for many years.

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ABSTRACT

PARENTAL ABDUCTIONS IN THE CONTEXT OF
LEGAL, FAMILIAL, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL VARIABLES

by

Dianne Cyr Carmody
University of New Hampshire, May, 1991

It is only in the last two decades that parental abduction has become recognized as a social problem of significant magnitude. In the current study, data from the National Incidence Studies of Missing, Abducted, Runaway and Thrownaway Children (Finkelhor, et.al, 1990) are used to explore the characteristics of victims, perpetrators and episodes of parental abduction. Next, a state-level analysis examines the relationship between various social, legal, familial and cultural variables and rates of parental abduction. Data from the National Center on Missing and Exploited Children provided the dependent variable for the state-level analyses. State rates of parental abduction appear to be related to divorce rates, the status of children in legal and social arenas, and the cultural approval of male aggression. The legal classification of parental abduction as a misdemeanor or felony did not have a strong relationship with incidence rates.

Finally, a factor analysis was done involving state rates of parental abduction and crime rates using the F.B.I.'s index

crimes (homicide, robbery, burglary, rape, motor vehicle theft, aggravated assault). This explored the appropriate classification of parental abduction as a crime. Parental abduction shared a factor with rape and larceny theft, suggesting similarities exist between these offenses. Findings are discussed and policy implications are offered.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Parental child stealing, the abduction of a child by one parent from another, was not considered a widespread social problem prior to 1970. In the past two decades, the perceptions of many professionals and members of the general public have changed. Some researchers argue that child stealing of the 1980's is what wife and child abuse were to the 1960's and 1970's: a taboo topic, regarded as a private family matter rather than a serious social and legal problem (Abrahms, 1983).

In order to better understand this issue, the present study explores parental abduction rates and their relationship with a variety of familial, legal, social and cultural measures. Following a review of past research concerning the incidence and dynamics of parental abductions, state-to-state differences on a variety of socio-cultural characteristics were examined in an attempt to explain variations in the rate of parental abductions.

The crime of family abduction has been ignored by researchers and policymakers until relatively recently. The high incidence rates were not realized and very little was written on the problem, its causes, or its impact on the victims and society in general. The pursuit of

exploratory research on this issue is necessary in order to better understand, and perhaps prevent, parental abductions.

In order to estimate the incidence of a crime, researchers tend to use one of the following techniques: random surveys which yield self reports of involvement in the crime, or statistics based on the number of crimes which come to the attention of official sources. The current research utilized data of both types.

The recently released National Incidence Study on Missing, Abducted, Runaway and Thrownaway Children (NISMAART) provides data from a nationally representative telephone survey of 34,822 households. It offers the most reliable incidence estimates to date, stating that there were 354,100 "broad scope" and 163,200 "policy focal" family abductions in the United States in 1988 (Finkelhor et. al, 1990).

The current study also examines data from the National Center on Missing and Exploited Children (NCMEC). The NCMEC was established in 1984 to assist in the location of missing children. It has a national toll-free hotline which parents may call to report a missing child. Data from NCMEC represent a reporting rate for parental abductions. In the following section, a review of research on parental abductions is provided. At several points, data from the NISMAART survey and NCMEC reporting center are compared.

DEFINING PARENTAL ABDUCTION

Because research on parental abduction is in its early stages, social scientists have not yet agreed on one consistent definition of the problem. For this reason, a variety of definitions can be found in the literature on this topic. Terms like "parental kidnapping", "parental abduction", "child-snatching", and "child-stealing" are often used interchangeably with no real consensus that they all refer to the same phenomenon.

Both NISMART and NCMEC definitions include abductions perpetrated by or on behalf of a family member in their definition of the problem. Finkelhor et al. (1990) define family members as someone who is

- "1. related to the child by blood, or
2. currently or formerly related to the child by law, or
3. a current or former paramour of the child's parent/guardian, or
4. acting as the agent of or together with a person who qualifies as a family member under (1), (2), or (3)." (p.8)

It is important to note that under both NISMART and NCMEC definitions, family abductions can be carried out by a custodial or noncustodial parent. While the image of the noncustodial parent taking or refusing to return a child most frequently comes to mind, situations where custodial parents deny visitation to noncustodial parents in violation of a custody order may also qualify as custodial

interference or abductions. In the following narrative, a noncustodial father describes such a situation:

"[child] was staying with me. I only saw [child's mother] when the check was due, it was the only time her mother came near me. When I went to get [child] she wouldn't give her to me. She wanted more money for drugs, threatened to deny me [child]. She kept her for 6 weeks. [child] was happy to be with her mother. She takes her shopping and to motels to swim in the pool. I don't like [child] seeing her mother like this, taking drugs, cocaine and she shouldn't be involved in adult affairs. I'm afraid [child] will start on drugs, seeing her mother too much. [child] loves her very much. [Mother] is on the run from the police for selling cocaine and also child abuse." (NISMART policy focal case #1038272-03-01-01)

Another challenge related to the definition of parental abduction concerns the fact that NISMART data are based on self reports of one of the parties involved in the situation. What one parent calls kidnapping may be defined as a minor disagreement by the other parent. Because the NISMART data do not include the results of police investigations, it is impossible to know how many of these cases would qualify as criminal acts under legal standards.

Conversely, cases reported to NCMEC are confirmed through FBI's National Crime Information Computer (NCIC). When a cases is reported to NCMEC, specific aspects of the episode are verified through NCIC. Cases are originally reported to NCIC by a law enforcement agency. This verification strengthens the validity of NCMEC data, since all active NCMEC cases have also been reported to local police officials and the NCIC.

In an effort to separate less serious cases from those

which policy makers would consider serious offenses, the NISMART (Finkelhor et al., 1990) study identifies two main categories of family abductions: broad scope and policy focal. Those cases which qualified as broad scope family abductions met one of the two following criteria:

1. Child was taken by a family member in violation of a custody agreement or decree.
2. Child was not returned or given over by a family member and child was away at least overnight in violation of a custody agreement or decree.

An example of a NISMART broad scope case follows:

"He didn't have visitation rights. Children were staying at [maternal grandmother's] house. Father went there in the afternoon and took them without [grandmother's] permission. He wanted to see them. He had every right to see them. Children were very upset and worried about their [mother], what she would think about their being gone. He kept them overnight."
(NISMART broad scope case #1108877-01-02-01)

Cases defined as Policy Focal in the NISMART studies were a subset of the Broad Scope cases which also met one of three additional conditions:

1. An attempt is made to conceal the taking or the whereabouts of the child and to prevent contact with the child; or
2. The child is transported out of state; or
3. There is evidence that the abductor had the intent to keep the child indefinitely or permanently affect custodial privileges.

An example of a policy focal case is provided by this mother of several children:

"It took place on a Sunday. He had come to my house because it was our oldest daughter's fifth birthday. When he came in the door he said he was taking the children and I said "over my dead body". He said that can be arranged. He took the kids and left. He told them I was in the hospital all bloody. It lasted for 7 days. The children are okay" (NISMART policy focal case #1066075-01-01-01).

Policy focal cases are limited to situations where an attempt is made to conceal the child, prevent contact, or permanently affect the custody arrangement. If the episode involves the taking of a child, it can be classified as policy focal even if it only lasts a short time, as long as one of the above criteria are met. On the other hand, if the case involves the failure to return a child after a visitation, the child must be missing at least overnight and meet the above criteria in order to be counted as policy focal under NISMART's definition.

The NISMART breakdown of cases into broad scope and policy focal categories serves to ease interpretations of findings and explore policy implications. But this delineation of cases may also lead the reader to discount cases which fail to qualify as either broad scope or policy focal. These episodes of custodial interference are not trivial or unimportant. The following case falls in this custodial interference category:

"I was visiting with a friend. [Father] found out where I was and came crashing through the door, yelling and calling me names, asking the kids if I had been sleeping with anyone. He grabbed [male child] and called [female child] and said "we're leaving". The children were crying hysterically. I called the sheriff and they got there quickly. He didn't leave.

He frightened them badly. He made no attempt to see them since. We had a court order the day of the incident. He scared them to death. They don't care if they ever see him again" (NISMART custodial interference case #1054121-01-02-01).

This case illustrates the violence and anger which can be associated with custody disputes. While the above case does not qualify as either a broad scope or policy focal abduction under NISMART criteria, it is clear that the mother and children involved in the episode considered it a traumatic experience. While many studies (including the current one) focus on the more "serious" cases of abduction, the reader is reminded that cases in the custodial interference category are also important.

Having said this, the current research limits its use of NISMART data to only the cases which qualified as broad scope or policy focal. This selection was based on the desire to achieve some measure of comparability with other data sets, especially those from the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children (NCMEC). Because NCMEC data are comprised of cases reported to the national hotline which verifies its information with the FBI's National Crime Information Computer, such cases are serious in nature. Parents who call NCMEC have often been in touch with the police and attorneys. They are not involved in short-term, trivial custody disputes.

Because the NISMART definitions of broad scope and policy focal abductions select only the most serious cases,

these cases should most closely resemble those used by NCMEC. While the data provided by NISMART and NCMEC are likely to differ significantly, characteristics of these groups will be compared with findings with previous research in an effort to gain a better understanding of parental abduction, the victims and the perpetrators.

PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON PARENTAL ABDUCTIONS

Incidence Estimates

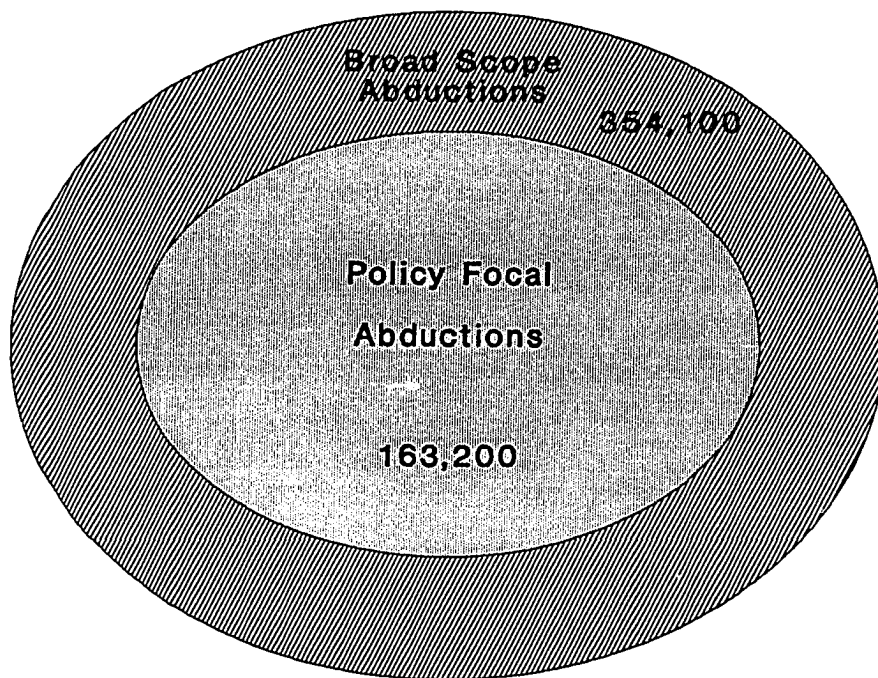
The field of parental abduction has not received much attention from researchers until recently (Finkelhor et. al, 1990; Agopian, 1981; Demeter, 1977). Most studies have utilized small, unrepresentative samples, and yielded widely varying estimates of the incidence of parental abductions. The often quoted estimate of 25,000 to 100,000 children abducted annually is merely a guess originating with founders of Children's Rights, Inc., an organization which assisted parents left behind.

Gelles (1984) conducted a telephone survey of 3,745 households and asked if the respondent had either direct or indirect involvement with a parental kidnapping during the previous year. Gelles defines parental kidnapping as "when a parent takes, restrains, or does not return a child under the age of fourteen after a visit, and keeps the child concealed so that the other parent does not know where the child is" (Gelles, 1984; p 736). Respondents were asked if they knew

of an instance of parental kidnapping that had occurred in their families or the families of people they personally knew in the last twelve months. On the basis of this survey, Gelles estimated the annual incidence of parental kidnapping as between 491,000 and 751,000. Because the methodology allows a given case to be counted more than once, Gelles probably overestimates the actual occurrence of this offense.

Based on a national survey, NISMART provides the most methodologically sound incidence estimates available to date. Figure 1 shows that 354,100 broad scope and 163,200 policy focal cases were estimated by NISMART for 1988.

Figure 1. Family Abduction Incidence: National Incidence Studies of Missing, Abducted, Runaway, and Thrownaway Children, 1988



CHARACTERISTICS OF CHILDREN INVOLVED IN PARENTAL ABDUCTIONS

Age

While children of all age groups appear to be at risk, Table 1 shows that younger children are most likely to be the victims of parental abduction. The NISMART study and the NCMEC data both show that children between the ages of two and nine are at higher risk of abductions by parents. Those over the age of fourteen were the least likely to be victimized in this way. Compared with the NISMART age distribution, the NCMEC data do show a higher percentage of reported cases among the younger children, especially the 4-5 year olds. The chi-square statistic shows that the age distribution of the NISMART, NCMEC and US Population are all quite different. At this point it is important to remind the reader that the NISMART and NCMEC data are expected to be dissimilar. NISMART was designed to yield a national estimate of parental abductions while the NCMEC data is limited to those cases which are reported to the national hotline. Since the NCMEC data is a reporting rate, it seems appropriate that more reports would be received for younger children. Aggrieved parents may be more alarmed when a young child is taken, as compared to the same situation involving an adolescent. The higher rates reflected in NCMEC data may therefore be a result of the degree of concern elicited by the disappearance of especially young children.

Table 1: Age and Sex of Children Involved in Parental Abduction

	NISMART Parental Abduction N=142	NCMEC Parental Abduction N=1566	U.S. Population ^a
<u>AGE OF CHILD</u>			
0-1	6% ^b	7%	10%
2-3	18%	22%	11%
4-5	15%	24%	11%
6-7	13%	16%	11%
8-9	15%	12%	10%
10-11	14%	9%	10%
12-13	10%	6%	10%
14-15	7%	3%	10%
16-17	1%	1%	16%
	NISMART:NCMEC Chi-square=16.52, df=8, P<=.05		
	NISMART:US POPULATION Chi-square=29.25, df=8, P<=.005		
	NCMEC:US POPULATION Chi-square=604.73, df=8, P<=.005		
<u>SEX OF CHILD</u>			
Male	58%	52%	51%
Female	42%	48%	49%
	NISMART:NCMEC Chi-square=1.97, df=1, P<=.25		
	NISMART:US POPULATION Chi-square=2.30, df=1, P<=.25		
	NCMEC:US POPULATION Chi-square=0.54, df=1, P<=.90		

^aU.S. Population figures are calculated from the NISMART Household Survey, not U.S. Census.
^bBased on fewer than 10 cases.

Agopian (1981) reports similar patterns in a study of all insert table 1 here: Age and sex of children involved in parental abduction cases screened for prosecution in Los Angeles County during the year July, 1977 to June, 1978. Agopian reports that 82% of the cases he studied involved children between three and eleven years of age. He suggests that while children under three pose logistical problems for an abducting parent, adolescents may be "too self sufficient for a parent seeking to conceal their whereabouts" (pp 65-66). The level of emotional maturity and relative physical size of children in this age group may account for their lower rate of victimization. It would be more difficult to forcibly detain or move an unwilling adolescent than a smaller, younger child. Also, older children would be more likely to verbalize their wishes in terms of custody, and if their choices were respected by their parents, abductions may be averted.

Table 1 shows a small discrepancy between the NISMART and NCMEC data concerning the sex of the abducted children. The chi-square test shows that this difference is not statistically significant.

Race and Region

Table two shows that both the NISMART and NCMEC studies reflect an underrepresentation of Hispanic children, when compared with their relative proportion in the general population. The NCMEC data also include a smaller insert

Table 2: Race and Census Region of Children Involved in Parental Abduction

	NISMART Parental Abduction N=142	NCMEC Parental Abduction N=1566	U.S. Population
<u>RACE OF CHILD</u>			
White	80%	84%	71%
Black	17%	7%	15%
Hispanic	3%	6%	11%
Other	0%	3%	3%
<p>NISMART:NCMEC Chi-square=23.15, df=3, P<=.005 NISMART:US POPULATION Chi-square=13.99, df=3, P<=.005 NCMEC: US POPULATION Chi-square=102.8, df=3, P<=.005</p>			
<u>REGION^a</u>			
Northeast	17%	15%	19%
Midwest	11%	19%	25%
South	50%	35%	35%
West	22%	31%	21%
<p>NISMART:NCMEC Chi-square=16.45, df=3, P<=.005 NISMART:US POPULATION Chi-square=20.58, df=3, P<=.005 NCMEC: US POPULATION Chi-square=91.21, df=3, P<=.005</p>			
<p>^aNortheast: ME, NH, VT, MA, RI, CT, NY, NJ, PA Midwest: OH, IN, IL, MI, WI, MN, IA, MO, ND, SD, NE, KS South: DE, MD, DC, VA, WV, NC, SC, GA, FL, KY, TN, AL, MS, AR, LA, OK, TX West: MT, ID, WY, CO, NM, AZ, UT, NV, WA, OR, CA, AK, HI</p>			

proportion of Black children than expected. Both data sets show that the majority of parental abduction cases involve Whites. The underrepresentation of Blacks and Hispanics may reflect a more traditional view of gender responsibilities. Whereas White men may be more likely to view caretaking as a desired responsibility, perhaps Black and Hispanic men tend to accept the preference for women as primary parents. The chi-square tests show that both the NISMART and NCMEC distributions for race differ significantly from the U.S. Population figures. It also shows that the NCMEC overrepresentation of Whites is significantly different from the NISMART estimate. Whites appear to be more willing to involve outside agencies in cases of parental abduction.

Table 2 also shows a dramatic difference in parental abduction episode rates among the four census regions. More than half of the cases in the NISMART study occurred in the south. Conversely, the Northeast and Midwest ranked disproportionately lower in parental abduction. The NCMEC data reflect a similar pattern, although the overrepresentation of Southern states is less pronounced in the NCMEC data. Chi-square tests show that the difference between the NCMEC and NISMART distributions is statistically significant. At this point, the reason for this finding is unclear.

Income and Community Type

Table 3 shows the income of children involved in

Table 3 : NISMART Estimates of Household Income, and Type of Community of Children Involved in Parental Abduction Cases (adopted from Finkelhor, et al., 1990)

	Parental Abduction N=142	U.S. Population ^a
INCOME		
<\$10,000	19%	14%
\$10,000-\$20,000	20%	20%
\$20,000-\$30,000	26%	25%
\$30,000-\$40,000	13%	19%
\$40,000+	20%	22%
Chi-square=1.126, df=4, P<= .90		
COMMUNITY TYPE		
Large City	21%	18%
Suburb	15%	18%
Large Town (25-100,000)	17%	18%
Small Town (<25,000)	28%	27%
Rural Area	19%	19%
Chi-square=3.186, df=4, P<= .50		

^a U.S. Population figures are calculated from the Household Survey, not the U.S. Census.

parental abductions. It appears that families from all economic groups share this problem. Another study, conducted by Elliott (1982), revealed similar results. Based on 264 returns from a national survey, Elliott (1982) indicated that parental abductions happen across socioeconomic classes. His results mark families who have experienced this problem as a heterogeneous population. While children who resided in suburbs of large cities and towns with over 25,000 residents were slightly more likely to experience a parental abduction, this difference was small and did not differ greatly from the national population estimates calculated from the NISMART household survey.

