

Abandoning Iowa's Most Vulnerable Kids

Impact on Crime of Proposed Federal Withdrawal Of Foster Care Funding Pledge



A Report from FIGHT CRIME: INVEST IN KIDS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

FIGHT CRIME: INVEST IN KIDS is a national, bipartisan, nonprofit, anti-crime organization. The organization has a membership of more than 2,000 police chiefs, sheriffs, prosecutors, and victims of violence, including 90 in Iowa. The members take a hard-nosed look at what works — and what doesn't work — to prevent crime and violence. They then recommend effective strategies to state and national policy-makers.

FIGHT CRIME: INVEST IN KIDS is supported by tax-deductible contributions from foundations, individuals, and corporations. FIGHT CRIME: INVEST IN KIDS receives no funds from federal, state, or local governments.

Major funding for its operations is provided by:

Annie E. Casey Foundation • Naomi and Nehemiah Cohen Foundation • Freddie Mac Foundation • Garfield Foundation • The Joyce Foundation • The David and Lucile Packard Foundation • The Pew Charitable Trusts - Advancing Quality Pre-Kindergarten for All

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Executive Summary

Thousands of children in Iowa have been abused or neglected so severely that they have had to be removed from their homes. As 2003 ended, there were 5,000 children living in foster homes in Iowa, and abuse and neglect soared to record levels with almost 15,000 confirmed victims – up from 12,295 the year before. The number of children with illegal drugs in their bodies because of the actions of their parents or caretakers skyrocketed from 397 in 2002 to 1,167 in 2003. Law enforcement leaders and crime victims know that safe foster homes and services are essential if abused or neglected children are to heal and grow up to be productive citizens. Safe foster homes are also necessary to protect others in Iowa from future crime, because research shows that almost four out of 10 of the children who are re-abused or neglected rather than put in safe foster homes will become violent criminals.


For over 25 years, the nation has maintained a commitment of assistance for each eligible abused or neglected child who needs a safe foster home. When the number of children needing a foster home increased, the federal government promised it would match the states' help for each eligible child. Now, that commitment may be abandoned, substituted with federal payments to states that would have rigid limits. This new "cap" is proposed as an option to states in the President's budget and mandatory for all states in legislation to be re-introduced shortly by U.S. House Ways and Means Subcommittee Chairman Representative Wally Herger (R-Calif.).

Unlike current law's commitment to match state payments for each eligible child who needs foster care, the new state cap would not budge even when child abuse caseloads surge. From 1999 to 2001, for example, Iowa had a 7 percent increase in demand for foster homes – an increase of 348 children. More than three-quarters of the states had an increase in demand for foster care in at least one of the four years from 1999 to 2003, and six states, including New Jersey and Texas, had at least a third more children in foster care at the end of the four years.

The rising epidemics of methamphetamine and heroin use, and improved state efforts to identify more children who are being abused or neglected are likely to increase the need for foster care in Iowa and many other states over the next several years.

To make matters worse, the proposed Herger legislation would actually cut funding in real (inflation-adjusted) dollars after the first year, putting the squeeze on foster care even in years when caseloads do not rise.

When the number of children in need of foster care exceeds the capped funding, caseworkers will find themselves between a rock and a hard place, struggling with the question: "When no safe foster home is available due to lack of funding, how high does the risk of further abuse or neglect have to be before I remove a child from a home?" The likely result: more abused and neglected children will be left in homes where they have already been beaten, sexually abused, or



severely neglected. Equally troubling, the children who are removed from their homes are more likely to wind up in overcrowded or unsafe foster homes instead of the nurturing homes they so badly need if they are to heal and go on to lead healthy, productive lives.

Abused and neglected children who are re-abused because of the shortage of foster care, or who are placed in inadequate or unsafe foster care, will pay an enormous price, day after day for the rest of their lives. However, they will not be the only victims of the proposed neglect of the foster care system. Others will also pay the price. Law enforcement and crime victims know that failing to protect and heal abused and neglected children sentences Iowa families to needless crime and violence. For example, research shows that when seriously abused or neglected children are left in dangerous homes and have to be placed in foster care later due to more abuse or neglect, they are 27 percent more likely to grow up to be violent criminals.