CHARACTERISTICS OF PERPETRATORS

Perpetrators tended to be fairly young and male (Table 4). Over 75% of the abducting parents in the NISMART study were under the age of forty and the majority of the cases (73%) involved a male perpetrator. In Agopian's (1981) study in Los Angeles County, similar results were obtained. Agopian (1981) reported that 71% of the perpetrators in his study were male and most (73%) were under the age of 36. Given the long standing tradition of awarding custody to mothers, it is not surprising that most of the perpetrators are men. In fact, given the fact that only about 10% of custody awards are to men, it is interesting that the

Table 4: Age, Sex, and Race of Perpetrators of Parental Abduction (adopted from Finkelhor et al., 1990)

Parental Abduction (N=142)	
AGE	
30 or less	30%
31-40	46%
41 or older	14%
DK	10%
SEX	
Male	73%
Female	27%
RACE	
White	82%
Black	15%
Hispanic	2%*
Other	1%*

*based on fewer than 10 cases

percentage of male perpetrators isn't higher. Some cases do involve female perpetrators. Sometimes, this is a mother who refuses to allow her ex-husband to take the children for a court-approved visit. In this case, she is interfering in his custodial rights as a parent. Below is an example of another type of case involving a female perpetrator:

"[The mother] came and took [the children] out of the yard one day. She had no visitation rights, had a court order to stay away from them. They were gone for 3 days" (NISMART policy focal case #1111491-01-01-01).

Table 4 also outlines the racial composition of the perpetrator group. Agopian (1981) also reported that 68% of his sample included caucasian perpetrators.

Characteristics of the Episodes

Table 5 shows that episodes of parental abduction are most frequent during the summer months and between November and January. This pattern coincides with typical school vacations, and may be a reflection of the increased amount of time the child is available to spend with the noncustodial parent. Routine activities theory, introduced by Cohen and Felson (1979) would predict this pattern. The premise of this theory is that crimes are most likely to occur when three factors converge: 1) a likely offender; 2) a suitable target; and 3) an absence of a capable guardian. Certainly these three requirements would be fulfilled in a situation where a noncustodial parent refuses to return a child following a visitation.

Table 5: Month, Day, and Time of Parental Abduction Cases

	NISMART N=142	NCMEC N=1566
MONTH		
January	11%	9%
February	2% ^a	3%
March	9%	5%
April	7% ^a	3%
May	4% ^a	12%
June	7%	12%
July	12%	13%
August	23%	10%
September	9%	8%
October	6% ^a	8%
November	5% ^a	10%
December	6% ^a	7%
Chi-square=42.92, df=11, P<=.005		
DAY		
Weekday	22%	
Weekend	66%	
DK/NA	11%	
TIME OF DAY		
Morning	12%	
Afternoon	39%	
Evening	28%	
Night	11%	
DK/NA	10%	

More than half of the parental abduction episodes in the NISMART study were violations of a written custody order (Table 6). In 39% of the cases, the child was detained in violation of a mutual understanding between the parents. Table 7 shows that the majority of the children were kept for one week or less. It also shows, on the other hand, that 1% of the children were still missing at the time the NISMART interview was conducted. Earlier studies by Kiser (1987) and Agopian (1981) suggest that the recovery rate for abducted children is much lower. Agopian sets the estimate of recoveries at less than 50%, noting that the most frequent reason abductors are ever apprehended is some minor legal infraction, unrelated to the abduction, for which they happen to be caught. Freed (1982) stated that 7 of 10 children abducted by parents are never seen again by the parent left behind. And Duckworth (1980) estimated that only 10% of the children will ever be recovered. The discrepancy between these studies and the NISMART recovery rate of 99% may be due to several factors. First, NISMART is a nationally representative sample of abduction cases. Earlier studies focused on nonrepresentative samples. In some studies, such as Agopian (1981), samples were obtained through the criminal justice system, and therefore reflect cases which may be more severe than those which fail to draw the attention of the police. Also, the studies utilize various definitions for parental abduction. Cases which

Table 6: Parental Abduction Episode in Violation of Custody Order or Mutual Agreement (adopted from Finkelhor et al., 1990)

Type of Arrangement Violated	Parental Abduction
	N=142)

Written Custody Order	60%
Mutual Understanding, but not Written Custody Order	39%

Table 7: Length of Child's Absence in Parental Abduction Cases (adopted from Finkelhor et. al., 1990)

Length of Episode	Parental Abduction N=137
Less than 1 hour	4% ^a
2-6 hours	9%
8-24 hours	21%
2-6 days	28%
1 week	18%
More than 1 week, but less than 1 month	9%
1 month or more	9%
Not yet returned	1%*

*Based on fewer than 10 cases

qualify as parental abduction under the NISMART criteria may not be "severe" enough to be included in the earlier studies of parental abduction.

Table 8 reveals that in 40% of the abductions in the NISMART study the perpetrator attempted to permanently change the custody arrangements for the child. Thus, in some of these episodes do not appear to be impulsive acts by persons without a long term plan. Perpetrators were willing to go to a great deal of trouble and expense to conceal the child and/or prevent contact between the child and the aggrieved parent.

Table 9 shows that aggrieved parents in the NISMART study contacted the police in 44% of the parental abduction episodes. Once again, it is important to note that unlike NISMART, all NCMEC cases are known to law enforcement officials. Attorneys were called in half of the NISMART cases.

When the NISMART cases which were reported to the police are examined, it becomes clear that police response varied greatly. In more than half the cases, an officer was sent to the household, interviewed the respondent in person, and/or took a written report. Police got a photo of the missing child in only 24% of the cases.

Table 8: Actions Taken by Perpetrator During Parental Abduction Episodes (adopted from Finkelhor et. al., 1990)

Parental Abduction (N=142)	
Child taken out of state/country	9%
Tried to conceal removal/ location of child	33%
Tried to prevent telephone/ letter contact	41%
Made threats or demands	17%
Attempted to permanently affect custody	40%

Table 9: Involvement of Police and/or Attorney, Police Response, and Respondent Satisfaction in Parental Abduction Cases (adopted from Finkelhor et. al., 1990)

	Parental Abduction % ^a N=142
Police Contacted	44%
Attorney Contacted	50%
	% ^a N=55
POLICE RESPONSE	
Police took a report over the phone	25%
Police sent to the household or scene	54%
Police interviewed respondent in person	66%
Police took a written report at interview	62%
Police got a photo of the child(ren)	24%
Police referred the case to another agency	33%
Police did something else	48%
RESPONDENT SATISFACTION WITH POLICE RESPONSE	
Very satisfied	25%
Somewhat satisfied	17%
Somewhat dissatisfied	16%
Very dissatisfied	42%

^a Column does not sum to 100 because episodes could involve either, neither, or both actions.

The following NISMART case shows that the police involvement can help resolve the episode quickly.

"He was supposed to have [child] home at 5:00. He called and told me he wasn't bringing [child] home. I attempted to get [child] first, then I had to call the police. I met the police at my ex-husband's house and the police got [child] for me." (NISMART custodial interference case #1081991-02-01-01).

Respondent satisfaction with police response was divided. Table 10 shows that nearly half (42%) of those who called the police were very dissatisfied with police response. Because the perpetrator of the abduction was a parent, police may have minimized the severity of the crime. This would be extremely frustrating for a parent of an abducted child, especially if that parent suspected that the child was in danger of physical, sexual, or emotional harm.

Table 10 describes the effect abduction episodes have on their child victims. Fortunately, sexual and/or physical abuse was reported in only a small percentage of cases. But in 41% of the episodes, the children experienced some mental harm. It is not difficult to see why children might have an adverse reaction to such an experience. In some cases, the noncustodial parent takes the child suddenly and without warning. The child may be told that they are simply going on a trip. Or the child may be abducted from home or a schoolyard, physically grabbed and taken away. Some episodes involve the concealment of the child. And some children are moved from state to state, unable to reach the custodial parent for days or weeks.

Table 10: Impact of Episode on Victims of Parental Abduction (adopted from Finkelhor et. al., 1990)

Type of Harm	Parental Abduction
	N=142
Sexually abused during episode	<1% ^a
Physical abuse during episode	4% ^a
Mentally harmed by episode	
Serious	16%
Mild	15%
Minor	9%
None	54%
DK/NA	5% ^a
Child received counseling because of episode	13%

^aBased on fewer than 10 cases.

Agopian (1981) studied five children who had been the victim of a parental abduction. He concluded that the severity of harm suffered by the child was likely to be affected by "(1) the victim's age at the time of the abduction, (2) type of treatment accorded the victim by the offender, (3) the length of time that the victim is in the offender's control, (4) the victim's life-style and experiences while suppressed, and (5) the type of support and therapy provided the victim upon recovery."

Minkoff (in Gill,1981), a psychologist, stated: "Children have described their fears, sadness, loneliness, and hysteria upon realizing they were not being returned to their homes" and "Children have told me they begged, pleaded, and cried in an unsuccessful effort to persuade the kidnapping parent to return them..."(p.147). Gill reports that children who have been abducted lack trust and security, which could cause behavioral problems in school. Edwards (in Gill, 1981) saw the abduction of young children as being a break in the trust that children have in their parents, leading to confusion, guilt, and anger.

The traumatic impact of parental abduction on children has received little attention from researchers until relatively recently. Further research must be done in order to learn how best to minimize such harm, and help those who have been impacted by this experience.

A DESCRIPTION OF THIS RESEARCH

The NISMART (Finkelhor et al, 1990) national survey was used to provide the background characteristics of the victims and perpetrators of family abductions. Next, using data from the National Center on Missing and Exploited Children (NCMEC), parental abduction rates were calculated for each state to examine the relationship between child stealing and various familial, legal, social, and cultural variables.

In Chapter two, theoretical background is provided concerning the socio-cultural characteristics which may influence parental abduction. In Chapter Three, the measurement of predictor variables at the familial, legal, societal and cultural levels are discussed. Specific indicators in each group are described and the NCMEC data are described in more detail. Chapter four provides results from an analysis of the extent to which state to state differences in these socio-cultural variables are related to differences in the incidence of parental abduction. A summary of the findings and discussion of their implications for policy are found in Chapter five.

CHAPTER 2

SOCIO-CULTURAL CHARACTERISTICS AND PARENTAL ABDUCTION

Little substantive research has been done on parental abduction and the issue has not been extensively examined theoretically. In an attempt to apply social theory to the problem of parental abduction, several theories seem appropriate at this time. In this chapter, five theoretical approaches are examined: social disorganization, deterrence, Kiser's theory of immaturity and power, the status of children, family privacy, and the cultural acceptance of male violence.

SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION AND PARENTAL ABDUCTION

Proponents of social disorganization theory argue that deviant behavior and crime are likely to increase when the organization of a social system is disturbed during periods of rapid social change (Traub and Little, 1985). Rapid change leads to a disruption of the consensus of values and norms, causing traditional rules to no longer apply. This erosion of the effectiveness of institutional and informal social control mechanisms frees individuals to engage in deviant behavior.

This approach offers an interesting framework for exploring rates of parental abduction. In the past two or

three decades, the American family has undergone several major changes. The rate of women entering the workforce and the resulting demand for childcare outside the family unit, the increased mobility of the nation's workforce, and the rise in the rates of divorce and remarriage as well as changes in custody laws all indicate a period of rapid social change for the family. One might expect parental abduction rates to be higher in areas experiencing the greatest amount of social disorganization.

Researchers interested in social disorganization often include the divorce rate as a measure of disorganization. This measure is especially relevant when studying parental abductions. Whenever a marriage with children is threatened, abduction of the children is an option for one or both of the parents. In 1988, 1.2 million divorces were granted (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1989). This represents an increase of 67% over the 1970 figure and is triple the figure for 1960 (Abrahms, 1984). This rise in divorces has brought with it an increase in the number of legal battles for custody of children. It has been estimated that 15% of all divorces with children involve custody disputes (U.S. Dept of Health and Human Services, 1986). This climate of frustration and animosity sets the stage for parental abductions. Abrahms (1984) quotes an attorney, herself the victim of child stealing,

"I've handled a lot of matrimonial cases, and in the past, money and the

division of the house and the car were the big issues. Now that both parents usually work and people generally have more, money is not the weapon it used to be, so couples use the kids" (p7).

As the divorce rate remains high, more children are placed at risk for parental kidnapping. Research shows that children are often the ones most impacted by divorce (Lowery and Settle, 1985; Parish and Taylor, 1979). To compound this harm with the trauma of abduction may permanently affect a child's psychosocial development.

The NISMART (Finkelhor et al, 1990) final report reveals that forty-one percent of broad scope abductions occurred before the parents' relationship ended. This includes cases where a parent feels that s/he is unlikely to receive custody, or where a parent abducts the child in order to retaliate against his/her spouse or influence the divorce proceedings.

Any discussion of divorce and parental abduction also incorporates the issue of joint custody. Some researchers argue that the increased number of states which favor joint custody arrangements has resulted in a greater frequency of child snatchings. The increased focus on father's rights appears to be a reaction against the earlier traditional assumption that mothers should get custody of children. In fact, by 1985, 30 states had passed some type of joint custody legislation. Weitzman (1985) argues that if we were to measure change by the increased popularity of joint

custody laws, we might erroneously conclude that a social revolution has taken place. Rather than focus on the legislation, Weitzman (1985) examined the patterns of actual custody awards over time. This investigation revealed that in 88 percent of the cases studied, mothers remained the primary custodians of their children after divorce. She did find, however, that the legal revolution in custody law has had a major impact on contested custody cases, which account for about 10 percent of the divorces involving children (Weitzman, 1985). When custody is contested, the "best interests of the child" become the determining factor. Here, each parent must prove that he or she would provide the best home for the child. In this situation, any degree of preference the maternal tradition gave the mother in the past is in principle removed.

In an examination of actual custody awards in California, Weitzman's (1985) findings reveal that despite the major changes in laws regarding child custody, there was little change in the actual distribution of child custody awards. Elements of Ogburn's theory of cultural lag can be seen here. Ogburn (1922) noted that social disorganization and disruption often result when changes in the material culture are not accompanied by modifications in the nonmaterial culture. Material culture includes inventions and technological advances while nonmaterial culture is composed of ideas, norms and patterns of communication.

While Ogburn's discussion of cultural lag focuses on the impact of new technologies on the nonmaterial culture, this approach to social change can be applied to an exploration of changes in the joint custody legislation. While many states implemented joint custody laws in response to a rise in the divorce rate, Weitzman's (1985) study shows that norms and values concerning maternal preference have been slow to change. Thus, we may be experiencing a cultural lag between the implementation of new joint custody laws and the modification of popular norms and values concerning child custody.

While media reports and common perceptions suggest that a growing number of fathers are seeking and obtaining custody of their children after divorce, the data suggest that very little has changed and mothers still receive custody in over 80% of divorces involving children. This situation could lead to a high level of discontent among divorced fathers. If societal perceptions of equality in custodial awards is partnered with continued maternal preference, divorced fathers could resort to child-stealing tactics.

Changes in laws concerning joint custody represent one of the legal system's responses to changes in the family. As the American family has changed, traditional roles concerning child care have been modified. Joint custody preferences reflect an effort to institute new laws to

reflect new these new parental roles.

Another measure of social disorganization at the state level is the rate of in-migration. The more transient a population, the higher the degree of social disorganization. Highly mobile families may be more likely to experience parental abductions. If a family has recently moved to an area and then they divorce, it makes it easier for an aggrieved parent to run with the child if he/she has roots or family in some other area. Also, families who move frequently may be unable to formulate strong social bonds with a peer group. This could remove an important source of support and informal social control for divorcing couples.

In chapter four, the relationship between a state's divorce rate, joint custody presumption, in-migration rate and parental abduction is explored. This perspective would hold that parental abduction rates will be positively associated with measures of social disorganization.

DETERRENCE THEORY AND PARENTAL ABDUCTION

As a crime, there has been a lack of response to parental abduction creating an atmosphere of lenience for such offenders. While the laws pertaining to parental abduction have been strengthened recently, it is unclear whether new legislation is having any impact on the problem.

According to Gibbs (1975), "deterrence occurs when a potential offender refrains from or curtails criminal

activity because he/she perceives some threat of legal punishment for contrary behavior and fears that punishment". Deterrence theory is a psychological theory based on the potential offender's subjective perceptions of the likelihood and severity of a particular punishment. If an individual perceives that the sanction for a particular behavior is certain and severe, deterrence theory predicts that he is likely to avoid that behavior. Examining parental abduction rates through a deterrence framework would require a knowledge of a potential abductor's perceptions of legal sanctions for parental kidnapping. Because this subjective data is currently unavailable, objective measures of the severity of sanctions are utilized, specifically state legislation concerning parental abductions. Grasmick and Green (1980) state that little research has been done on the relationship between the actual, objective properties of a sanction and the subjective perceptions of that sanction. Several studies, however, have suggested that there is a rather low association between the two (Parker and Grasmick, 1979; Williams and Erickson, 1981; Williams et al, 1980). In an effort compensate for this weakness and better measure the legal system's response to parental abductions, several variables will be included in this analysis. In addition to data concerning the laws which pertain only to parental abductions, legislation concerning all types of missing

children are also included. This expanded view of the state's legal system provides a measure of the perceived seriousness of parental abduction.

A Brief Review of the Laws Concerning Parental Abduction

Parental kidnapping, as it relates to child custody disputes, has been recognized as a legal problem in the United States since at least the 19th century (Agopian & Anderson, cited in Lincoln & Straus, 1985, p112). Common law has dealt with this difficulty via the "Enticement" tort for many years, making kidnapping a civil, rather than criminal, offense. Being Classified as a civil offense led to an inability to extradite an abductor. Crossing a given geographical line gave freedom from prosecution, so long as he did not return to the state of the crime. Subsequent passage of the Lindbergh Act (Title 18 of the United States Code) in 1932 made kidnapping a federal offense for the first time, but specifically excluded parents who took and concealed their own children.

In an attempt to deter parents from abducting children, the federal government set the legislative wheels in motion. In 1968, the Uniform Child Custody Jurisdiction Act was first proposed for adoption on a state-by-state level. It was designed to "eliminate on a nationwide basis the legal incentives for forum-shopping...in the resolution of interstate child custody conflicts" (Hoff,1986,p.1). Forum-shopping allowed the abducting parent to cross a state line,

obtain a custody decree, and thereby have legal control of the child. Passage of this law was resisted and state adoption did not begin until 1972. Final state adoptions did not come until 1983. In 1980, partially as a response to this legislative foot-dragging by the states, the Parental Kidnapping Prevention Act was signed into law, allowing a federal role in resolving child custody disputes. Added to this was the Missing Children Act in 1982, which allowed the use of the National Crime Information Center computer system to aid in locating abducted children.