The 90 police chiefs, sheriffs, state's attorneys, and victims of violence who are members of FIGHT CRIME: INVEST IN KIDS in Iowa, and the more than 2,000 members nationally, are committed to protecting the children who cannot protect themselves. Our members are also committed to protecting our communities from future crime. Placing an arbitrary, rigid limit on federal foster care support for abused and neglected children is a dangerous abandonment of the commitment our country makes to our most vulnerable children.

Eliminating the National Commitment to Help Abused and Neglected Children Will Increase Crime in Iowa

Most people in Iowa are aware of the severe abuse and neglect some children suffer. Few people, however, realize the scope of the problem or the severity of the consequences. In Iowa, there were 14,936 officially confirmed victims of child abuse or neglect in 2003, up 21 percent from 2002.¹ In 2002, more than 1,600 children were removed from their homes; and there were 15 confirmed deaths from abuse and neglect that year.²

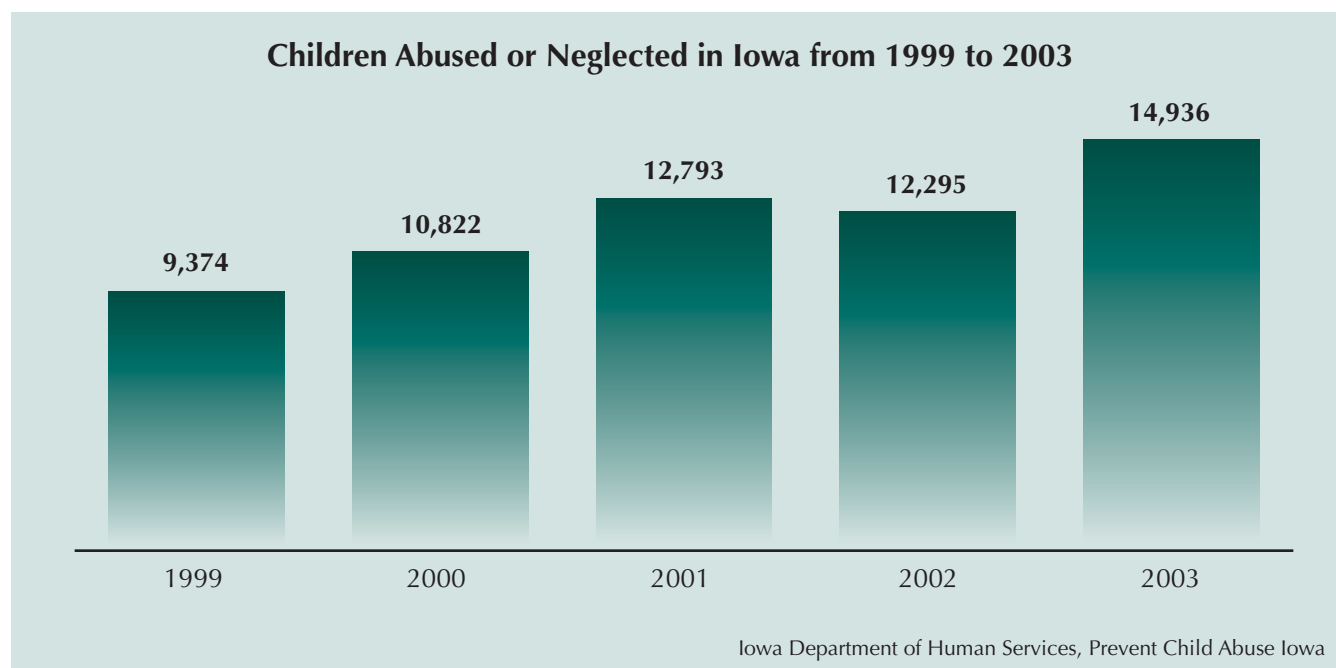
I. Continued abuse or neglect creates violent criminals

The tragedy does not end once the abuse and neglect takes place. Though many abused and neglected children grow up to lead

productive lives, children who live through abuse or neglect are far more likely than other children to be unemployed and to suffer from unstable relationships when they grow up. They are also two and a half times more likely than other children and adults to attempt suicide,³ and more likely to become criminals who prey on others. A year's toll of abuse and neglect reaches well into the future, and well beyond the initial victims.