The international scene is still in flux, pending ratification of the Hague Convention by many countries in the world. Agopian (1987) analyzed a total of 2292 cases of international parental child abduction which were reported to the State Department between 1973 and 1986. Most parents involved in these abductions sought refuge in the Federal Republic of Germany (13 %); Mexico was the second destination of choice (11%). The United Kingdom attracted 6% of the cases and Italy was the target for 5% of the abducting parents. Of these four countries, only the United Kingdom has ratified the Hague Convention on the civil aspects of international child abduction.

Within the United States, individual states vary in their willingness to pass strong laws against family abductions. In some states, it is listed as a civil, rather than a criminal offense. Others list custodial

interference, as well as abduction, as criminal. State legislation concerning parental abduction varies in terms of its specificity and comprehensiveness. In Chapter four, the relationship between state laws and parental abduction rates is examined. It is hypothesized that states which have strong laws protecting children from abduction by parents and legislation promoting the location of all missing children will have lower rates of parental abduction.

KISER'S THEORY OF PARENTAL ABDUCTION

Kiser (1987) asserts that parental abductions stem from two factors: the immaturity of the couple and the unequal distribution of power in the relationship. She argues that the abductor suffers from a relative lack of perceived power in the relationship. Also, Kiser states that most abductions occur in traditional, male-dominated relationships where the woman is in a submissive role. While Kiser's study involved interviews with parents who had been victimized by an abductor, the current research examines these issues at the state level, utilizing an index which measures of the status of women. To further explore the ideas proposed by Kiser, the state's mean age at first marriage is also included in the analysis. This variable provides a measure of the immaturity of couples at the aggregate level. It is hypothesized that states where the status of women and the mean age at marriage are low will

have higher rates of parental abduction.

THE STATUS OF CHILDREN AND PARENTAL ABDUCTION

Raising the issue of parental abduction to the public consciousness have been slowed by a long history of children being viewed as property of their parents rather than individuals with their own civil rights. According to English Common Law, "custody of all legitimate children, from the hour of their birth...[belonged] to the father" (Chesler, 1986,p.3). In more recent history, the "tender years doctrine" has made the mother the preferred custodial parent in divorce situations. This was based on the assumption that young children, in their "tender years", needed the emotional warmth and love of their mother. In either case, children were consistently viewed as the property of their parents. Historical analyses of childhood reveal that it is only in the last century that childhood has been seen as a special time in one's life. Until then, children were simply considered small adults. Aries (1962) offers evidence that indifference may be the best way to categorize cultural responses to children during most of Western history. Modern Americans, by contrast, have been described as child-centered to an extreme degree (Skolnick, 1973:314). "We have set a new record; no other people seem ever to have been so preoccupied with children" (Goodman, 1970:11). The recent interest in issues such as child abuse

and neglect, and most recently, parental abductions, seems to have been fostered by our society's relatively recent preoccupation with the welfare of children. Thus, while children are highly valued in our society, they remain under the exclusive power of their parents and often lack the legal right to determine their own fate.

In order to measure state to state differences in the status of children, several variables will be used. These fall into two general categories: the health status of children and the legal status of children. Health measures include infant mortality rates, child homicide rates and child injury death rates. Legal measures include requirements for criminal history background checks for those working with children, the legal protection of children in sexual exploitation cases, and specific protective measures taken for children in the courtroom. These measures reflect each state's willingness to legislate protections specifically for children.

Thus, while children in all states suffer from low status relative to adults, states may vary in the degree to which children are protected in health and legal arenas. Under this perspective, states where children enjoy higher status will have lower rates of parental abduction.

Another possible relationship exists between the status of children and parental abduction. It is possible that children who have little status may be less likely to be

abducted. This is based on the idea that low status children may be considered less valuable and may not be seen as worth stealing. Following this argument, states where children have high status would be expected to have higher rates of parental abduction.

Both of the approaches outlined above seem credible. It is possible to envision abductions which would provide support for each approach. For this reason it is hypothesized that there is a relationship between the status of children and parental abduction, but the direction of this relationship is not predicted at this time.

FAMILY PRIVACY AND PARENTAL ABDUCTION

The lack of attention to the problems of parental abductions and other family crimes can be traced, in part, to the privacy of the family. Throughout history, legislators have been unwilling to enact laws against crimes within the family unit. In the past, specific exemptions have been included in the legislation to prevent prosecution of crimes which occurred between family members. Also, the Lindbergh Act, signed by President Hoover in 1932, specifically excluded parents from the kidnapping statute. Along the same lines, changes in the laws pertaining to domestic violence have been enacted only in the last two decades, and only after a long, hard struggle by feminists and battered women's advocates (Kaufman Kantor et al.,

1985).

What we have seen in the past twenty years is a gradual deprivatization of the family. What was once well hidden in the family is now open to scrutiny by social researchers and lawmakers. What was once ignored is now identified as a social problem. While the family is losing its shroud of secrecy in some arenas, the issue of parental kidnapping remains somewhat hidden from the view of the general public and social control agencies. Just as the rape of a married woman was once considered to be a property crime against the husband, parental kidnapping has been seen as a property crime against the aggrieved parent. Also, historically, crimes within the family have been excluded from the law. This tendency to minimize the severity of crimes within the family sends an important message to members of our society. It suggests that crimes among family members are minor events, unworthy of the attention of law enforcement officials.

States differ in their willingness to intervene in individuals' private lives via legislation. It therefore may also be useful to look at the types of policies each state has adopted regulating the family and addressing family privacy in areas other than parental abduction. While this approach shares some factors with the deterrence argument outlined earlier, the two approaches are distinct. Family privacy issues focus specifically on the intervention

of the state into the privacy of the family on a variety of topics. As it is used in the current research, the deterrence approach is limited to legal factors which relate specifically to parental abduction or missing children. This separation of family privacy and deterrence issues allows a more thorough exploration of the factors which encourage or prevent parental abduction.

In Chapter four, a measure of each state's abortion restrictiveness and legislation regulating family form will be included in the analyses. It is hypothesized that state interference in families via legislation will be negatively associated with rates of parental abduction.

THE CULTURAL APPROVAL OF VIOLENCE

In 1985, Baron and Straus developed the Legitimate Violence Index to test Cultural Spillover Theory. This theory states that cultural support for legitimate forms of violence "spills over" to illegitimate or criminal uses of violence. Baron and Straus describe the theory as follows,

"The central proposition of this theory is that the more a society tends to endorse the use of physical force to attain socially approved ends--such as order in the schools, crime control, and military dominance--the greater the likelihood that this legitimation of force will be generalized to other spheres of life, such as the family and relations between the sexes, where force is less approved socially." (1988, p80)

Straus (1989) elaborated on this idea, arguing that the "more a society uses force to secure socially desirable

ends.., the greater the tendency for those engaged in illegitimate behavior to also use force to attain their own ends"(p.7). To date, Cultural Spillover Theory has received little attention in the professional literature. Hawkins (1990) points out that Cultural Spillover Theory consists of one main proposition: that the legitimation of violence for socially approved ends will lead to higher rates of illegitimate violence. For purposes of the current study, this proposition leads to the following hypothesis: States with strong support for legitimate uses of violence, as measured by the Legitimate Violence Index, will have higher rates of parental abduction.

Before this hypothesis is tested, it is important to review empirical findings which relate to Cultural Spillover Theory. Many researchers have questioned the relationship of war involvement and cultural support for violence in other areas of life (Archer and Gartner, 1976; Huggins and Straus, 1980). In a study of 110 countries, Archer and Gartner (1976) examined the impact of war on rates of homicide during a five-year postwar period. Comparing prewar and postwar rates, they found higher postwar homicide rates. Based on this finding, Archer and Gartner (1976) expressed support for the violence legitimation model, arguing that wartime violence, because it is legitimated by the state, leads to increases in violent crime in warring nations. Kleck (1987) attempted to replicate Archer and

Gartner's (1976) findings using homicide rates for periods surrounding three American Wars (World War II, Korea, and Vietnam). Kleck found no increase in homicide rates following these three wars. He argues that the underlying mechanism of the legitimation of violence is vicarious modeling. Modeling explanations assume the influence occurs in a short time period (Hawkins, 1990). If this is so, annual homicide rates may fail to pick up this effect.

Also related to the Cultural Spillover Theory are studies concerning the "brutalization effect" of state executions. While Deterrence Theory would predict a drop in the homicide rate immediately following a well-publicized execution, Cultural Spillover Theory would lead us to expect the opposite effect: a rise in the homicide rate. Bowers (1974:194) provides a definition of the brutalization effect, "the use of death as punishment by the state deadens people's sense of respect for human life and this legitimates the use of death-dealing violence as a response to insult, offense or frustration from others." Beccaria (cited in Zimring and Hawkins, 1973:80) also argues that public executions may serve to increase homicide, "The death penalty cannot be useful, because of the example of barbarity it gives men". Empirical studies of the impact of the death penalty on homicide rates have yielded mixed results. Phillips (1980) studied data concerning twenty-two hangings in England between 1858 and 1921. He found a drop

in the homicide rate immediately after a well-publicized execution. This suppression effect was short-lived, however, with homicide rates rising higher than the pre-execution baseline rate three to four weeks after the hanging. Using monthly data, Dann (1935) studied the effects of five Philadelphia executions, finding that homicides increased in the two months following each of the executions. Using similar methodology, King (1978) studied the impact of twenty executions in South Carolina. He also found a rise in the homicide rate during the month following an execution. These studies, which support the notion of a delayed brutalization effect, strengthen the argument that violence which is condoned by the state may lead to an increased rate of violence for illegitimate purposes.

Cultural Spillover Theory has also received empirical support Sanday's (1981) study of 156 tribal societies. This cross-cultural research revealed an association between societal violence (frequent warfare) and the incidence of rape. Sanday states that "where interpersonal violence is a way of life, violence frequently achieves sexual expression"(p.10). Amir (1971) also found a strong correlation between arrests for rape and arrests for other violent crimes. Using a similar argument, Baron and Straus (1989) provided a state-level analysis of the legitimacy of violence and the rape rate. They found that cultural support for violence, as measured by the Legitimate Violence

Index, was indirectly related to the rape rate at the state level. They show that legitimate violence is related to the rape rate indirectly through an inverse relationship with the status of women. In other words, states with strong cultural support for the use of violence for legitimate ends tend to have women in more subservient roles and higher rates of rape.

Lambert, Triandis and Wolf (1959) studies of nonliterate societies also provide support for Cultural Spillover Theory. They show that societies which have punitive deities tend to use more physical punishment in child rearing.

The current study uses the Legitimate Violence Index as a measure of the cultural support for the use of violence in a variety of socially-approved arenas. This index includes state-level indicators such as the number of hunting licenses per capita, the number of prisoners on death row, acceptance of corporal punishment in the schools, and the circulation rates for magazines which promote violence. A more detailed description of the index appears in Chapter Three and Appendix D.

An examination of the items included in the Legitimate Violence Index suggests that rather than measuring support for violence in general, it is actually a measure of the cultural support for male violence. Hunting is a sport dominated by men. Most consumers of violent magazine and

television productions are also men. And within the mass media, when violence is portrayed, it is usually male violence. Thus, it seems that the Legitimate Violence Index provides a measure of the cultural support for the use of force by men to achieve socially approved ends.

Cultural Spillover Theory would predict that states with strong cultural support for men to use any necessary tactic to achieve desired ends would have higher rates of parental abduction.

The next chapter offers a detailed description of the measurement of each socio-cultural characteristic included in the analysis.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY AND MEASUREMENT

The Dependent Variable

The NCMEC Measure of Parental Abduction

The National Center on Missing and Exploited Children (NCMEC) provides a national toll-free hotline for reports of missing children. This hotline receives approximately 500 calls per day. The majority of these calls fall into two general categories: 1) a report of a missing child by a parent or law enforcement official; or 2) information regarding the sighting or location of a missing child. The current study focuses only of the first type of call: reported cases of family abduction. Family abductions are defined as the abduction of children under 18 by a parent, older sibling, aunt, uncle, or grandparent. While abductions by other family members do occur, the majority of the family abduction cases reported to NCMEC involve parental perpetrators.

When a case of parental abduction is reported to NCMEC, the hotline operator enters the relevant information into the computer and a printed report of the case is given to one of six case managers. Next, the case manager checks the FBI's National Crime Information Computer (NCIC) to verify the case. NCIC officials estimate that approximately 85% of

all reported cases of parental abduction are verified through NCIC. While police agencies sometimes report a parental abduction case to NCMEC, the majority of cases are reported by the custodial parent.

The case managers provide technical assistance to law enforcement officials and parents. They are also responsible for disseminating information to the public. After obtaining the permission of the aggrieved parent, a poster is prepared which displays photos of the child and the abductor. This poster is then distributed to over 300 "photo partners" nationwide. The photo partners are publishers of magazines and newsletters. Copies of the child's poster are prepared and distributed through these publications. NCMEC also disseminates information about missing children via television broadcasts.

In order to be eligible for this media distribution, a parental abduction case must fulfill four requirements:

- 1) The case must appear in the National Crime Information Computer.
- 2) The legal custody of the child must be established. NCMEC must have a certified copy of the custody order on file.
- 3) Permission of the aggrieved parent must be obtained.
- 4) A felony warrant must be issued for the abductor.

The NISMART national study revealed that 60% of parental abductions involve a violation of a custody order. The remainder of the cases occurred before a custody order had gone in to effect. This suggests that 40% of all parental abductions would not qualify for media distribution under

NCMEC guidelines. NCMEC estimates that approximately 25% of all cases qualify for media distribution. An NCMEC spokesperson (Ermini, 1991) noted that it is sometimes difficult to obtain a felony warrant when custody has been awarded ex-parte, or in the absence of the abducting parent. Many police departments are unwilling to issue a felony warrant in cases where the custodial award occurred after the abduction, making it impossible for the abductor to be properly notified.

It is important to note that NCMEC does not disregard cases which do not meet their requirements for media distribution. These cases are assigned to a case manager who provides technical assistance to the parent and local law enforcement agency.

Data from the National Center on Missing and Exploited Children are based on all reports of parental abduction received by NCMEC between May, 1988 and May, 1989 (n=1566). This includes cases which involved custody order violations as well as those who failed to meet this requirement. To give the reader a better sense of the types of cases reported to NCMEC, Table 11 outlines the distribution of all cases received during the Center's first six years in operation. Nearly ten thousand cases of parental abduction were reported to NCMEC during this period, reflecting a crime of impressive proportion.

Table 11: Breakdown of All Cases of Missing Children Reported to NCMEC between June, 1984 - June, 1990

Category	Total Cases	Number Located Alive	Number Deceased
Runaways ^a	13,063	12,002	33
Throwaways		No Known Intakes	
Family Abductions ^b	9,770	3,562	7
Non-family Abductions ^c	976	207	119
Lost, Injured or Otherwise Missing	1,465	429	29
TOTALS	25,274	16,200	188

^aIncludes only runaways missing over 30 days or endangered/at risk.

^bIncludes parents, grandparents, aunts/uncles, older siblings, etc.

^cIncludes "strangers," acquaintances, babysitters, unknown-cause/suspicious circumstances.

Focusing only on the cases during the year May, 1988 to May, 1989, Table 12 shows the NCMEC state rankings on parental abduction rates. The state listed for each case is the state of residence of the custodial parent. Data were limited to this twelve month period in order to maintain comparability with the NISMART survey, which occurred in 1988. Also, the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children implemented new computer coding procedures in 1988. This new system differed in important ways from the earlier methods, thus making it inappropriate to combine with the 1989 data.

The Validity of NCMEC Data

It is possible that all states have identical incidence rates, but vary in the frequency with which cases are reported to NCMEC. We know that many crimes never come to the attention of law enforcement agencies. In 1988, studies indicated that approximately 36% of all crimes are reported to the police (U.S. Department of Justice, 1988). Despite this limitation, the use of reported rates of crime as a measure of incidence has a long history in criminological research. Many studies have relied on the number of crimes known to police as a proxy for the actual incidence of the crimes. This approach omits many crimes which are not reported to police. In addition, there are variations in record keeping practices between police departments.

NCMEC rates of parental abduction avoid some of the

weaknesses of using police records. Because NCMEC is a single agency, with one set of reporting procedures and definitions, it provides a more accurate count than rates which depend on thousands of different police departments.

Another threat to the validity of the NCMEC data is concerns the fact that individual motivations to report an incident to official agencies are varied and unmeasured. In other words, we don't know how the parents who report abductions to NCMEC differ from those who fail to report. Following this argument, states with high reporting rates may simply have more public awareness of the issue of parental abduction. Reporting rates may also reflect a general willingness to report family problems to an outside agency. In addition to its hotline services, the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children provides educational services to law enforcement agencies around the country. This service is not targeted to any specific segment of the population, state, or region. Therefore, the rate of reporting parental abductions is not tied to their publicity or educational programs in any area.

It is also interesting to note that Table 12 reveals no clustering of cases in the states surrounding the NCMEC center in Washington, D.C. Thus, no obvious geographic bias seems to be operating for the NCMEC data.

One way to determine the validity of a measure is to correlate it with other measures of similar phenomena. The

Table 12: Rank Order of 50 States by Rate of Reporting Parental Abduction to the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children, 1988

Rank	State	Reporting Rate Per 100,000 Pop. Age 0-17	Rank	State	Reporting Rate Per 100,000 Pop. Age 0-17
1	Montana	5.9	27	Tennessee	2.0
2	Wyoming	5.7	28	Connecticut	2.0
3	Nevada	5.3	29	Idaho	2.0
4	Utah	5.2	30	Georgia	1.9
5	Washington	4.9	31	South Carolina	1.9
6	Alaska	4.8	32	Delaware	1.8
7	Nebraska	4.7	33	Arkansas	1.7
8	Arizona	4.6	34	Maryland	1.7
9	Florida	4.2	35	North Dakota	1.6
10	Oklahoma	4.0	36	Michigan	1.6
11	Oregon	4.0	37	Mississippi	1.5
12	New Hampshire	3.6	38	Minnesota	1.5
13	Vermont	3.5	39	New York	1.5
14	Colorado	3.2	40	Illinois	1.5
15	West Virginia	3.1	41	Alabama	1.4
16	California	2.9	42	Rhode Island	1.3
17	Maine	2.6	43	Wisconsin	1.3
18	Indiana	2.6	44	New Jersey	1.2
19	Texas	2.6	45	Kentucky	1.1
20	Missouri	2.5	46	New Mexico	1.1
21	North Carolina	2.4	47	Virginia	1.1
22	Kansas	2.3	48	Hawaii	1.0
23	Pennsylvania	2.2	49	Iowa	1.0
24	Ohio	2.2	50	South Dakota	0
25	Massachusetts	2.1			
26	Louisiana	2.1			

NCMEC state rates were correlated with NISMART incidence rates of parental abduction ($r=.12$). This weak relationship raises some questions concerning the validity of NCMEC and/or NISMART rates. First, it is important to remember that NCMEC data reflect a reporting rate while NISMART data include many cases which were not reported to any official agency. Many cases which appear in the NISMART data were probably not reported to NCMEC. In fact, the NCMEC data are likely to reflect only the most serious, long term episodes of parental abduction since these cases are most likely to come to the attention of outside agencies.

It is interesting to note that as Table 14 will show, a high correlation between the NCMEC parental abduction rate and the divorce rate ($r=.50$). Since common sense would predict that these two measure would be related, this finding offers support for the validity of this measure of parental abduction.

In spite of the possible limitations discussed above. data from NCMEC provide a unique, national-level measure of parental abduction. The alternative data source, NISMART, avoids many of the weaknesses of the NCMEC data but also brings a new set of problems to this analysis. Since it is a nationally representative random survey, NISMART is ideal for exploring many issues surrounding parental abduction. But because of its cluster sampling design and its representation of only 33 states, NISMART data proves to be

inappropriate for state-level analyses.

Data from the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children appear to be the best currently available for measuring parental abduction at the state level. For this reason NCMEC data provide the dependent variable analyzed in Chapter four.

The Independent Variables

In the following four sections, the specific variables included in the familial, legal, societal, and cultural level analyses are described. See Appendix A for the source for each variable. For a summary of all variables, see Table 14 at the end of this chapter.

Familial-level Variables

Three divorce-related variables are included in the analyses. DIVRT, the divorce rate for each state for 1988 was calculated from the U.S. Census (1990). PREFJC, the second variable is a dichotomous variable which indicates whether or not the state law lists joint custody as the preferred or presumed outcome in divorces involving children. This variable is based on 1982 data found in Weitzmann (1985) and supplemented by Folberg (1984). States which list joint custody as the preferred or presumed decision in divorce cases score 1 on this variable. States without such a preference in their legislation score zero on

PREFJC. CHSUP, the final variable in this group is the percent of child support cases with payment. This is based on 1985 data provided by the Children's Defense Fund (1988). Rates of payment of child support may provide a measure of the degree of dissatisfaction noncustodial parents feel with the custody arrangements ordered by the court. They may also reflect the degree of enforcement the state provides to encourage the payment of child support.

Legal Variables

This section includes variables which measure the specificity and comprehensiveness of each state's laws on parental abduction. ACTCNT is based on 1986 state legislation. Data were collected on the following actions which could be legally mandated in missing children cases:

1. Police are legally required to take a written report.
2. Police are required to conduct an investigation.
3. There is no waiting period for police action.
4. Police are required to report to the state information system.
5. Police are required to report to the National Crime Information Center.
6. Police are required to notify on-duty officers in the jurisdiction.
7. Police are required to obtain dental records at some point.
8. Police are required to notify parents of certain information during the investigation.

A count was taken of the total number of the above actions which were mandated by each state. Thus, those states which received high scores on this variable had quite specific laws pertaining to police actions in cases involving a missing child. Conversely, 21 states received scores of

zero on this variable, indicating a lack of specific legal mandates for these cases.

Data were also collected on whether or not the states had an established information clearinghouse or state information system. This would increase the possibility of locating an abducted child, since information collected by one agency would be passed on to others who were working on the case. Based on data provided by the Research Triangle Institute (RTI, 1990), INFORM was coded as a dichotomy, to indicate the presence or absence of such a service in each state.

States also differ in terms of how custodial interference or parental abduction are classified in the law. In twenty states, it is classified as a felony crime. One state lists it as a misdemeanor and in 28 states, its classification depends on the specific characteristics of the episode. For example, nineteen states change the classification of the offense when the child is taken out of state. How the state classifies an offense has a direct impact on how severe a punishment the offender receives. It also influences the priority law enforcement personnel give to the case. Thus, the classification of a crime as a misdemeanor or a felony, or both, will effect not only the legal outcome, but also reflect the degree of disapproval of the crime by the general public. The variable CLASS codes the classification of parental abduction in the following

manner:

- 0 Misdemeanor
- 1 Either felony or misdemeanor,
depending on circumstances
- 2 Felony.

States also differ in terms of the age limit for parental kidnapping. In four states, children over the age of fourteen cannot be considered victims of parental kidnapping. The majority of the states (33) list eighteen as the age limit. The variable LIMIT provides additional information regarding the comprehensiveness of the laws on parental kidnapping.

Societal-Level Variables

Immaturity and Inequality. In order to test Kiser's (1987) notion that parental abduction rates are linked to immature couples and inequality between the sexes, two variables will be included in the analyses. MAGE is the state's mean age at first marriage for 1987. Data for this variable were provided by the National Center for Health Statistics. This could be seen as a measure of the overall immaturity of newly married couples.

The second variable the Gender Equality Index (GEX), was introduced by Yllo (1980) and updated by Sugarman and Straus (1987). The index is designed to measure the status of women as a group, compared with the status of men as a group, across several key social institutions. Indicators included in the Gender Equality Index (Sugarman and Straus,

1987) are organized along three dimensions: economics, politics, and law. The individual items were standardized and combined into a total index. The indicators which make up the Gender Equality Index are listed in Appendix B.

The Status of Children. In order to measure the value placed on children in each state, two groups of variables were examined; those which relate to the health status of children, and those related to the legal protection of children.

The Health Status of Children. The following variables are used to measure the overall status of children's health in each state.

State infant mortality rate, 1986
State rate of low birthweight births, 1986
State injury death rate 1980-1985, for children age 0-14
State rate of child homicide, 1985-87

The first two variables pertain to the extent of prenatal care available in the state. The child injury death rate may reflect the degree of supervision of young children in the state. Data for all three of these variables was provided by the Children's Defense Fund (1988). The final variable is used as a measure of severe violence toward children in each state. Data on child homicide were obtained from the Comparative Homicide Files (85-87). The total number of homicides with victims between the ages of birth to seventeen was calculated for each state for the period 1985-1987. This figure was divided by the state population in

1986 and divided by three (the number of years included) to yield a child homicide rate for each state.

The Legal Status of Children. This group of variables addresses the state's willingness to legislate protections specifically for children in the community and the courtroom. Data for all variables in this section were provided by the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children (Howell, 1989).

1. Criminal history background checks for those working with children (BCALL).

States receive one point for each of the following categories where background checks are required: educational and child care workers, volunteers, and others working with children. States with no relevant legislation receive a score of zero on this variable.

2. Professional training programs which cover child abuse and neglect, sexual victimization, missing children, parenting skills, and child witnesses (TRPRO).

This training should be mandatory for all professionals who provide services to, or who frequently come into contact with children. This includes those in law enforcement, social services, education, medicine, and mental health. Training programs should also be made available to the general public. States which legally require general community programs only receive a score of one. Those whose

law only pertains to training for professionals score two. States which require professional training programs and general community training receive a score of three. Those states without relevant legislation score zero.

3. Guardian ad litem or court appointed special advocate required when child is in court (CASGAL).

Some states provide children special protection in the juvenile or family court. In order to ensure that the needs of the child are met and his or her rights are fully protected, many states appoint a special attorney, also known as a guardian ad litem, to represent the child. Other states require a court appointed special advocate to assist the child in the courtroom. While the guardian ad litem (GAL), and the court appointed special advocate (CASA) fulfill similar roles, a CASA is not an attorney and, unlike the guardian ad litem, cannot conduct direct and cross-examination of witnesses or introduce evidence. The variable CASGAL is dichotomous, where those with a law requiring a GAL or a CASA score one and those without relevant legislation score zero.

4. Authorizes the use of videotaped depositions and interviews or closed circuit television for child's testimony (CCTV).

Perhaps one of the most stressful experiences for the child witness is the face to face testimony required by some states. Videotaping the child's narration of the events and introducing the videotape as evidence at trial may prevent

such stress. Another alternative to the child confronting the defendant face to face is the use of closed circuit television, allowing the child to remain outside the courtroom while testifying. Both approaches serve to reduce the emotional strain on child witnesses. CCTV is a dichotomous variable where 1 indicates that a state permits the use of videotape and/or closed-circuit television in cases involving children. States without relevant legislation score a zero on CCTV.

5. Allowing judges to permit the use of anatomically detailed dolls to assist any child in providing testimony in criminal proceedings relating to a sexual offense (ADD).

A child victim of a sexual offense may find it difficult to discuss the details of the crime at the trial. In appreciation of this problem, some states have authorized the use of anatomically detailed dolls or mannequins that have sexual characteristics to assist the child while giving testimony. The child is able to discuss the sexual acts using the dolls and the attorney then orally relates what the child has demonstrated so that it becomes part of the transcript for the proceedings. ADD is a dichotomous variable indicating the presence (1) or absence (0) of legislation authorizing the use of the dolls.

6. Authorize judges to close the courtroom to spectators when the presence of such persons is upsetting to a child witness. And also provide

legislation to attempt to protect the privacy of child victims of crime (CHPRIV).

Some children have experience a great deal of emotional distress when required to testify. This distress is magnified when the courtroom is filled with members of the media and spectators. Some states permit judges to close the courtroom to spectators whenever their presence intimidates a child to the point where the child is extremely upset and/or unable to testify.

Another way to prevent further trauma to child victims and witnesses is to protect their identity. While every state protects the identify of juveniles who are accused and convicted of crimes, this protection does not automatically apply to child victims and witnesses. Such protection is important since the child victim of abduction or exploitation often faces the embarrassment of having his or her name and the nature of the acts committed released to the media. Such exposure can be upsetting for the child and his or her family and may even lead to further psychological harm to the child.

The variable CHPRIV is a dichotomy reflecting each state's legislation concerning these issues. If a state authorizes the discretionary closing of the courtroom and/or specifies that the identity of a child victim must be protected, that state scores a 1 on CHPRIV. States without such legislation score a zero.

7. Require judges to expedite proceedings when a child is the complaining witness (ST).

In order to minimize the emotional trauma experienced by the child victim, it is important to ensure that a speedy trial occurs. Delays and continuances only serve to increase the time which the victim spends focused on the crime. While a delay of a year may seem inconvenient to an adult victim, it seems like a lifetime to a six year old. Some states require that cases involving child victims have priority in the scheduling of trials, thus increasing the likelihood of a speedy trial. The variable ST reflects the presence (1) or absence (0) of legislation encouraging a speedy trial in these cases.

Family Privacy Legislation. The public/private dichotomy between the family and society is reflected in each state's laws regarding family issues. It is therefore important to examine a state's willingness to become involved in the domain of the family via legislation or regulation of traditionally private family matters. Looking at the types of policies the state has adopted regulating the family and addressing family privacy may reveal how willing the state is to intervene when crimes occur within the boundaries of the family unit. Two variables are included in this section of the analysis. First, the abortion restrictiveness index (RESTOT), created by Johnson and Bond (1980), reflects the number of restrictive policies each state has legislated regarding access to abortions.

The complete list of indicators included in this index appears in Appendix C.

Another way to examine state intervention in private, family matters involves an examination of the legislation regarding gay rights and sodomy. The family privacy index (FAMPRI), created by Murphy (1990), computes the number of restrictions placed on individuals regarding family form. There are two state policies included in the family privacy measure: the presence of sodomy statutes (1985) and the absence of gay rights legislation (1985), which prohibits discrimination on the basis of family form. The family privacy variable ranges from 0 to 2. States which score a zero having policies which avoid state regulation of such private family matters. Conversely, states with a score of 2 reflect a policy of the state regulating alternative family forms and an unwillingness to protect alternative families.

Since it can be argued that crimes within the family are perpetuated by a tradition of family privacy, these variables were included to measure the degree to which the state intervenes in family privacy and protects the stability of the traditional family.

Social Disorganization. Proponents of Social Disorganization Theory state that rates of crime and other deviance are likely to be highest during periods of social instability and change. The Social Disorganization Index,

SOCDIS, was developed by Baron and Straus (1989). Designed to measure the degree of instability in society, this index includes measures of geographic mobility, divorce, lack of religious affiliation, households headed by males with no female present, female-headed households with children, and the ratio of tourists to residents in each state. The internal consistency reliability of SOCDIS is .86. Individual state values for the Social Disorganization Index appear in Appendix G.

Cultural-Level Variables

The Legitimate Violence Index was developed by Baron and Straus (1987) to test Cultural Spillover Theory, which maintains that cultural norms which favor violence for socially legitimate purposes will tend to be generalized to other social contexts. The current research uses this index as a measure of the cultural approval of male force to achieve a desired end. The index is based on 12 indicators of noncriminal violence which fall into three groups: mass media preferences, the governmental use of violence, and the participation in legal or socially approved violent activities.

Indicators of mass media preferences were included to measure the degree to which the population of a state chooses to view violent television programs and magazines. Measures concerning the governmental use of violence examine

the way beliefs about the utility of violence appear in the laws of each state. Indicators of this dimension include state laws regarding corporal punishment in the schools and the rate of death sentences and executions. The third group of indicators fall under the heading "Participation in legal or socially approved violent activities". Included in this group are the number of hunting licenses per 100,000 population, National Guard enrollment per 100,000 and National Guard expenditures. A complete list of all indicators to compute the index appears in Appendix D.

The Legitimate Violence Index was created by summing the z-scores of the indicators and dividing by 12 (Straus, 1989). In order to standardize the index further, ZP scores were calculated. This transformed the index to have a mean of 50 and a range of zero to 100. Zero was assigned to cases falling 2.5 or more standard deviations below the mean. And 100 was assigned to those falling 2.5 or more standard deviations above the mean.

Correlations Between Independent Variables

Table 13 displays the correlations among the independent variables. A strong positive relationship (.79) exists between the Legitimate Violence Index (LVX) and the child injury death rate (CHINJ). This relationship is not surprising. States with a cultural approval of male aggression outside the family may have this carry over into

the family, where children fall victim to such aggression.

Another relationship worth noting exists between the state divorce rate, (DIVRT88) and the Legitimate Violence Index, LVX (.53). This positive relationship shows that states which have a cultural approval of the use of force by males tend to have higher divorce rates. The cultural acceptance of male violence in the community may carry over into the private domain of the family, resulting in increased rates domestic assault and child abuse. The higher divorce rate may simply be a reflection of increased violence within the family unit.

The mean age at marriage (MAGE) has a moderate negative relationship with child injury deaths (CHINJ) (-.49). This suggests that the lower the mean age at marriage, the higher the child injury death rate. Younger, less mature couples are more likely to have children who die of injuries. This relationship, while not especially strong, may reflect a lack of supervision of children in households with younger parents. It may also reflect a higher rate of child abuse among such families. Perhaps less mature couples are poorly prepared for the stresses associated with parenting, and this immaturity places the children at a greater risk of injury. Further analyses would be required in order to more fully understand this correlation.

A fairly strong relationship (.55) also exists between the infant mortality rate (IMORT) and the rate of low-

Table 13: Zero Order Correlations Among Independent Variables

	DIVRT	PREFJC	CHSUP	ACTCNT	INFORM	CLASS	LIMIT	MAGE	GEX	IMORT	LBW	CHINJ	KHMORT	BCALL
DIVRT														
PREFJC	.16													
CHSUP	.16	-.11												
ACTCNT	-.21	.08	.05											
INFORM	-.14	.11	.16	.59**										
CLASS	-.04	-.24	.11	-.31*	-.17									
LIMIT	-.02	-.20	-.14	.08	-.09	.10								
MAGE	-.43**	.34*	-.40**	.17	.01	-.19	.04							
GEX	.03	.07	-.35*	-.20	-.22	-.05	.06	.42**						
IMORT	-.03	-.20	-.32*	.22	.11	-.09	-.18	-.33*	-.44**					
LBW	.14	.04	.39**	.15	.33*	-.14	-.26	-.10	-.50**	.55**				
CHINJ	.53**	-.04	.44**	-.18	-.05	-.03	-.20	-.49**	-.23	.39**	.19			
KHMORT	.10	.29	.19	.08	.08	-.27	-.23	.27	-.12	.24	.50**	.19		
BCALL	.04	.21	-.05	.19	.49**	-.11	-.12	.10	-.00	-.02	.24	.01	.24	
TRPRO	-.11	-.01	.03	.10	.10	-.05	.15	.18	.02	-.14	.11	-.15	.32*	.25
CASGAL	.15	-.20	-.05	-.01	-.06	-.08	-.21	.06	-.02	.11	-.05	.13	.05	-.12
ADD	-.12	.00	.01	-.16	-.19	.09	.17	-.04	-.15	.19	.19	-.11	.29*	-.15
CCTV	-.22	.03	.13	.36*	.36*	-.32*	-.12	.12	-.09	.14	.13	-.10	.28	.36*
CHPRIV	-.03	-.06	-.17	.25	.12	.06	.17	.05	.07	-.02	-.04	.01	.04	.14
ST	-.01	.03	.04	-.07	.08	.03	.19	.27	-.02	-.07	.18	-.05	.17	.03
RESTOT	-.07	-.21	.10	.11	-.03	.00	.22	-.23	-.22	.19	.02	-.13	-.09	-.20
FAMPRI	.05	-.33*	.12	.23	.08	-.17	-.01	.03	-.12	.13	.09	.02	-.02	.01
LVK	.53**	-.12	.37**	-.11	-.07	-.06	-.15	-.56**	-.30*	.24	.16	.79**	-.02	-.23
MET80	-.06	.27	-.21	.14	.28*	-.34*	.05	.63**	.19	-.16	.25	-.45**	.44**	-.42**
POV80	.04	-.13	.49**	.07	.15	.04	-.21	-.50**	-.65**	.53**	.53**	.54**	.17	.15
BLK90	-.07	-.05	-.13	.26	.45**	-.24	-.33*	-.47**	-.52**	.70**	.83**	-.01	.41**	.14
SOCDIS	.66**	.11	.04	-.23	-.21	-.05	.09	-.03	.51**	-.17	-.20	.47**	.10	-.05

*P<=.05, **P<=.01

Table 13: Zero Order Correlations Among Independent Variables (cont.)

	TRPRO	CASGAL	ADD	CCTV	CHPRIV	ST	RESTOT	FAMPRI	LVX	MET80	POV80	BLK90	SOCDIS
CASGAL	-.19												
ADD	.33*	-.18											
CCTV	.33*	.08	.02										
CHPRIV	-.05	.17	-.06	.19									
ST	.32*	.02	.25	.00	-.10								
RESTOT	-.32*	-.00	.02	-.08	-.11	-.21							
FAMPRI	.05	.39**	-.06	.32*	.02	.16	-.14						
LVX	-.25	.22	-.19	-.14	.07	-.17	-.03	.10					
MET	.26	-.04	.07	.30*	.06	.31*	-.03	-.05	-.49**				
POV	.07	-.11	-.03	-.03	-.16	.12	-.06	.18	.40**	-.37**			
BLK	.14	-.05	.07	.20	.17	-.18	.07	-.15	.10	-.22	.55**		
SOCDIS	-.14	.21	-.23	-.23	.20	-.04	-.27	-.11	.47**	-.09	-.24	-.33*	

*P<=.05, **P<=.01

birthweight births (LBW). Both variables measure the health status of children and provide an indicator for the amount of prenatal care available in a state. Both of these measures of child health are also highly correlated with BLK90, the percent of the state population which is black. This indicates that states with a higher proportion of black residents may offer less prenatal care to expectant women. This relationship is certainly linked to the higher levels of poverty (.55) which exist in these states.