The link between abuse and neglect and future crime

Severe abuse and neglect, particularly when it occurs during the earliest months and years of life, can permanently injure children in ways



that make them much more susceptible to engaging in violence. According to Dr. Bruce Perry, a neurobiologist and authority on brain development and children in crisis: “The systems in the human brain that allow us to form and maintain emotional relationships develop during infancy and the first years of life. ... with severe emotional neglect in early childhood the impact can be devastating.”⁴ Perry explains that severely neglected children frequently respond with aggression and cruelty that “is often accompanied by a detached, cold lack of empathy.”⁵

Research shows that neglect is as likely as physical abuse to lead to future criminal behavior when a child reaches adulthood.⁶

Physical abuse can cause post-traumatic stress disorders in children. Abused children’s brains can become “stuck” in high alert with very high resting heart rates and high levels of stress hormones in their blood even when nothing is threatening them. These children are predisposed to interpret others’ actions as threatening, and are quick to respond impulsively and aggressively in their own defense.⁷ Perry warns: “The most dangerous children are created by a malignant combination of experiences. Developmental neglect and traumatic stress during childhood create violent, remorseless children.”⁸

Children who are severely and continually abused or neglected are most likely to become violent criminals

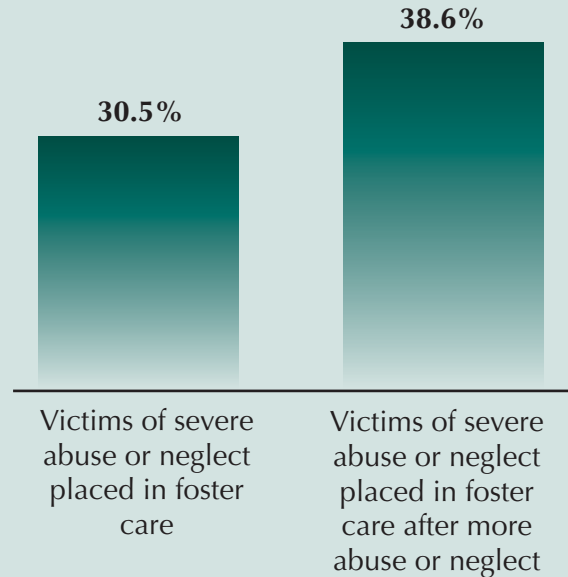
Although surveys report varying numbers, it is clear that a high percentage of criminals were abused or neglected as children. One review of the literature on prior abuse and neglect concluded that approximately half of

“Developmental neglect and traumatic stress during childhood create violent, remorseless children.”

Dr. Bruce Perry

Continued Abuse Creates Violent Criminals

Seriously abused or neglected children left in dangerous homes, who have to be placed in foster care after being re-abused or neglected, are **27%** more likely to become violent criminals than children placed directly in foster care.



English, Widom, and Brandford

the youths arrested for delinquency had been abused or neglected earlier in their lives.⁹

New Jersey Medical School psychologist Dr. Cathy Spatz Widom located individuals who had been abused or neglected as children and compared them to otherwise similar individuals who had no official record of abuse or neglect. By studying the subsequent arrest records and controlling for other demographic risk factors, Dr. Widom found that being abused or neglected almost doubles the odds that a child will commit a crime as a juvenile.¹⁰

The more severe the abuse or neglect and the longer it takes place, the more likely children are to become violent criminals. A recent study conducted in Washington State by Dr. Diana English, Dr. Cathy Spatz Widom, and Carol Brandford looked at children whose abuse and neglect was serious enough that the state legally took over temporary custody of the children from their parents and placed the children directly into foster care. Fully three out of 10 of these children (30.5 percent) were later

arrested as a juvenile or as an adult for at least one violent crime.

The researchers also studied children who had been seriously abused or neglected and were temporarily removed from the legal custody of their parents, but who were not placed directly into foster care. The children who were made wards of the court but left in their homes and abused or neglected again, resulting in subsequent foster care placements, were even more likely to grow up to become violent criminals than the children who were immediately placed in foster care. Almost four out of 10 of these re-abused or neglected children (38.6 percent) became violent criminals. The study is a warning that leaving abused or neglected children in dangerous homes – a far more likely occurrence when adequate numbers of safe foster homes are unavailable – further increases by 27 percent the risk that the children will become violent criminals.¹¹

II. Rigid caps on foster care would leave children in dangerous homes

Eliminating the nation's current commitment to help each eligible abused and neglected child and substituting it with a rigid capped payment to states would leave many states with a shortfall in funding for foster homes for victims of abuse or neglect.