The Gender Equality Index (GEX) has a moderately strong, negative relationship with both infant mortality (-.44) and the rate of low-birthweight births (-.50). This finding shows that states where women enjoy high status also provide more prenatal and postnatal care. Such a correlation is not surprising, since women in these states have the power to demand better health care for themselves and their newborns.

Table 13 also shows a moderate relationship (-.43) between the divorce rate (DIVRT) and the mean age at marriage (MAGE). States with younger newlyweds also have more divorces. This finding suggests that those who marry later may be better prepared for the varied demands of married life, and therefore have a lower divorce rate. Also, older couples may be better established in their careers and enjoy a higher standard of living than younger couples, thus diminishing a major source of stress most.

newlyweds experience.

The high correlation shared by the total number of police actions mandated for missing children (ACTCNT) and the presence of a state information clearinghouse for missing children (INFORM, .59) and the use of closed-circuit television to minimize the trauma experience by child witnesses and victims in the courtroom (CCTV, .36), show an overall concern with the protection of children in a state. The existence of an information clearinghouse (INFORM) is also correlated with the mandate for criminal history background checks for those working with children (BCALL, .49). There does appear to be some consistency in enacting legal protections for children at the state level.

The Validity of Using States as Units of Analysis

The appropriateness of state-level data in sociological analyses has been the subject of some debate among social scientists. Skeptics of state-level analyses point to the interrral heterogeneity of some states, stating that this feature makes states unsuitable units of analysis. States with both large metropolitan areas as well as rural populations would seem to be too diverse to merit being combined into one unit of analysis. It has been argued that states are not meaningful socio-cultural units, since key social characteristics such as racial composition and economic variables can vary widely within the boundaries of

any given state.

In response to this debate, Straus (1987) examined the appropriateness of state-level data by studying correlations between metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas within states on such variables as racial and age composition of the population, birth, death, and marriage rates per 1000 population, and median family income. A high correlation would suggest that there is little variation between different areas within states, thus strengthening the argument that states are indeed, appropriate units of analysis. Of the 90 variables he examined from the County and City Data Book, 85 yielded statistically significant correlations. That is, Straus (1987) found a high correlation between metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas within states for 85 of the 90 variables he studied.

The current research uses the fifty states as the units of analysis for several reasons. First, since the relationship between state statutes and rates of parental abductions is central, states are the appropriate unit of analysis. Also, several of the variables concerning the status of women and the status of children, as well as measures of legislative intervention in family privacy, are all reflections of the values of the individual state legislatures, which in turn reflect the values of the residents of the states. For these reasons, states are the appropriate unit of analysis in the current research.

In the next chapter, the relationship between the state rate of parental abduction (NCMECRT) and the predictor variables is examined.

Table 14. Correlations of NCMEC Parental Abduction Rate with Predictor Variables.

Variable	Label	Minimum	Maximum	Correlation with Parental Abduction
DIVRT	Divorce Rate, 1988	2.9	14.1	.50**
PREFJC	Preference for Joint Custody	0	1	.06
CHSUP	Rate of Child Support Payment	3.8	42.8	.02
ACTCNT	Police Actions Mandated for Missing Children	0	7	-.13
INFORM	State Clearinghouse for Missing Children	0	1	-.17
CLASS	Legal Classification of Cust. Interference	0	2	-.09
LIMIT	Age Limit for Missing Children	12	18	.09
MAGE	Mean Age at First Marriage, 1987	22.3	27.8	-.29
GEX	Gender Equality Index	6.3	93.3	.25
IMORT	Infant Mortality Rate, 1986	8.4	13.3	-.19
LBW	Rate of Low Weight Births, 1986	4.6	8.7	-.31*
CHINJ	Rate of Child Injury Deaths, 1986	11.0	35.0	.36*
KHOMRT	Homicide Rate for Children, 1985-87	1.0	12.8	-.07
BCALL	Criminal History Background Checks Required	0	3	-.29*
TRPRO	Professional Training Programs	0	1	-.26
CASGAL	Guardian ad-litem or CASA Required	0	1	.09
CCTV	Videotaped Testimony or CC Television	0	1	-.19
ADD	Anatomically Detailed Dolls	0	1	-.06
CHPRIV	Closed Courtroom/Protect Child's Identity	0	1	.12
ST	Speedy Trial for Cases Involving Children	0	1	-.15
RESTOT	Abortion Restrictiveness Index, 1976	0	27	.02
FAMPRI	Family Privacy Index, 1985	0	2	-.05
LVX	Legitimate Violence Index	18	98	.48**
SOCDIS	Social Disorganization Index	18	100	.62**

* P<=.05, **P<=.01 (two-tailed)

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS

In this chapter, the state rate of parental abduction is examined in two ways. First, correlations of the parental abduction rate and other types of crime are examined to see which category of crime is most highly associated with parental abduction. In the second part of this chapter, multiple regression is used to explore the variation in incidence rates for parental abduction. The dependent variable is the NCMEC state parental abduction rate. Predictor variables include familial, legal, societal, and cultural level measures.

CATEGORIZING PARENTAL ABDUCTION AS A CRIME

While it is clear that parental abduction is a criminal offense in most states, what remains unclear is how this crime should be viewed in terms of other crimes. Is parental abduction most like aggravated assault, because it can involve violent acts? Or is it most like larceny theft because it involves the unauthorized taking of something of value from a legal custodian? Or perhaps it has the most in common with rape, which represents an abuse of power and the victimization of women. In order to better understand the conceptual classification of parental abduction, it was correlated with the rates of the seven index offenses listed

in the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports. Table 15 reveals the strong relationship between parental abduction rates and larceny theft rates, suggesting that these two crimes may be most similar in their classification. This finding highlights the argument that in custody disputes, children may be viewed as a weapon to be used by one spouse against another. Children are highly valued in American families (Skolnick, 1978). This role places children at risk of being used as pawns in battles between divorcing parents.

In order to explore these issues further, a factor analysis using varimax rotation was done using the seven index crimes and the parental abduction rate. Table 16 shows that the crimes loaded on two factors. The first factor includes the violent crimes of murder, aggravated assault and robbery. Motor vehicle theft and burglary also had high loadings on the first factor. The second factor shows high loadings for only three crimes: larceny theft, rape, and parental abduction. The inclusion of rape in this category is not surprising. The crime of rape is not unidimensional. It can be seen as both a property crime and an abuse of power against women. Each of these aspects and their relationship to parental abduction are examined individually.

Historically, women have been viewed as the property of their husbands. Following this argument, the husband of the rape victim, because his "property" had been harmed, was

Table 15. Correlation of Parental Abduction Rate with Index Offenses listed in the Uniform Crime Reports, 1988.

<u>Crime</u>	<u>Correlation</u>
Murder	-.17
Rape	.19
Robbery	-.08
Aggravated Assault	.05
Burglary	.08
Larceny Theft	.38**
Motor Vehicle Theft	-.10

** $p \leq .01$

a. Definitions of these seven index offenses appear in Appendix H.

Table 16. Factor Analysis of Index Offenses and NCMEC Parental Abduction Rates (n=50).

<u>Crime</u>	<u>Factor 1</u>	<u>Factor 2</u>
Robbery	<u>.84933</u>	.01863
Murder	<u>.83024</u>	-.02953
Motor Vehicle Theft	<u>.82204</u>	-.09025
Aggravated Assault	<u>.78480</u>	.31929
Burglary	<u>.72735</u>	.27097
Rape	.51663	<u>.55748</u>
Larceny Theft	.26045	<u>.80807</u>
Parental Abduction	-.20663	<u>.79998</u>

seen as the true victim in a rape. Brownmiller (1975) states that rape does not have historical support as a crime against women, but rather as a crime against the property of another man. "Criminal rape, as a patriarchal father saw it...[was] the theft of virginity, an embezzlement of his daughter's fair price on the open market" (p.18). Thus a rapist would then be fined whatever the current bride price would have been and the father of the victim would not have suffered a terrible loss. When viewed as a property crime, rape is similar to both larceny theft and parental abduction. All involve the theft of something of value, be it a child, an object, or a man's sexual partner.

Rape has also been seen as an extreme example of men's abuse of power. Feminist theorists claim that rape and the threat of rape have traditionally served as mechanisms by which men maintain women's subordination (LaFree, 1989). For example, in Against Our Will, Brownmiller characterizes rape as "nothing more or less than a conscious process of intimidation by which all men keep all women in a state of fear" (1975, p.5). Thus, feminists have emphasized connections between rape and the social relationships of men and women. To see rape not as a sexual crime, but rather as an abuse of power, leads us to examine similarities between rape and parental abduction. Like rape, most perpetrators of parental abductions are men and most victims are women (Finkelhor, et al., 1990). In many abduction situations,

men are violating custody arrangements and victimizing women. Thus, in both rape and parental abduction, men are victimizing women and abusing power.

It is interesting to note that rape is the only "violent crime" which shared a factor with parental abduction. Whereas stereotypical parental abductions are violent, the NISMART study shows that force was used in only 14% of the cases (Finkelhor et al., 1990). It does not appear to be the violent aspect of rape which links it to parental abduction. Instead, the similarities between the two are related to the theft of property, the victimization of women and the abuse of power in intimate relationships.

The distribution of crimes shown in Table 16 calls into question some assumptions concerning various "types" of crime. Traditionally, the FBI's Crime Index has separated the seven index crimes into two categories: violent crime (murder, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault) and property crime (burglary, larceny-theft and motor vehicle theft). Forming separate indices for violent and property offenses assumes that different causal processes are responsible for the two types of crime (Parker and McDowall, 1986). Based on the results shown in Table 16, index crimes do not seem to logically fall into the two categories used by the FBI. Parker and McDowall (1986) employed composite factor analysis methods to examine the seven index crimes at the SMSA level. The distinction between violent and

property crimes failed to be supported. This suggests that conventional indices of property and violent crime may have an unacceptable level of measurement error and crime rates should be examined separately.

At this point all we know is that parental abduction could be conceptualized as a property crime or as a crime against women. But we need to examine other possible interpretations simultaneously. In the following section, multiple regression analysis is used to examine the impact of social disorganization, laws, family privacy, power disparities between men and women, and the status of women on the variation in parental abduction rates.

EXAMINING VARIATION IN PARENTAL ABDUCTION RATES

Outliers

Before proceeding with the regression analysis, univariate distributions of the independent variables were examined to detect extreme cases which might threaten the validity of the model. Appendix E shows the distribution of states on the divorce rate. Nevada represents an extreme outlier, with a value more than twice that of the next state, Oklahoma. Nevada is well known for its high marriage and divorce rates, and it is clear that these rates do not reflect the behavior of the resident population, but are inflated by a more transient population. In order to control the influence this one case might have, Nevada's

divorce rate was truncated from 14.1 to 8.0, allowing it to retain its rank order, but reducing the extreme effect this value might have on the analysis.¹

Fortunately, the divorce rate was the only variable with such a severe outlier, so the analysis continued on to the next step.

Data Reduction Techniques

Before proceeding to the multivariate regression model, predictor variables were then examined as a group in order to detect potential threats to the validity of the model. Correlations among predictor variables (see table 13) were examined to detect any threat of multicollinearity among the variables. No extremely high bivariate correlations were detected.

Both the mean age at marriage (n=40) and the measure of the preference for joint custody (n=38) introduced problems for the analysis. With so few valid cases, their inclusion in the model would reduce the number of cases in the analysis below acceptable levels. When dealing with state level analysis, any reduction in the number of cases poses a serious threat to the validity of the results. Based on the low number of valid cases and low zero-order correlations ($r=.24$ and $.06$) with parental abduction rates, both variables were dropped from the analysis at this point,

¹1. Regressions were also run excluding Nevada, and similar results were obtained.

leaving a total of 22 independent variables to be included in the model.

Control Variables

Three control variables were then added to the analysis: the percent of families living in poverty, 1980; the percent of the population living in metropolitan areas, 1980; and the percent of the population which is black, 1990. The zero-order correlation of these variables with the parental abduction rate (Table 17) shows that both the poverty rate and the percent black have statistically significant relationships with the parental abduction rate.

REGRESSION ANALYSIS

Multivariate regression using backward elimination was employed in the data analysis. This procedure involves entering all of the independent variables into the equation. Then variables are dropped, one at a time, based on their F-statistic. The criterion for inclusion in the final model was an F-statistic of 2.00 or larger. The process stops when no remaining variables have F-statistics less than 2.00. Through backward elimination, 17 of the original 25 variables were dropped from the equation, leaving 8 variables in the final model. Table 18 shows the variables which were dropped and the final model, with an adjusted R square of .51, is shown in Table 19.

Table 17: Correlations of Control Variables with Parental Abduction Rate (n=50).

Variable	Correlation Coefficient
MET80: Percent of State Population Living in Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas: 1980	-.08
POV80: Percent of State Population Living in Poverty: 1980	-.31*
BLK90: Percent of State Population Projected to be Black: 1990	-.35*

*P<=.05

Divorce

The strong predictive value of the divorce rate in the final model is not surprising. States which have higher divorce rates also tend to have higher rates of parental abduction. Higher divorce rates place more children at risk of abduction.

Child Support

The next variable in the equation, the percent of child support cases with payment (CHSUP) shows a negative relationship with parental abduction. This finding suggests that states where noncustodial parents fulfill their financial obligations to their children by paying child support have lower rates of parental abduction. Payment of child support may reflect a degree of satisfaction with custodial arrangements on the part of the noncustodial parent. It may also indicate a climate of concern for the welfare of children or a lack of social tolerance for parents who refuse to pay child support and this may carry over to an intolerance for abduction.

Infant Mortality

The infant mortality rate (IMORT) shows a significant negative relationship with the parental abduction rate. Thus, the lower the infant mortality rate, the higher the parental abduction rate. Thus, as children's health status, as measured by the infant mortality rate, improves, we might expect parental abduction rates to rise. This finding is

Table 18. Variables Dropped from the Regression Analysis Using Backward Elimination (n=50).

Variable	F-Statistic
FAMPRI	0.4367
CLASS	0.0126
ST	0.0104
KHOMRT	0.0273
BLK90	0.3040
CCTV	0.0894
SWI	0.0307
POV80	0.0675
TRPRO	0.1983
ACTCNT	0.1811
ADD	1.1742
LIMIT	1.0283
CHPRIV	0.9107
CASGAL	1.0215
LBW	0.9642
SOCDIS	0.4894
CHINJ	0.0061

FAMPRI:	Family privacy index
CLASS:	Legal classification of custodial interference
ST:	Speedy trial for cases involving children
KHOMRT:	Child homicide rate per 100K children, 1985-87
BLK90:	Percent of the population black, 1990
CCTV:	Closed-circuit television testimony for children
SWI:	Status of women index
POV80:	Percent of families living in poverty, 1980
TRPRO:	Training programs for professionals and community regarding child abuse and neglect
ACTCNT:	Total police actions mandated for missing children
ADD:	Anatomically detailed dolls for children in court
LIMIT:	Age limit for missing children
CHPRIV:	Legally mandated protections of identity of children in court cases
CASGAL:	Court appointed special advocate/guardian ad-litem
LBW:	Rate of low-birthweight births, 1986
SOCDIS:	Social Disorganization Index, 1975-80
CHINJ:	Injury death rate 1980-85 for children age 0-14.

Table 19. Regression estimates final model : NCMEC state parental abduction rates. (n=50).

Independent Variables	Coefficient	Std. Error	T-Value
DIVRT	.6053	.1736	3.487***
CHSUP	-.0355	.0173	-2.050*
IMORT	-.3564	.1133	-3.146**
BCALL	-.3921	.1830	-2.143*
INFORM	.5054	.3476	1.454
RESTOT	.0228	.0158	1.445
LVI	.0259	.0105	2.474**
MET80	.0132	.0080	1.646
CONSTANT	.7998	1.587	0.504

Adjusted R² =.51

* P<=.05; **P<=.01. ***P<=.0001

DIVRT: State Divorce Rate, 1988
 CHSUP: Percent of Child Support Cases with Payment, 1985
 IMORT: Infant Mortality Rate, 1986
 BCALL: Criminal History Background Checks Required for
 Individuals Working with Children, 1986
 INFORM: Informational clearinghouse for missing children
 RESTOT: Abortion restrictiveness index, 1976
 LVI: Legitimate Violence Index
 MET80: Percent of Population Living in Standard
 Metropolitan
 Statistical Areas, 1980

the opposite of the hypothesized prediction that children's status is negatively associated with parental abduction. The reason for this finding is unclear at this time.

Criminal History Background Checks

Criminal history background checks for those working with children (BCALL), has a negative relationship with parental abduction rates. States which have strong legislation for the protection of children show lower rates of parental abduction. While the use of criminal history background checks does not directly relate to parental abduction, the presence of such laws reflect a willingness to provide laws protecting the welfare of children in the community. This finding lends support to the deterrence argument that laws protecting children will deter parental abductions.

Information Clearinghouses

Also linked to the deterrence argument is the finding that the presence of an information clearinghouses for missing children is related to parental abduction. The positive relationship between this measure and parental abduction, however, is not in the direction deterrence theory would predict. States with information clearinghouses tend to have higher rates of parental abduction. This finding may relate to an issue which has plagued deterrence theory: temporal order. Rather than deterring criminal behavior, strong laws may in fact be a

response to a higher crime rate. Thus, rather than having criminal behavior influenced by laws, the laws themselves may be a reaction to criminal behavior. Unfortunately, a longitudinal, panel design would be required to examine this relationship while controlling for the temporal order of the elements involved. Since the current study is limited to cross-sectional data, such analysis is impossible at this time.

Family Privacy

The Abortion Restrictiveness Index (RESTOT) has a positive relationship with parental abduction. The reader will recall that this variable provides a measure of the level of state interference in "private" family matters. This finding, while not statistically significant, indicates that states with a high degree of family privacy tend to have lower rates of parental abduction. This finding does not support the hypothesis that family privacy and parental abduction are positively related. It is important to note that this finding is not statistically significant and the other measure of family privacy, FAMPRI, dropped from the analysis earlier. It is possible that the Abortion Restrictiveness Index and FAMPRI fail to provide an accurate measure of family privacy. Future research should incorporate additional measures to more thoroughly examine this important issue.

Cultural Support for Male Violence

If Cultural Spillover Theory is correct, the values supporting the legitimate use of male force outside the family should also be reflected in the parental abduction rate. An especially important finding concerns the relationship between the legitimate violence index (LVI) and the dependent variable in this model. The strong positive association indicates that states with strong cultural support for the male violence also have a high rate of parental abductions. Thus, in states where values support the use of force by men to achieve desired ends, families tend to take on these values. This value system may promote parental abductions in custody disputes.

Urban Population

The percent of the population living in metropolitan areas (MET80) has a positive, but not statistically significant relationship with parental abduction. States where a large percentage of the population live in urban area tend to have higher abduction rates. This may reflect the degree of anonymity many city dwellers experience. Unlike their rural counterparts, many urban residents do not know their neighbors or have friends who live nearby. Conversely, those who live in rural areas tend to interact with their neighbors on a more frequent basis. This interaction may provide a degree of informal social control. A noncustodial parent may be more willing to abduct a child

in a city, where no one knows him.