The numbers of abused or neglected children are likely to increase beyond an inflexible capped federal payment in many states for multiple reasons. Many states are already facing growing epidemics of methamphetamine, heroin, or other drug use that will inevitably lead to more victims of abuse or neglect. Additionally, states are improving their systems in ways that will increase the number of children identified as needing foster care. If state foster care payments are capped, there would be less funding and that would lead to two possible outcomes. Quality and safety problems with foster homes would increase, endangering the children who are placed in foster care, or many

more children who are known to be at high risk of further abuse and neglect would be left in dangerous homes instead of placed in safe foster homes.

The capped foster care payment would decline over time placing more children at risk

The proposed capped payment to states in the legislation to be offered by Representative Herger is less than the current inflation rate after the first year and in real, inflation adjusted numbers, is set to decline in subsequent years.¹²

To make matters worse capped block grants historically are cut over time. According to the Urban Institute:

The real value of block grant funding tends to diminish over time. A study of five ... block grants [from 1986 to 1995] found that the real value of four of them decreased. ... A more recent analysis of 11 block grants found that from their establishment to the present, real federal funding fell by an average of 11 percent.¹³

Therefore, even if caseloads stay at current levels, states may soon have insufficient funds to help all of their abused and neglected children. The quality and safety of foster care placements would be jeopardized by lower funding, which would cause qualified foster parents to leave the system; to be replaced, if they are replaced at all, by less qualified foster parents. The lack of high-quality foster care parents or the simple lack of foster homes would mean that many children would face being left in dangerous homes.

Nationally, there was a slight decline overall in foster care caseloads in the last four years for which data is available (1999 to 2003). However, if Rep. Herger's proposal had been put in place sometime between the years 1999 and 2003, most states would have faced shortfalls in federal funding.

- More than three-quarters of the states

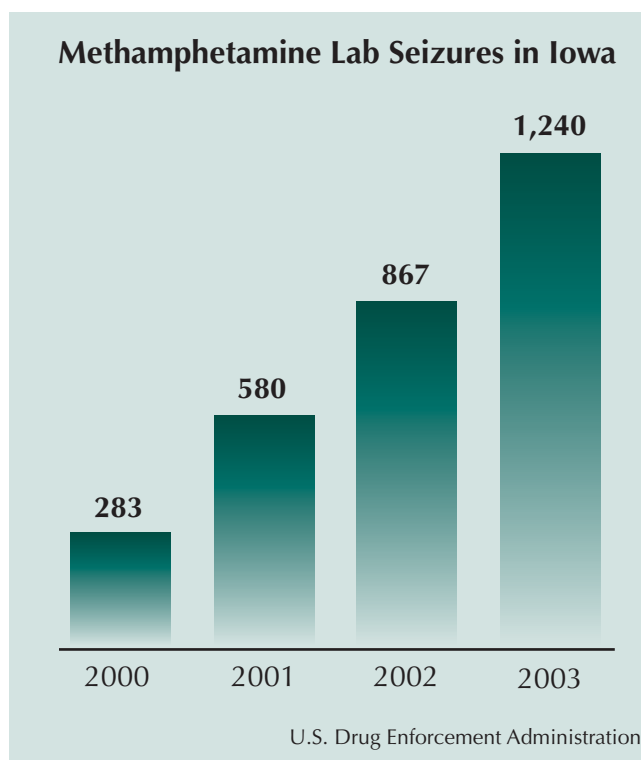
had an increase in demand for foster care in at least one of the four years from 1999 to 2003.¹⁴

- A quarter of the states had increases of over 10 percent in at least one of the four years.¹⁵
- Six states, including New Jersey and Texas, had caseloads that were at least a third larger in 2003 than they were in 1999.¹⁶

Iowa had a 7 percent increase in demand for foster care between 1999 and 2001. There were 348 more Iowa children needing foster care in 2001 than there were in 1999.¹⁷

The growing methamphetamine epidemic will increase the need for foster homes

The crack epidemic in America produced a rising wave of abuse and neglect as addicted parents fed their drug habits while neglecting or abusing their children. According to a U.S. General Accounting Office study of New York City, Los Angeles, and Philadelphia, “The percentage of young foster children estimated to have been prenatally exposed to cocaine increased significantly, from 17 percent in 1986 to 55 percent in 1991.”¹⁸ Luckily the crack epidemic has crested and is subsiding everywhere, but the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) reports that, “Cocaine continues to be readily available throughout