Another possible explanation for this finding relates to the overall crime rates experienced by urban residents. Linsky and Straus (1986) found high correlations between the percent of the population living in metropolitan areas and several crimes including larceny, burglary, robbery and motor vehicle theft. The higher parental abduction rates in urban areas appears to be consistent with rates of other crimes, reflecting a willingness to break the law. This interpretation is supported by Kiser (1987) who found that the abductor's lack of regard for the law played an important role in child stealing.

It is interesting to note that the percent of the population living in metropolitan areas was the only control variable which did not have a statistically significant zero-order correlation with parental abduction (see Table 17). It seems that this variable may be interacting with others in the model to produce the finding shown.

Deterrence and Parental Abduction

Perhaps as important as the variables which appear in the final regression model are those which are absent. One notable exception to the final model is the legal classification of parental abduction (CLASS). Only variables related to missing children in general (BCALL and INFORM) are appear in the final regression model. The single legal measure related exclusively to parental

abduction (CLASS) failed to exhibit a strong relationship with the dependent variable. Deterrence theorists argue that strong laws will serve to deter potential perpetrators. This does not appear to be the case with parental abductions. It is possible that parents who are considering an abduction are in such an emotional state that they don't consider the legal consequences of their actions. Also, it is highly unlikely that the average citizen is aware of the law and the potential sanctions associated with it. It is even possible that, due to the tradition of family privacy in our country, abductors do not even think that what they're doing is illegal. It would be interesting to pursue this finding further in future research.

Caution must be used in interpreting this finding. It would be a mistake to conclude that the legal classification of parental abduction is unimportant. Collins et.al. (1989) studied law enforcement response in parental abduction cases. This study showed that legal classification does effect the successful location of abducted children. In jurisdictions where parental abductions were classified as a misdemeanor, children were less likely to be found within 72 hours. While felony status does not appear to play a significant role in deterring abductions, Collins' study shows that it does effect the response of law enforcement agencies, increasing the likelihood that a child will be found in a short time.

The strong role of the Legitimate Violence Index in the final model raises important questions concerning the value system which appears to support parental abduction. In the next section, the role of this index in predicting parental abduction is examined in further detail.

CORRELATIONS WITH INDICATORS INCLUDED IN THE LEGITIMATE VIOLENCE INDEX

Because of the strong relationship between the legitimate violence index (LVI) and parental abduction, the correlation between parental abduction and the individual indicators on the LVI were examined. Table 20 shows that the circulation rate for violent magazines has a strong positive relationship (.51) with parental abduction. Thus, messages sent via the mass media concerning the legitimacy of the use of force by males are being reflected in the rate of parental abduction at the state level.

Also showing strong relationships with parental abduction are the rate of hunting licenses sold per 100,000 residents (.45), the rate of lynchings per million population 1882-1927 (.34), the rate of blacks sentenced to death per homicide arrests (.59), and the ratio of executions to homicides 1940-1959 (.30). These variables reflect the support of values emphasizing retribution. It is interesting to note the impact of variables which are based on data from many years ago, specifically the data on

lynchings and executions. It appears that the cultural support for values of male entitlement is well grounded historically and does not reflect a recent phenomenon.

It is also important to mention that the corporal punishment index shows a very weak relationship with parental abductions. This is surprising, since this measure applies directly to the status of children in the state. Cultural approval of the use of corporal punishment in the schools does not appear to influence parental abduction rates in any way.

To examine these indicators further, a multivariate regression (Table 21) using backward elimination was done including all indicators in the Legitimate Violence Index. Once again, variables with F-statistics less than 2.0 were dropped from the equation one at a time. The popularity of mass media violence as reflected by violent magazine circulation (XVMC) and violent television viewing (CV16a) were both strong predictors of parental abduction rates. The type of violence most frequently depicted in the mass media involves men in an aggressive, active role. Often male television heroes are portrayed "getting even" for perceived wrongs. Such reinforcement of values supporting male aggression may support attitudes which encourage men to abduct children in custody disputes.

State expenditures for the National Guard (V475r) also add predictive strength to the model. The military, in

Table 20. Correlation of Legitimate Violence Index Indicators with NCMEC State Parental Abduction Rates (n=50).

Variable	Correlation Coefficient
CV16A	.13
XVMC	.51**
V474R	.17
V475R	.32*
CV53	.06
CV49ER	.45**
XVCP1	.03
V1829R	.34*
Z266R2	.00
Z267R2	.59**
CV59	.30*
CV60	.24

**p<=.01, *p<=.05

CV16A: Violent television viewing index
XVMC: Violent magazine circulation index
V474R: National Guard enrollment per 100K population
V475R: National Guard expenditures per 100K population
CV53: State of origin of college football players
CV49ER: Hunting licenses sold per 100K population
XVCP1: Corporal punishment permission index
V1829R: Persons lynched per million population 1882-1927
Z266R2: Whites sentenced to death per 100K white homicide arrests
Z267R2: Blacks sentenced to death per 100K black homicide arrests
CV59: Ratio of execution rate to homicide rate 1940-59
CV60: Ratio of execution rate to homicide rate 1960-78

Table 21. Regression of NCMEC state parental abduction rates on indicators included in the Legitimate Violence Index (n=50).

<u>Independent Variables</u>	<u>Coefficient</u>	<u>Std. Error</u>	<u>T-Value</u>
CV16A	.0013	.0006	2.228*
XVMC	.4442	.2802	1.586
V475R	.0553	.0233	2.378*
CV49ER	.0063	.0031	2.039*
V1829R	.0028	.0014	2.074*
Z267R2	.0184	.0075	2.453*
CV59	.0181	.0075	2.416*
CONSTANT	3.9683	.9674	4.102

Adjusted R² = .54

*P<=.05

CV16A: Violent television viewing index
XVMC: Violent magazine circulation index
V475R: National Guard expenditures per 100K population
CV49ER: Hunting licenses sold per 100K population
V1829R: Persons lynched per million population 1882-1927
arrests
Z267R2: Blacks sentenced to death per 100K black homicide
arrests
CV59: Ratio of execution rate to homicide rate 1940-59

spite of recent changes, remains a male arena. It engenders many of the values and norms which encourage male aggression. The sense of strength, male power, and retaliation is strong in military organizations. Along with the next two indicators, the popularity of hunting among state residents, and the rate of lynchings, it appears related to the approval of the use of lethal force in order to achieve a socially sanctioned result.

While there may have been a degree of social approval for these acts, lynchings illustrate taking the law into your own hands. Individuals involved in lynchings were acting with a lack of regard for the rights of others and a willingness to use force to impose their will on others. Elements of this value system may be reflected in the behavior of abductors. Those who steal children take the law into their own hands and often show a disregard for the needs of others.

The final two elements in the model (blacks sentenced to death and the ratio of executions to homicides) reflect the institutionalized acceptance of violence in the criminal justice system. The acceptance of lethal acts by social control agencies sends a strong message to the general population regarding the appropriateness of violence as a means of punishment. Capital punishment has long been associated with feelings of revenge. We know that parental abductions are often motivated by similar feelings (Agopian,

1981). The institutionalized approval of violence for purposes of revenge shown in capital punishment may certainly spread to other behaviors in other contexts.

LEGITIMATE VIOLENCE AND VIOLENT CRIME

Researchers and law enforcement agents have traditionally divided crime into two broad conceptual categories: violent crime and property crime. While the factor analysis described at the beginning of this chapter shows similarities between parental abduction and the property crime of larceny theft, this finding seems somewhat at odds with the above discussion of legitimate violence. If parental abduction is indeed a "property crime", why is it so strongly associated with cultural support for the use of legitimate violence? Table 22 shows the results of bivariate correlations between the Legitimate Violence Index and the seven index crimes and parental abduction. Unexpectedly high correlations exist between the Legitimate Violence Index and several property crimes (burglary, larceny, and motor vehicle theft). Typically considered violent crimes such as murder and aggravated assault reveal low correlations with the index. This finding leads to the conclusion that the Legitimate Violence Index may not be measuring cultural support for male violence, but rather, the cultural approval of the male use of force or extralegal solutions to conflicts. This normative endorsement of

Table 22. Bivariate Correlations of Legitimate Violence Index with Seven Index Crimes and NCMEC Parental Abduction Rate.

<u>Crime</u>	<u>Correlation Coefficient</u>
Murder	.10
Rape	.25
Robbery	-.23
Burglary	.49**
Larceny	.46**
Motor Vehicle Theft	.40**
Aggravated Assault	.06
Parental Abduction	.50**

** P<=.01

coercive male behavior may indeed "spill over" into the family and relate to higher rates of parental abduction in custody disputes.

The next chapter provides a summary of the findings from this analysis and a discussion of their implications for policy and future research.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

This chapter is divided into two sections. First, the development of parental abduction as a social problem is traced. The second section includes a discussion of the findings and policy implications of the current study.

THE EMERGENCE OF PARENTAL ABDUCTION AS A SOCIAL PROBLEM

The history of missing children as a social problem is fairly short. Only since the 1980's has the missing children problem achieved the extraordinary visibility it commands today. Parental abductions constitute 99% of all child abductions (Finkelhor, et al., 1990), but most governmental and private resources have been devoted to non-family abductions. For example, NCMEC educational and investigative programming is geared to stranger abductions. Police training, finger printing programs, identification programs, milk carton children, and stranger-danger education programs highlight the issue of stranger abduction and help maintain its prominence in the mass media.

The series of 28 murders of Atlanta schoolchildren, the abduction and murder of Adam Walsh, and the disappearance of six year old Etan Patz were all front page news. Generally, the term "missing children" has encompassed three familiar

phenomena: runaways, parental abductions, and stranger abductions. Those concerned with the issue of parental abductions found it advantageous to link their cause to the widespread sympathy for parents whose children were abducted by strangers. The label "missing children" made this link possible.

During the early 1980's, while the parental abduction issue received some attention, the response of the press, law enforcement, and the general public was ambiguous (Best, 1987). The mass media sometimes portrayed the abducting parent favorably (Jares, 1981). And a public opinion poll in the New York Times showed that only 64 percent of the respondents fully agreed that federal kidnapping laws should apply to parents (Best, 1987). While parental abductions enjoyed some of the publicity associated with the missing children issue, the seriousness of abductions by parents was minimized by members of the community and law enforcement. This may have related to the popular view that while a stranger's motive for abducting is to harm the child, an abducting parent's motive may be quite the opposite. It was hard for the public to believe that a parent would not act in the best interest of his child. Therefore, victims of parental abduction were often not considered to be at risk of abuse or neglect. Arguing against this view of the family, spokespersons concerned about the issue attacked the validity of these assumptions:

"Parental child abuse is a fact. Parents hurt, and kill, their children every day...we must assume that a parent who breaks civil laws [by abducting] will break the laws of responsible parenting."(Kristin C. Brown in U.S. Senate, 1981:76).

To assist in the location of children abducted by parents in custody disputes, Child Find was established in the early 1980's. Soon after that, the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children, funded by a federal grant, opened in 1984. One purpose of the center was to assist in the location of victims of stranger and parental abductions.

Part of the appeal of the issue of missing children was based on the value of children in American society. Zelizer (1985) argues that children have become defined as economically worthless but sentimentally priceless. Those who wished to promote missing children as a social problem focused on the extraordinarily high sentimental value of children. Public sympathy was strong for parents of missing children, with their unbearable sense of loss.

Another aspect of the missing children issue frequently raised in the media concerned the innocence of the children. Public opinion and official policy often distinguish between "innocent" victims and those who are thought to share some responsibility for their fate (Best, 1987; Williams, 1984). The understanding that children were powerless innocents presented a strong message concerning the missing children problem.

Social problems do not emerge from a social and historical vacuum. The missing children problem in general, and the parental abduction issue specifically, appeared during the 1980's. This period involved a great deal of concern over the victimization of children. The mass media was filled with reports of child abuse, child prostitution, pornography, and molestation. Best (1987) argues that while this concern with children did not begin in the 1980's, earlier movements focused on inappropriate socialization, inadequate nutrition, or hazards in the urban environment. It was in the 1980's that the discussion turned to the issues surrounding the victimization of children. This new focus set the stage for the emergence of missing children as a major social problem.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS OF MAJOR FINDINGS

Divorce and Related Issues

Central to the findings from the current study is the strong relationship which exists between the divorce rate and the rate of parental abduction. States which have a large percentage of disrupted families also tend to suffer from higher rates of parental abductions. Common sense tells us that the best way to deal with an abduction is to prevent its occurrence. Preventative strategies could include but not be restricted to, divorce mediation, increased awareness

of the issue among judges, and involvement of children in custody decisions.

Divorce is a legal and social process, filled with emotions ranging from euphoria to deep sadness and anger. Often divorces are accompanied by a great deal of bitterness or malice between spouses. Because parents must continue to communicate regarding the care of children, this relationship does not end at divorce. At the time of separation, child custody is likely to be a major conflict between the parents. Divorcing parents have a great deal to gain or lose in a custody decision. Once custody has been determined, conflict concerning the visitation of the children often does not end. Each spouse is vulnerable to the other because of the shared responsibility for the children (Roman and Haddad, 1978). Possession of the child is often fraught with emotions and controversy. The custodial parent can withhold visitation or offer it only at inconvenient times. The noncustodial parent can refuse to return the child after the agreed upon visitation period. Both parents can stress the negative qualities of the other when discussing the situation with the child. The abduction of a child may be a continuation of this conflict between divorced parents.

Research on divorce mediation shows that its impact on those involved tends to be positive (Stull and Kaplan, 1987; Paquin, 1987). Mediation often reduces conflicts between

divorcing parents and the negative impact that this has on the children involved. Counselors may also be in a position to deter some parents from planned kidnappings by informing them of legal ramifications and harmful effects upon the child (Haller et. al, 1979). Post-divorce counseling has also been recommended to prevent parental abductions (Schetky and Haller, 1983). This encourages parents to disengage emotionally, cease using the child as a pawn in ongoing struggles, and work out mutually satisfactory visitation schedules. At this time, some states require limited mediation when divorces involve children (Weitzmann, 1985).

The impact of involving children in custody mediation sessions has been examined by Drapkin and Bienenfeld (1985). It was found that the inclusion of children has a powerful impact on both parents, rendering them more willing to focus on their children's needs and new parental roles rather than past disappointments. Children also benefitted, having the opportunity to communicate their concerns with an understanding third person, leaving them less anxious and burdened. The increased use of counseling during and after the divorce and custody negotiations, combined with the involvement of children in custody award decisions, may lead to greater communication and fewer abductions.

Judges and law enforcement officials need to become more aware of the incidence of parental abductions. Judges

involved in custody decisions are in a unique position to prevent potential abductions by providing clear, enforceable visitation plans. Also, research has shown that abductions are often preceded by threats (Kiser, 1987). Law enforcement officials need to be aware of the seriousness of parental abductions, eliminating any ambiguity concerning the investigation and prosecution of these offenses. While the present study failed to show a relationship between the legal classification of parental abduction and its incidence rate, studies have shown that felony status does improve the recovery rate in these abductions (Collins et. al, 1989). In states where parental abduction is a felony, law enforcement officials have been able to recover the child sooner. This may reflect the seriousness implied by felony status.

Another policy issue relevant to the prevention of parental abduction concerns joint custody preference. The current study found no relationship between a state preference for joint custody and the parental abduction rate. A debate concerning the value of joint custody currently exists in the research community. Those who advocate joint custody argue that it allows the children to maintain healthy, ongoing relationships with both parents. Opponents of joint custody feel that it is often not appropriate to attempt to divide the child's time between the two parents, especially if the divorcing parents do not

wish to enter into a joint custody arrangement. Courts have the right to impose joint custody on a family regardless of the parents' wishes or readiness for joint custody.

Successful co-parenting is dependent on parental agreement, cooperation, and willingness to engage in a joint custody arrangement. Shulman and Pitt (1984) point out that a parent who does not believe joint custody is in the child's best interests may be forced into accepting such an "agreement" out of fear that "she or he will stand at a disadvantage and lose sole custody in a contested trial" (p. 212). Recent research (Clingempeel and Reppucci, 1982; Weitzman, 1981) also suggests that joint custody may have negative implications for income, child support, and social welfare benefits.

The current study fails to reveal a relationship between joint custody preference and parental abduction at the state level. Further research at the individual level may offer more information regarding the impact of joint custody arrangements. As Hagan (1987) suggests, until further information about joint custody and its viability for a variety of families is available, these arrangements must be explored with caution.

An important finding concerns the relationship between the rate of parental abduction and payment of child support by noncustodial parents. The negative relationship between these factors is open to several interpretations. Payment of

child support may reflect the noncustodial parents' satisfaction with the custody arrangements. Or, it may simply show that the parent is concerned with the financial well being of the children. It may also relate to strong state laws concerning child support payments. What we do know is that in situations where parents are paying the required child support, abductions tend to be less frequent. Further analysis is necessary to understand which of the above motivations promotes the payment of child support.

The Status of Children and Parental Abduction

The current research failed to show a strong relationship between the status of children in the health arena and the parental abduction rate. States with low infant mortality rates tend to have higher rates of parental abduction. This finding is incompatible with the hypothesis that states where children enjoy higher status would have lower rates of parental abduction. The reasons for this finding are unclear at this time and further research is necessary to more accurately measure, and more clearly understand the health status of children.

One indicator of the legal status of children did display a strong, negative relationship with parental abductions. Laws requiring criminal history background checks for those working with children were found to be negatively associated with parental abduction rates. This

suggests that the legal protections for children in other areas may carry over to prevent parental abductions.

Deterrence and Parental Abduction

Deterrence theory predicts that states with strong laws concerning parental abduction will have lower abduction rates. Strong support for this argument was not received in the current research. It was found, however, that laws concerning missing children in general were related to parental abduction. Those states with information clearinghouses for missing children tended to have higher rates of parental abduction. A possible explanation for this finding relates to the temporal order dilemma: are strong laws the cause of lower crime rates, as deterrence theory would predict, or are strong laws simply a reaction to higher rates of crime? In either case, the existence of laws protecting children outside the family may send a strong message to those who consider abducting children within the family. State legislators need to mobilize in support of laws protecting children in the community and in the family. As this finding shows, such legislation may have an impact in many areas.

Family Privacy and Parental Abduction

The American family has traditionally enjoyed a high degree of privacy, protecting its members from the scrutiny and interference of outsiders. Such privacy can result in

diminished levels of social control over the behavior of individuals within the family unit. It was hypothesized that states which do not intervene in "private" family matters like abortion would have higher rates of parental abduction. The current research failed to support this hypothesis. The number of restrictions state legislators placed on abortion was found to be positively related to parental abduction. While this finding was not statistically significant, it does raise questions concerning the role family privacy may play in parental abductions.