Iowa.”¹⁹ In addition, methamphetamine use is now surging in Iowa. The National Institutes of Health reports that, while methamphetamine use was initially concentrated in America’s west and southwest, “methamphetamine abuse also is continuing to spread eastward to urban, suburban, and rural areas at a pace unrivaled by any other drug in recent times.”²⁰

In a January 27th, 2005 article titled “Methamphetamine scourge sweeps rural America,” the Reuters news agency reported:

The Walk Away Drug:

Before she left, 18-year-old Samantha Zeller stole across the silence of a suburban home and taped a note to her mother’s bedroom door.

“I love you, don’t worry,” she wrote. When Rhonda Zeller awoke, she found her daughter had left something else behind: her 1-year-old son. Samantha reappeared the day he turned 2, only to walk out again while the birthday boy cried for his mother to stay. Each time she left, he would stand at the door screaming, “Mommy, no, don’t go, please don’t go.” She would go anyway. “That’s when I knew how horrible this drug must be,” Rhonda said. “She loved him more than life.”

The drug was methamphetamine. Judges and child-protection workers call it the scourge of parenthood. They label it the “walk away” drug, because that’s what parents do.

David Olinger
Meth Crisis Soars in Colorado: Addicted parents neglect or abandon kids, *The Denver Post*

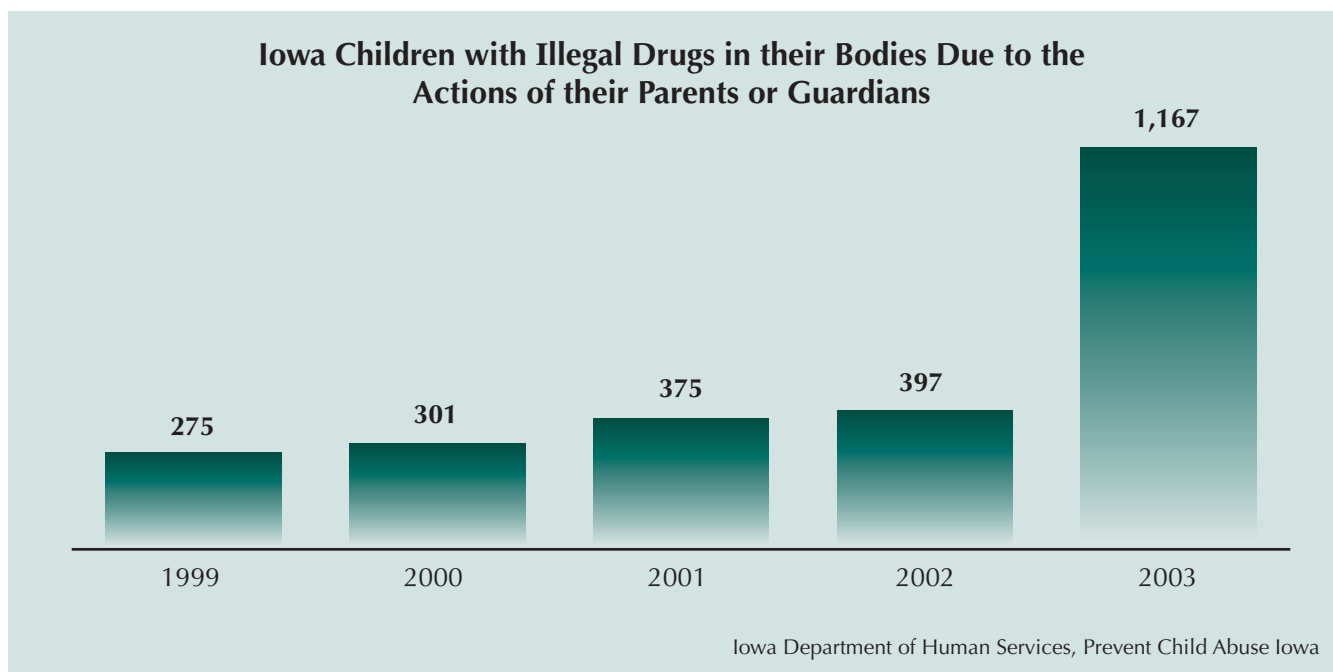
The scourge has taken hold in the last five years, and rural areas are bearing the brunt of the problem. Experts say that is primarily because meth is easy and cheap to make. Ingredients include readily accessible rock salt, battery acid, anhydrous ammonia and cold medicines. Recipes can be downloaded from the Internet. As well, wide-open spaces in the country and small towns offer plentiful places to hide the drug activity. ... The problem descended on rural America with shocking suddenness ... For the fiscal year ending September 2004, the Drug Enforcement Administration counted more than 16,800 methamphetamine-related seizures by law enforcement across the country, up from 15,300 in 2002.²¹

The use of methamphetamine is highly addictive. The National Institutes of Health reports that, "Immediately after smoking or intravenous injection, the methamphetamine user experiences an intense sensation, called a "rush" or "flash," that lasts only a few minutes and is described as extremely pleasurable. Users may become addicted quickly, and use it with increasing frequency and in increasing doses."²²

Iowa has been impacted tremendously by the upsurge in methamphetamine use. The DEA reports on its website that methamphetamine lab seizures in Iowa have shot up from 283 in 2000 to 1,240 in 2003.²³ This has also been a growing tragedy for the children of the addicts. Prevent Child Abuse Iowa reports that among the number of children who are abused or neglected because their parents are addicted to drugs, there are 1,167 children who tested positive in 2003 for the presence of illegal drugs in their own bodies as a result of the actions of their parents and 353 children who were living in homes where drugs were manufactured.²⁴

Prevent Child Abuse Iowa has concluded that the "growing effect of methamphetamine use and manufacturing on Iowa and its families" is a leading reason for the upsurge in abuse and neglect cases in recent years, including the 21 percent increase in abuse and neglect in 2003.²⁵

According to a publication put out by the Iowa Attorney General's office and other state and nonprofit agencies, "in the last three years, 982 Iowa children were discovered to be residing in meth labs, where their parents were involved in manufacturing methamphetamine."²⁶ The fumes created by



methamphetamine production are highly poisonous. National Public Radio reported in a story on “Meth Orphans” that when children are removed from these homes they “are scrubbed down and changed into clean clothes. They take nothing with them, no books, no stuffed animals, because everything is contaminated.”²⁷

The Iowa Department of Human Services (DHS) reports that the number of abused or neglected children who tested positive for the presence of illegal drugs in their bodies has risen from 397 in 2002 to 1,167 in 2003, a 293% increase. Dr. Rizwan Shah, Medical Director of the Regional Child Protection Center at Blank Children’s Hospital in Des Moines, reports that, as coordination improves in more counties between the law enforcement agencies who investigate meth labs and local DHS officials, more children will likely test positive for drugs and require safe foster homes.²⁸

Other drugs are threatening to increase abuse and neglect cases nationwide. Heroin use nationally is also on the rise. The U.S. Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA) reports that heroin treatment admissions have grown from 168,000 in 1992 to 284,000 in 2002.²⁹ While the DEA indicates that heroin is not yet a large problem in Iowa, Dr. Ric Curtis of John Jay College reports that “heroin is not just an inner-city problem anymore. It is spreading to suburban and even rural areas across the country.”³⁰

The National Institutes of Health warns that, beside the well-known addictive qualities of heroin, its use during pregnancy can lead to low birth weight babies who are at risk of suffering from developmental delay.³¹

If methamphetamine use spikes even further in Iowa or heroin use begins to spread as it has elsewhere, the capped foster care payments will not be able to keep pace with the number of children needing safe foster homes.

Additional factors likely to increase need for foster homes:

1. Improving efforts to identify abused and neglected children

The Third National Incidence Study of Child Abuse and Neglect, a congressionally mandated study undertaken by the National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect, concluded that the true number of children abused or neglected nationally each year is three times the officially recognized number.³² As Iowa improves its ability to fully and more accurately investigate reported cases of abuse or neglect, and increases abuse and neglect education and awareness outreach efforts to doctors, nurses, law enforcement officers, teachers, child care providers, and the general public, more cases of abuse or neglect will be identified. Increases in discovered cases of abuse or neglect will result in the need for more foster homes.