Cultural Support for Male Aggression and Parental Abduction

Cultural Spillover Theory proposes that the cultural support for the use of violence to achieve socially desired ends will carry over into the family. Based on this, it was hypothesized that states which have high scores on the Legitimate Violence Index would have higher rates of parental abduction. This hypothesis was supported. While the original purpose of the Legitimate Violence Index was to measure the degree of cultural support for the use of violence to achieve socially approved goals, the individual items on the index support its use as a measure of support for male aggression. This finding shows that when cultural support exists for the use of force by men, parental abduction is more likely to occur in custody disputes. The incidence of parental abduction can thus be seen as a

consequence of the failure of the social system to address this problem. Several indicators from the legitimacy of violence index showed especially strong relationships to the parental abduction rate. Among these was the depiction of violence in the mass media. Most of the violence promoted in the mass media shows men as the aggressors. This reinforces the role of men as retaliators. It is difficult to turn on the television during prime time and not be faced with programming which depicts such male behavior in a positive way. States which scored high on the violent television viewing index reflect a cultural fascination or interest in such programs. To encourage acts of male force or aggression via the mass media may serve to encourage parental abduction. We must examine the impact of television on our values and determine if the message that is being sent is really the one we want to receive.

Measures concerning the participation in male dominated violent activities such as hunting and lynching were also related to the rate of parental abduction. These reflect a value system which supports the use of lethal physical force on the part of individuals. Values which support the killing of an animal for sport, or a human being for perceived social justice send a strong message. It suggests that there are times when killing is appropriate. Such a belief may go far in encouraging disgruntled parents to "take the

law into their own hands" and win the custody battle permanently by abducting a child.

Indicators related to the institutionalized use of lethal force via capital punishment also have a strong relationship with the parental abduction rate. Baron and Straus (1989) argue that the use of capital punishment as a deterrent to murder is flawed. Rather than acting as a deterrent, capital punishment acts as a model for violent behavior. In fact, studies have shown that the murder rate often rises in the days following a well publicized execution. These findings have implications for parental abductions as well. States which endorse capital punishment communicate a willingness to use extreme force in the name of social control. This killing is seen as legitimate because it is condoned by the government. Opponents to capital punishment argue that its popularity is linked to the need for revenge, not deterrence. We know that many parental abductions are also motivated primarily by a need for revenge. Thus, capital punishment may represent the use of force for purposes of revenge. When examined in this light, the similarities to parental abduction are clear.

At the end of Chapter four, the relationship between the Legitimate Violence Index and a variety of crimes was examined. Cultural support for the use of male force appears to be most strongly linked to property crimes, not violent crimes. This finding suggests that normative values

supporting male entitlement and men's use of extralegal means to end conflict are linked to parental abduction.

Changing societal values and norms which support male force and entitlement is not a small task. But perhaps the first step in such a process involves public awareness. By educating the public about issues concerning male roles and gender equality, a small step may be made in the right direction.

Parental abduction is a result of an extremely conflictual situation which exists in some divorces, victimizing those who are the most innocent of wrongdoing. Prevention of such actions should remain at the top of our research agenda.

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APPENDIX A

DATA SOURCES

CHINJ: Child Injury Death Rate, 1980-1985

Baker, Susan P. and Waller, Anna E., 1989. Childhood Injury: State by State Mortality Facts, The Johns Hopkins Injury Prevention Center. Figure 4, page 5.

SOCDIS: Social Disorganization Index

Baron, Larry and Straus, Murray A., 1989. Four Theories of Rape in American Society, Yale University Press, New Haven and London.

LARCENY: Larceny Theft Rate, 1988
RAPE: Rape Rate, 1988
ROB: Robbery Rate, 1988
MURDER: Murder Rate, 1988
MVTHEFT: Motor Vehicle Theft Rate, 1988
BURGLAR: Burglary Rate, 1988
AGGASSLT: Aggravated Assault Rate, 1988

Federal Bureau of Investigation, 1989, U.S. Department of Justice, Uniform Crime Reports, 1988, Washington, D.C.

Parental Abduction Incidence Rate, 1988

Finkelhor, David, Hotaling, Gerald, and Sedlak, Andrea. 1990 The National Incidence Studies of Missing, Abducted, Runaway, and Throwaway Children, University of New Hampshire, Durham, N.H. 03824

CASGAL: Mandatory Guardian Ad Litem or Court Appointed Special Advocate for Children in Court
CCTV: Closed Circuit Television for Child Testimony
ADD: Anatomically Detailed Dolls for Child Testimony
CHPRIV: Child's Identity Protected
ST: Speedy Trial for Cases Involving Children
TRPRO: Training Programs on Child Abuse and Neglect

APPENDIX A (continued)

Howell, Jay C., 1989, Selected State Legislation: A Guide for Effective State Laws to Protect Children, Second Edition, National Center For Missing and Exploited Children, 1835 K Street, N.W., Suite 600, Washington, D.C. 20006

IMORT: Infant Mortality Rate, 1986
LBW: Rate of Low-birthweight Births, 1986

Hughes, Dana; Johnson, Kay; Rosenbaum, Sara; Butler, Elizabeth; and Simons, Janet. 1988. The Health of Americas's Children: Maternal and Child Health Data Book, Children's Defense Fund. Tables 2.1A, 2.5A

RESTOT: Abortion Restrictiveness Index, 1976

Johnson, Charles A. and Bond, Jon R., 1980. "Coercive and Noncoercive Abortion Deterrence Policies: A Comparative State Analysis", Law and Policy Quarterly, 2:1, page 115-116.

FAMPRI: Family Privacy Index, 1980

Murphy, Patricia A., 1990. Explaining the State to State Variation in Wife Abuse Legislation, Ph.D. Dissertation, Sociology, University of New Hampshire, Durham, NH.

MAGE: Mean Age at Marriage, 1987

National Center for Health Statistics, 6526 Belcrest Road, Hyattsville, MD, 20782

NCMECRT: Parental Abduction Rate, May 1988-May 1989.

National Center for Missing and Exploited Children, 2101 Wilson Boulevard, Suite 550, Arlington, VA 22201.
(703) 235-3900

APPENDIX A (continued)

ACTCNT: Number of Police Actions Mandated for
Missing Children
INFORM: Information Clearinghouse for Missing
Children
CLASS: Legal Classification of Custodial
Interference/Parental Abduction
LIMIT: Age Limit for Missing Children

Research Triangle Institute, 1990. Center for Social Research
and Policy Analysis, Box 12194, Research Triangle Park, North
Carolina 27709-2194

GEX: Gender Equality Index

Sugarman, David B., Straus, Murray A., 1988. "Indicators of
Gender Equality for American States and Regions", Social
Indicators Research, 20:229-270.

DIVRT: Divorce Rate, 1988

U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1989. Statistical Abstracts of the
United States: 1989, (109th edition) Washington, D.C.
Table 133, page 89.

PREFJC: Joint Custody Statutes, 1985

Weitzman, Lenore J, 1985. The Divorce Revolution: The
Unexpected Social and Economic Consequences for Women and
Children in America., The Free Press, New York., Table C-7, pp
430-435. and Folberg, Jay. (Ed), 1985, "Joint Custody and
Shared Parenting", Golden Gate Law Review, 12:538, pp572-573.

KHOMRT: Child Homicide Rate, 1985-87

Williams, Kirk R. and Straus, Murray A. Comparative Homicide
Files, 1976-1987. University of New Hampshire, Durham, NH
03824

APPENDIX B

INDICATORS INCLUDED IN THE GENDER EQUALITY INDEX (Sugarman and Straus, 1988)

Economic Dimension

SWRE1: Percent of females who are in the civilian labor force relative to the percent of males who are in the civilian labor force, 1982.

SWRE2: Percent of women in professional and technical occupations relative to the percent of men in similar occupations, 1982.

SWRE3: Percent of women who are managers and administrators in non-farms occupations relative to the percent of men who are in similar occupations, 1982.

SWRE4: Percent of female labor force employed relative to percent of male labor force members who are unemployed, 1982.

SWRE5: The median income of full-time female workers relative to the median income for full-time male workers, 1979.

SWRE6: The percent of Small Business loans given to women relative to the percent given to men, 1977.

SWRE7: The percent of Small Business Loan money loaned to women relative to the percent of Small Business Loan money loaned to men, 1977.

SWRE8: The percent of female headed households with incomes above the poverty level relative to the percent of male headed households above the poverty level, 1979.

Political Dimension

SWRP1: Percent of U.S. Congress members who are women relative to the percent who are men, 1983.

SWRP2: Percent of State Senate members who are women relative to the percent who are men, 1983.

SWRP3: Percent of State House members who are women relative to the percent who are men, 1983.

APPENDIX B (continued)

SWRP4: Percent of major trial and appellate court judges who are women relative to the percent who are men, 1979.

SWRP5: Percent of mayors who are women relative to the percent of mayors who are men, 1983.

SWRP6: Percent of Governing Board members who are women relative to the percent of Governing Board members who are men, 1983.

Legal Dimension

SWL1: State passed fair employment practice act

SWL2: Women may file lawsuit personally under fair employment practices act

SWL3: State passed equal pay laws

SWL4: Women may file lawsuit personally under equal pay laws

SWL5: Sex discrimination law in the area of public accommodations

SWL6: Sex discrimination law in the area of housing

SWL7: Sex discrimination law in the area of financing

SWL8: Sex discrimination law in the area of education

SWL9: State requires that wife must change name when married

SWL10: Statutes provide for civil injunction relief for victims of abuse

SWL11: Statutes that provide temporary injunction relief during a divorce, separation or custody proceedings

SWL12: Statutes that define the physical abuse of a family or household member as a criminal offense

SWL13: Statutes that permit warrantless arrest based on probable cause in domestic violence cases

SWL14: Statute that requires data collection and reporting of family violence by agencies that serve these families

SWL15: Statutes that provide funds for family violence shelters or established standards of shelter operations

APPENDIX C

ABORTION RESTRICTIVENESS INDEX

Johnson, Charles and Jon Bond. 1980. "Coercive and Noncoercive Deterrence Policies." Law and Policy Quarterly 2(1):106-128.

1. Performance by licensed physicians required (first trimester)
2. Facility requirements (first trimester)
3. Facility requirements (after first trimester)
4. Abortion prohibited except to save woman's life or health (after viability)
5. Consultation or certification by other physician(s) required (after viability)
6. Woman must be informed of consequences of or alternative to abortion or availability of counseling
7. Spousal consent required
8. Parental consent required if unmarried minor
9. Physician required to report all abortions to state health agency
10. Advertising abortion services prohibited
11. Using public funds for abortion except for life or health reasons prohibited
12. Nonperformance by institution authorized
13. Nonperformance by individuals authorized
14. Relieves liability and prohibits discriminatory, disciplinary or recriminatory action against those refusing to participate in abortions (institutions)

APPENDIX C (continued)

15. Relieves liability and prohibits discriminatory, disciplinary or recriminatory action against those refusing to participate in abortions (individuals)
16. Measures to save viable fetus required
17. Live-born aborted child made public ward

APPENDIX D

LEGITIMATE VIOLENCE INDEX (Baron and Straus, 1988)

1. Violent television viewing index.
This reflects the size of the audience in each state for the six most violent television programs on national television in the fall of 1980.
2. Violent magazine circulation index.
This was computed based on the Audit Bureau of Circulation's figures for the number of copies of violent magazines sold in each state. Magazines were factor analyzed and each state's circulation score was weighted by a factor score which reflected the magazine's content of violent material.
3. National Guard Expenditures and Enrollment.
Per capita expenditures and enrollment in the National Guard per 100,000 population in each state.
4. Football player production.
Based on the state of origin of college football players.
5. Hunting Licenses per 100,000 population.
6. Corporal punishment permission index.
Each state has a score based on the number of circumstances specified in the law under which school authorities have the right to hit children. The range is from zero (i.e. under no circumstances) to nine such circumstances.
7. Lynchings per million population 1882-1927.
8. Ratio of Executions to Homicides, 1940-59 and 1960-79.
9. Ratio of persons under sentence of death to homicide arrests by race.

APPENDIX E

DIVORCE RATES, 1988

1.	massachu	2.9
2.	connecti	3.2
3.	pennsylv	3.3
4.	wisconsi	3.5
5.	minnesot	3.5
6.	new jers	3.5
7.	new york	3.6
8.	north da	3.6
9.	maryland	3.6
10.	south da	3.7
11.	iowa	3.8
12.	rhode is	3.8
13.	illinois	4
14.	nebraska	4
15.	south ca	4.2
16.	louisian	4.3
17.	michigan	4.3
18.	virginia	4.3
19.	new hamp	4.4
20.	delaware	4.5
21.	ohio	4.6
22.	utah	4.6
23.	hawaii	4.6
24.	mississi	4.7
25.	maine	4.8
26.	missouri	4.8
27.	californ	4.8
28.	vermont	4.9
29.	west vir	4.9
30.	north ca	5
31.	montana	5.1
32.	new mexi	5.3
33.	oregon	5.4
34.	kentucky	5.5
35.	georgia	5.6
36.	texas	5.6
37.	colorado	5.7
38.	washingt	5.7
39.	alabama	5.7
40.	district	5.9
41.	idaho	6
42.	kansas	6.2
43.	florida	6.3
44.	indiana	6.4
45.	tennesse	6.5

APPENDIX E (continued)

46.	wyoming	6.9
47.	alaska	6.9
48.	arkansas	7
49.	arizona	7.1
50.	oklahoma	7.1
51.	nevada	14.0

APPENDIX F

NATIONAL INCIDENCE STUDIES ON MISSING, ABDUCTED, RUNAWAY AND THROWAWAY CHILDREN

Data from the NISMART study (Finkelhor et al, 1990) provide much of the descriptive information on parental abduction episodes shown in chapter one. This study produced the most comprehensive, up-to-date data available on missing and displaced children in the United States. Because it plays such an important role in the present study, the methodology of the NISMART study is described in detail below.

NISMART Survey Design.

The NISMART study included a telephone survey of a nationally representative sample of American households (n=34,822). The responding universe were the parents or caretakers of children 18 years of age or younger who resided in a given household for at least two consecutive weeks during the preceeding year. These interviews involved one caretaker in households concerning a total of 20,138 children (Finkelhor et al, 1990). The modified Waksberg method of sample selection was used to provide an unbiased sample of households with telephones. This method is more efficient and cost effective than random digit dialing since clusters of residential telephone exchanges are identified and sampled. This reduces the number of calls to commercial and nonworking

APPENDIX F (continued)

numbers. The survey completion rate for households known to have children was 89.2 percent (Sedlak and Mohadjer, 1990).

Based on these interviews, national estimates were calculated for parental abductions. Interviews began with a series of screener questions. Respondents who answered "yes" to one or more of the following four questions were screened in as parental abduction or custodial interference cases and received a more detailed set of questions regarding the episode.

1. Was there any time when anyone tried to take [any of these children] away against your wishes?

In the past 12 months, did any family member outside of your household, such as an ex-spouse, brother, sister, parent or in-law, or someone acting for them, do any of the following things...

2....take or try to take [any of these children] in violation of a custody order, agreement or other child living arrangement?

3....keep or try to keep [any of these children] from you when you were supposed to have them even if for just a day or weekend?

4....conceal [any of these children] or try to prevent you from having contact with them? (Finkelhor et al, 1990).

In the NISMART study, all cases which screened in according to the above criterion were evaluatively coded following the interview. NISMART used two categories of family abductions: broad scope and policy focal. The broad scope cases qualified under one of the following definitions:

APPENDIX F (continued)

Broad Scope

FA1. Child was taken by a family member in violation of a custody agreement or decree.

FA2. Child was not returned or given over by a family member and child was away at least overnight in violation of a custody agreement or decree.

Those cases which NISMART identified as policy focal met the narrower definitions outlined below:

FA3. Child who is 14 or younger was taken by a family member in violation of a custody agreement or decree and condition (1), (2), or (3) below applies.

FA4. Child who is 14 or younger was not returned or given over by a family member and the child was away at least overnight in violation of a custody agreement or decree, and condition (1), (2), or (3) below applies.

FA5. Child who is 15 or older was taken by a family member in violation of a custody agreement or decree, condition (1), (2), or (3) below applies, and some kind of force or threat was used against the child.

FA6. Child who is 15 or older was not returned or given over by a family member and the child was away at least overnight in violation of a custody agreement or decree, condition (1), (2), or (3) below applies, and some kind of force or threat was used against the child.

Conditions

(1) An attempt was made to conceal the taking or whereabouts of the child or to prevent contact with the child.

(2) Child was transported from the State with the intent of making it more difficult to contact or recover the child.

APPENDIX F (continued)

(3) Abducting family member made statements or took actions that indicated an intent to prevent contact with the child on an indefinite basis or to permanently affect custodial privileges.

In order to calculate national estimates of the incidence of missing children, weights were calculated for the NISMART survey data. These weights correct for sampling error and minimize the bias introduced by nonrespondents. The weights also adjust for the fact that households without telephones were not included in the survey. The poststratification was accomplished by applying weights so that the study sample agreed with the Census estimates of the total population along the following dimensions: child's age, sex, race, and ethnicity, geographical region, and the educational level of the head of household. The education variable was used as a substitute for household income.