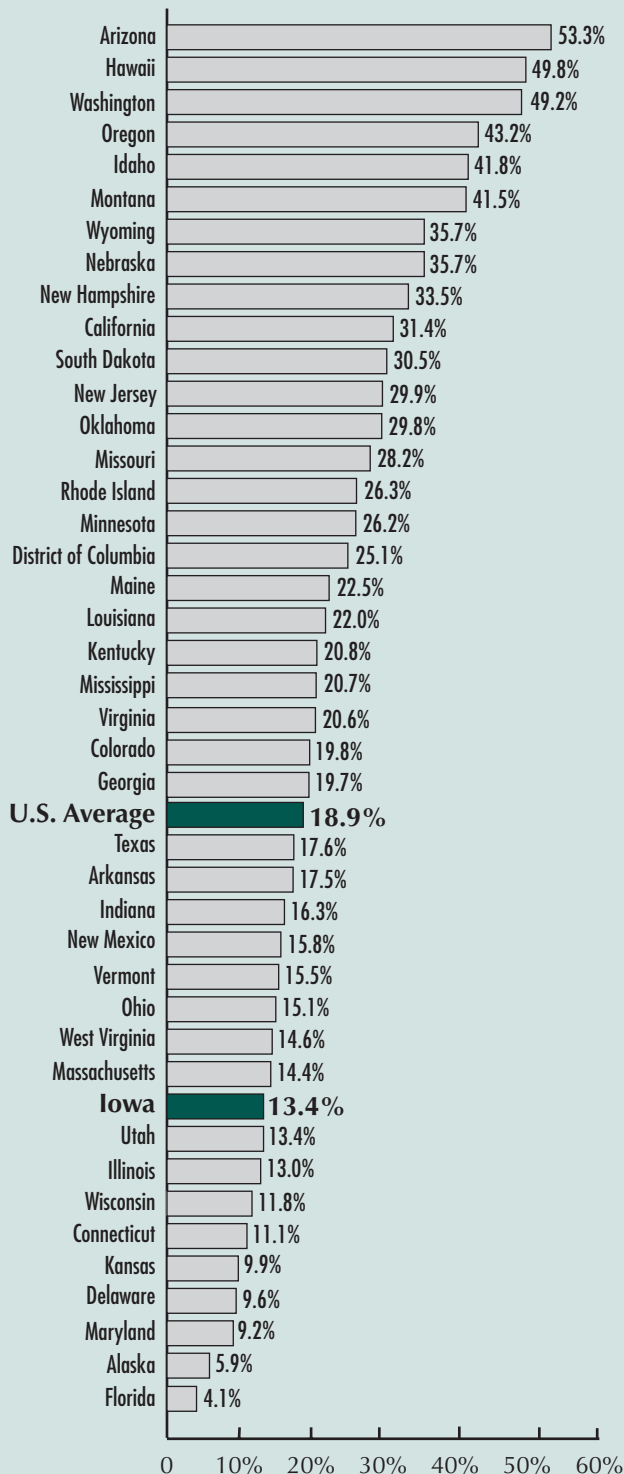
2. Determining that more abused or neglected children need foster care

Almost 15,000 children were confirmed victims of abuse or neglect in 2003, up from 12,295 in 2002.³³ The public may typically be unaware that the vast majority of abused or neglected children stay with their families. Only 13.4 percent, or 1,641 children were removed even temporarily from their homes in Iowa in 2002.³⁴ That compares to a national rate of 19 percent of victims removed from their homes. Sixteen states remove 25 percent or more of their abused or neglected victims from their homes.³⁵

Some people assume that foster homes are more dangerous than the homes from which children were removed. Except in a few, highly publicized incidents, that is not the case. Over 10 percent (11.4 percent) of all victims of abuse and neglect in Iowa were re-abused or neglected within six months in 2002 – typically by the people who originally abused or neglected them. That compares with a rate of abuse or neglect by foster parents of far less than one percent (0.38 percent). The abuse rate in foster homes is better than the national benchmark and is 30 times lower than the rate of re-abuse and neglect for all victims of abuse

Iowa Removes Fewer of its Child Abuse or Neglect Victims From Their Homes Than Most States

Percentage of the victims of abuse or neglect who were removed from their homes in 2002



States not reporting this data: Michigan, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, and Tennessee