APPENDIX G:

STATE VALUES FOR VARIABLES IN THE ANALYSIS

	STATE	DIVRT	PREFJC	CHSUP
1.	alabama	5.7	no	10
2.	alaska	6.9	no	17
3.	arizona	7.1	no	9.5
4.	arkansas	7	no	17.5
5.	californ	4.8	yes	16.8
6.	colorado	5.7	no	7.3
7.	connecti	3.2	yes	31.8
8.	delaware	4.5	no	36.9
10.	florida	6.3	yes	7
11.	georgia	5.6	.	4.9
12.	hawaii	4.6	no	16
13.	idaho	6	yes	16.3
14.	illinois	4	no	10.6
15.	indiana	6.4	no	11.2
16.	iowa	3.8	no	23.1
17.	kansas	6.2	yes	4.3
18.	kentucky	5.5	no	4.6
19.	louisian	4.3	yes	11.5
20.	maine	4.8	no	23.6
21.	maryland	3.6	no	17.3
22.	massachu	2.9	yes	25.5
23.	michigan	4.3	no	21.4
24.	minnesot	3.5	no	26.2
25.	mississi	4.7	no	5.8
26.	missouri	4.8	no	10.1
27.	montana	5.1	no	5.8
28.	nebraska	4	no	25.7
29.	nevada	8	yes	29.8
30.	new hamp	4.4	yes	27.1
31.	new jers	3.5	yes	21.7
32.	new mexi	5.3	yes	6.3
33.	new york	3.6	yes	27.7
34.	north ca	5	no	16.7
35.	north da	3.6	no	15.5
36.	ohio	4.6	no	9.4
37.	oklahoma	7.1	yes	3.8
38.	oregon	5.4	no	20.2
39.	pennsylv	3.3	no	24.7
40.	rhode is	3.8	yes	13.6
41.	south ca	4.2	.	8.1
42.	south da	3.7	no	10
43.	tennesse	6.5	.	12.3
44.	texas	5.6	no	7

APPENDIX G (continued)

	STATE	DIVRT	PREFJC	CHSUP
45.	utah	4.6	no	16.8
46.	vermont	4.9	no	23.5
47.	virginia	4.3	no	5.4
48.	washingt	5.7	yes	35.6
49.	west vir	4.9	.	4.7
50.	wisconsi	3.5	no	42.8
51.	wyoming	6.9	.	5.9

	STATE	MAGE	GEX	ACTCNT
1.	alabama	22.7	11.32846	3
2.	alaska	24	89.25574	0
3.	arizona	.	75.16875	0
4.	arkansas	.	20.48173	4
5.	californ	25.3	69.15207	2
6.	colorado	24.3	66.08643	0
7.	connecti	25.8	71.66032	3
8.	delaware	24.8	66.3364	0
9.	district	27.8	.	.
10.	florida	24.5	56.98905	4
11.	georgia	23.4	33.83903	3
12.	hawaii	26.1	90.41622	0
13.	idaho	22.5	68.9231	0
14.	illinois	24.9	39.64737	4
15.	indiana	23.3	40.72561	3
16.	iowa	.	53.76884	1
17.	kansas	23.2	60.85893	3
18.	kentucky	22.5	55.43417	3
19.	louisian	23.4	12.04901	5
20.	maine	24	70.06095	0
21.	maryland	25.4	75.43599	4
22.	massachu	25.9	62.06385	4
23.	michigan	24.3	60.10009	0
24.	minnesot	24.6	62.70533	4
25.	mississi	23	6.328516	0
26.	missouri	23.3	48.25418	0
27.	montana	23.6	60.70346	3
28.	nebraska	23.7	48.5149	0
29.	nevada	.	54.49843	0
30.	new hamp	24.7	68.24599	6
31.	new jers	26	43.32265	0
32.	new mexi	.	34.1282	0
33.	new york	26.1	52.12515	3

APPENDIX G (continued)

	STATE	MAGE	GEX	ACTCNT
34.	north ca	23.5	39.91157	1
35.	north da	.	34.7648	0
36.	ohio	24	49.74515	7
37.	oklahoma	.	38.15863	0
38.	oregon	24	93.31473	0
39.	pennsylv	24.9	39.47874	4
40.	rhode is	25.4	45.50575	0
41.	south ca	23.4	26.79515	4
42.	south da	23.5	39.77339	3
43.	tennesse	23.1	23.64667	2
44.	texas	.	26.86953	4
45.	utah	22.3	31.5761	0
46.	vermont	25.1	35.09377	5
47.	virginia	24.3	37.66727	3
48.	washingt	.	67.88702	3
49.	west vir	22.4	40.54866	0
50.	wisconsi	24.4	48.92726	0
51.	wyoming	23.1	51.65977	0

	STATE	IMORT	LBW	CHINJ	KHOMRT
1.	alabama	13.3	8	23	4.244256
2.	alaska	10.8	4.6	35	3.072328
3.	arizona	9.4	6.2	27	7.244157
4.	arkansas	10.3	7.6	27	3.598117
5.	californ	8.9	6	19	8.013577
6.	colorado	8.6	7.7	19	4.507276
7.	connecti	9.1	6.6	12	4.921186
8.	delaware	11.5	7.4	20	2.761111
9.	district	.	.	21	.
10.	florida	11	7.6	25	11.06053
11.	georgia	12.5	8.1	24	7.578058
12.	hawaii	9.3	6.9	13	4.29891
13.	idaho	11.3	5.2	27	1.92926
14.	illinois	12.1	7.4	18	6.280597
15.	indiana	11.3	6.4	18	5.329019
16.	iowa	8.5	5.2	17	2.800611
17.	kansas	8.9	6.2	21	4.882777
18.	kentucky	9.8	7.1	19	3.876503
19.	louisian	11.9	8.6	26	8.081496
20.	maine	8.8	5.1	16	1.121814
21.	maryland	11.7	7.7	16	9.474823
22.	massachu	8.5	5.8	11	3.151608

APPENDIX G (continued)

	STATE	IMORT	LBW	CHINJ	KHOMRT
23.	michigan	11.4	6.9	19	12.47474
24.	minnesot	9.2	5.1	16	2.044374
25.	mississi	12.4	8.7	31	6.785659
26.	missouri	10.7	6.8	19	7.866213
27.	montana	9.6	5.9	25	5.131965
28.	nebraska	10.1	5.5	17	3.53971
29.	nevada	9.1	7.4	24	7.145777
30.	new hamp	9.1	5.2	14	.970438
31.	new jers	9.8	6.8	16	7.137421
32.	new mexi	9.5	7.1	27	12.7476
33.	new york	10.7	7.3	16	12.54278
34.	north ca	11.5	7.9	21	4.965927
35.	north da	8.4	4.9	18	1.052632
36.	ohio	10.6	6.7	16	5.194616
37.	oklahoma	10.4	6.5	26	7.551207
38.	oregon	9.4	5.1	21	5.289791
39.	pennsylv	10.2	6.9	15	7.140454
40.	rhode is	9.4	6.4	12	4.129956
41.	south ca	13.2	8.6	24	6.426198
42.	south da	13.3	5.3	23	2.691388
43.	tennesse	11	7.9	20	4.270565
44.	texas	9.5	6.8	23	7.667913
45.	utah	8.6	5.4	20	2.916058
46.	vermont	10	5.2	20	5.134484
47.	virginia	11.1	7	16	5.332602
48.	washingt	9.8	5.2	19	6.078469
49.	west vir	10.2	7	18	3.034484
50.	wisconsi	9.2	5.4	15	3.182191
51.	wyoming	10.9	6.8	26	4.073199

	STATE	BCALL	TRPRO	CASGAL
1.	alabama	3	3	1
2.	alaska	3	0	1
3.	arizona	3	3	1
4.	arkansas	2	3	1
5.	californ	3	3	1
6.	colorado	2	0	1
7.	connecti	3	1	1
8.	delaware	1	0	1
9.	district	1	0	1
10.	florida	2	3	1

APPENDIX G (continued)

	STATE	BCALL	TRPRO	CASGAL
11.	georgia	2	0	1
12.	hawaii	1	3	1
13.	idaho	1	0	1
14.	illinois	3	3	1
15.	indiana	2	0	1
16.	iowa	1	3	1
17.	kansas	3	1	1
18.	kentucky	3	3	0
19.	louisian	3	0	0
20.	maine	2	1	1
21.	maryland	3	1	1
22.	massachu	2	1	0
23.	michigan	1	3	1
24.	minnesot	3	0	1
25.	mississi	3	0	1
26.	missouri	0	0	1
27.	montana	0	0	1
28.	nebraska	1	0	1
29.	nevada	2	0	1
30.	new hamp	1	1	1
31.	new jers	2	3	0
32.	new mexi	2	2	1
33.	new york	3	2	1
34.	north ca	1	1	1
35.	north da	1	0	1
36.	ohio	1	1	1
37.	oklahoma	1	1	1
38.	oregon	2	1	0
39.	pennsylv	2	3	1
40.	rhode is	2	0	1
41.	south ca	1	0	1
42.	south da	0	0	1
43.	tennesse	3	0	1
44.	texas	3	3	1
45.	utah	1	1	1
46.	vermont	0	1	1
47.	virginia	3	1	1
48.	washingt	3	1	1
49.	west vir	1	3	0
50.	wisconsi	2	1	1
51.	wyoming	0	0	1

APPENDIX G (continued)

	STATE	CCTV	ADD	CHPRIV	ST
1.	alabama	yes	yes	1	yes
2.	alaska	yes	no	1	no
3.	arizona	yes	no	0	yes
4.	arkansas	no	no	0	yes
5.	californ	yes	no	1	yes
6.	colorado	no	no	1	yes
7.	connecti	yes	no	1	no
8.	delaware	no	no	0	yes
9.	district	no	no	0	yes
10.	florida	yes	no	1	yes
11.	georgia	yes	no	1	no
12.	hawaii	yes	no	0	no
13.	idaho	no	no	0	no
14.	illinois	yes	no	1	no
15.	indiana	yes	no	0	no
16.	iowa	yes	no	1	no
17.	kansas	yes	no	0	no
18.	kentucky	yes	no	0	yes
19.	louisian	yes	no	1	no
20.	maine	no	no	1	no
21.	maryland	yes	no	1	no
22.	massachu	no	no	0	no
23.	michigan	yes	yes	1	yes
24.	minnesot	yes	no	1	no
25.	mississi	yes	no	1	no
26.	missouri	no	yes	0	yes
27.	montana	no	no	1	no
28.	nebraska	yes	no	0	no
29.	nevada	no	no	1	no
30.	new hamp	yes	no	1	yes
31.	new jers	yes	yes	0	yes
32.	new mexi	no	no	0	no
33.	new york	yes	yes	0	yes
34.	north ca	no	no	0	yes
35.	north da	no	no	1	yes
36.	ohio	yes	no	1	no
37.	oklahoma	yes	no	0	no
38.	oregon	no	no	1	no
39.	pennsylv	yes	yes	1	no
40.	rhode is	yes	no	1	yes
41.	south ca	yes	no	1	no
42.	south da	no	no	0	no
43.	tennesse	no	no	0	no
44.	texas	yes	no	1	yes

APPENDIX G (continued)

	STATE	CCTV	ADD	CHPRIV	ST
45.	utah	yes	no	0	no
46.	vermont	yes	no	1	no
47.	virginia	yes	no	0	no
48.	washingt	no	no	1	no
49.	west vir	no	yes	0	no
50.	wisconsi	no	no	1	no
51.	wyoming	no	yes	1	no

	STATE	RESTOT	FAMPRI	LVX	GEX
1.	alabama	0	2	62	11.32846
2.	alaska	0	1	64	89.25574
3.	arizona	6	2	60	75.16875
4.	arkansas	0	2	74	20.48173
5.	californ	3	0	33	69.15207
6.	colorado	0	1	54	66.08643
7.	connecti	0	1	29	71.66032
8.	delaware	0	1	54	66.3364
9.	district	.	2	.	.
10.	florida	0	2	63	56.98905
11.	georgia	17	1	78	33.83903
12.	hawaii	2	2	45	90.41622
13.	idaho	20	0	83	68.9231
14.	illinois	27	1	34	39.64737
15.	indiana	23	1	31	40.72561
16.	iowa	0	2	41	53.76884
17.	kansas	0	2	52	60.85893
18.	kentucky	15	2	36	55.43417
19.	louisian	18	1	66	12.04901
20.	maine	9	2	34	70.06095
21.	maryland	8	1	26	75.43599
22.	massachu	18	0	19	62.06385
23.	michigan	8	1	29	60.10009
24.	minnesot	13	2	32	62.70533
25.	mississi	0	2	85	6.328516
26.	missouri	25	2	30	48.25418
27.	montana	25	1	87	60.70346
28.	nebraska	23	2	42	48.5149
29.	nevada	21	1	77	54.49843
30.	new hamp	0	1	30	68.24599
31.	new jers	8	0	22	43.32265
32.	new mexi	0	0	54	34.1282
33.	new york	6	2	27	52.12515
34.	north ca	15	1	47	39.91157

APPENDIX G (continued)

	STATE	RESTOT	FAMPRI	LVX	GEX
35.	north da	26	0	57	34.7648
36.	ohio	13	2	41	49.74515
37.	oklahoma	0	1	62	38.15863
38.	oregon	0	0	56	93.31473
39.	pennsylv	27	1	35	39.47874
40.	rhode is	6	2	18	45.50575
41.	south ca	20	1	60	26.79515
42.	south da	16	2	59	39.77339
43.	tennesse	14	1	44	23.64667
44.	texas	0	2	61	26.86953
45.	utah	18	1	83	31.5761
46.	vermont	1	2	71	35.09377
47.	virginia	21	1	47	37.66727
48.	washingt	0	1	45	67.88702
49.	west vir	0	0	38	40.54866
50.	wisconsi	6	1	27	48.92726
51.	wyoming	8	.	98	51.65977

	STATE	RESTOT	FAMPRI	LVX	SOCDIS
1.	alabama	0	2	61	34
2.	alaska	0	1	63	96
3.	arizona	6	2	65	74
4.	arkansas	0	2	77	44
5.	californ	3	0	33	73
6.	colorado	0	1	53	83
7.	connecti	0	1	28	30
8.	delaware	0	1	58	54
9.	district	.	2	.	.
10.	florida	0	2	68	72
11.	georgia	17	1	80	49
12.	hawaii	2	2	44	70
13.	idaho	20	0	70	67
14.	illinois	27	1	33	40
15.	indiana	23	1	31	45
16.	iowa	0	2	40	35
17.	kansas	0	2	52	49
18.	kentucky	15	2	35	34
19.	louisian	18	1	66	38
20.	maine	9	2	33	51
21.	maryland	8	1	26	46
22.	massachu	18	0	18	27
23.	michigan	8	1	28	49

APPENDIX G (continued)

	STATE	RESTOT	FAMPRI	LVX	SOCDIS
24.	minnesot	13	2	32	36
25.	mississi	0	2	85	34
26.	missouri	25	2	30	43
27.	montana	25	1	81	67
28.	nebraska	23	2	49	38
29.	nevada	21	1	80	100
30.	new hamp	0	1	29	58
31.	new jers	8	0	21	26
32.	new mexi	0	0	53	63
33.	new york	6	2	26	35
34.	north ca	15	1	47	34
35.	north da	26	0	57	37
36.	ohio	13	2	40	40
37.	oklahoma	0	1	70	54
38.	oregon	0	0	53	79
39.	pennsylv	27	1	34	18
40.	rhode is	6	2	17	25
41.	south ca	20	1	63	36
42.	south da	16	2	58	39
43.	tennesse	14	1	45	39
44.	texas	0	2	64	52
45.	utah	18	1	83	41
46.	vermont	1	2	70	64
47.	virginia	21	1	47	48
48.	washingt	0	1	46	80
49.	west vir	0	0	37	29
50.	wisconsi	6	1	26	32
51.	wyoming	8	.	93	84

	STATE	POV80	MET80	BLK90
1.	alabama	18.9	62	25.6
2.	alaska	10.7	43.4	3.4
3.	arizona	13.2	75.1	2.7
4.	arkansas	19	39.2	15.9
5.	californ	11.4	94.9	8.2
6.	colorado	10.1	80.9	3.9
7.	connecti	8	88.3	8.2
8.	delaware	11.9	67	18.9
9.	district	.	100	.
10.	florida	13.5	87.9	14.2
11.	georgia	16.6	60	26.9
12.	hawaii	9.9	79	1.8

APPENDIX G (continued)

	STATE	POV80	MET80	BLK90
13.	idaho	12.6	18.3	.4
14.	illinois	11	81	16.1
15.	indiana	9.7	69.8	8.4
16.	iowa	10.1	40.1	1.9
17.	kansas	10.1	46.8	5.8
18.	kentucky	17.6	44.5	7.5
19.	louisian	18.6	63.4	30.6
20.	maine	13	33	.3
21.	maryland	9.8	88.8	26.1
22.	massachu	9.6	85.3	4.8
23.	michigan	10.4	82.8	14.6
24.	minnesot	9.5	64.6	1.6
25.	mississi	23.9	27.1	35.6
26.	missouri	12.2	65.3	10.8
27.	montana	12.3	24	.2
28.	nebraska	10.7	44.1	3.4
29.	nevada	8.7	82	6.9
30.	new hamp	8.5	50.7	.6
31.	new jers	9.5	91.4	14.4
32.	new mexi	17.6	42.3	1.7
33.	new york	13.4	90.1	16.1
34.	north ca	14.8	52.7	22.1
35.	north da	12.6	35.9	.5
36.	ohio	10.3	80.3	11
37.	oklahoma	13.4	58.5	6.8
38.	oregon	10.7	64.9	1.6
39.	pennsylv	10.5	81.9	9.4
40.	rhode is	10.3	92.2	3.8
41.	south ca	16.6	59.8	30.1
42.	south da	16.9	15.8	.3
43.	tennesse	16.5	62.8	16.3
44.	texas	14.7	80	11.9
45.	utah	10.3	79	.7
46.	vermont	12.1	22.3	.4
47.	virginia	11.8	69.6	19
48.	washingt	9.8	80.4	2.4
49.	west vir	15	37.1	2.9
50.	wisconsi	8.7	66.8	4.8
51.	wyoming	7.9	15.3	.8

APPENDIX G (continued)

	STATE	INFORM	CLASS	LIMIT
1.	alabama	yes	felony	18
2.	alaska	.	both	18
3.	arizona	no	both	18
4.	arkansas	yes	both	.
5.	californ	yes	both	18
6.	colorado	yes	felony	18
7.	connecti	yes	both	16
8.	delaware	no	both	16
9.	district	.	.	.
10.	florida	yes	both	17
11.	georgia	yes	both	17
12.	hawaii	no	both	18
13.	idaho	no	felony	16
14.	illinois	yes	felony	18
15.	indiana	yes	felony	18
16.	iowa	yes	both	18
17.	kansas	yes	both	14
18.	kentucky	yes	felony	18
19.	louisian	yes	misdem	18
20.	maine	no	felony	16
21.	maryland	yes	both	12
22.	massachu	yes	both	18
23.	michigan	no	both	18
24.	minnesot	yes	felony	18
25.	mississi	yes	felony	14
26.	missouri	no	both	18
27.	montana	yes	felony	18
28.	nebraska	no	both	18
29.	nevada	no	both	18
30.	new hamp	yes	both	18
31.	new jers	yes	felony	18
32.	new mexi	no	felony	16
33.	new york	yes	both	16
34.	north ca	yes	felony	16
35.	north da	no	felony	18
36.	ohio	yes	both	18
37.	oklahoma	no	both	12
38.	oregon	no	felony	18
39.	pennsylv	no	both	18
40.	rhode is	no	felony	18
41.	south ca	yes	both	16
42.	south da	no	both	18
43.	tennesse	yes	.	.
44.	texas	yes	both	18

APPENDIX G (continued)

	STATE	INFORM	CLASS	LIMIT
45.	utah	yes	both	16
46.	vermont	no	felony	18
47.	virginia	yes	both	18
48.	washingt	yes	both	18
49.	west vir	no	felony	18
50.	wisconsi	no	felony	18
51.	wyoming	no	felony	18

APPENDIX H

DEFINITIONS OF SEVEN INDEX CRIMES

Murder and Nonnegligent Manslaughter: The willful (nonnegligent) killing of one human being by another.

Rape: The carnal knowledge of a female forcibly and against her will.

Robbery: The taking or attempting to take anything of value from the care, custody, or control of a person or persons by force or threat of force or violence and/or by putting the victim in fear.

Aggravated Assault: An unlawful attack by one person upon another for the purpose of inflicting severe or aggravated bodily injury.

Burglary: The unlawful entry of a structure to commit a felony or theft. The use of force to gain entry is not required to classify an offense as burglary.

Larceny-Theft: The unlawful taking, carrying, leading, or riding away of property from the possession or constructive possession of another. It includes crimes such as shoplifting, pocket picking, thefts from motor vehicles, etc., in which no use of force, violence, or fraud occurs.

Motor Vehicle Theft: The theft or attempted theft of a motor vehicle. This offense category includes the stealing of automobiles, trucks, buses, motorcycles, motorscooters, snowmobiles, etc. The definition excludes the taking of a motor vehicle for temporary use by those persons having lawful access.

(F.B.I., 1989)