U.S. Department of Health and Human Services

and neglect in Iowa.³⁶

However, while Iowa's foster homes are safer than the national benchmark, the state's overall rate of re-abuse and neglect for all children in the system is the fourth highest rate of the 41 states that reported re-abuse and neglect rates for 2002. This may partly reflect a better system of monitoring for re-abuse or neglect in Iowa than in many other states, but it likely also indicates that too many children are continuing to be beaten, neglected, or sexually assaulted.³⁷ The Child and Family Services Review of Iowa concluded the number of children being re-abused or neglected in Iowa was nearly twice the national benchmark.³⁸

As Iowa addresses the problem of re-abuse and neglect, the need for foster care placements in Iowa could rise to levels closer to the rates seen in many other states. A capped state funding level, however, will not accommodate such changes designed to better protect children.

3. Conducting better outreach to homeless youth

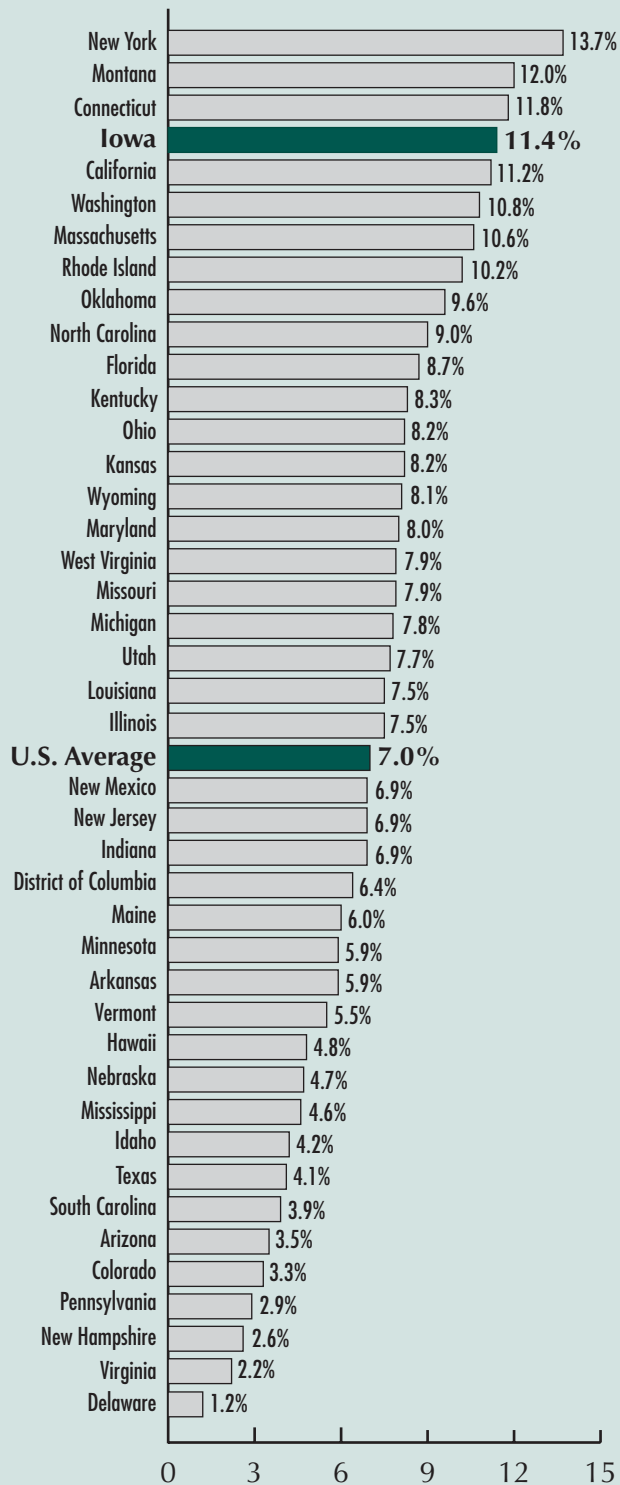
Dr. William Woettcher, a consultant to the Interagency Taskforce on Homelessness in Iowa, conducted an extensive survey and estimated that, for the 2001 to 2002 school year, of the 20,155 homeless children in Iowa, 31 percent (6,259) were "living in a homeless situation ... and were not accompanied by a parent, guardian, or step-parent."³⁹ The National Network for Youth reports that many homeless youth are fleeing abusive homes and that "across studies of homeless youth, rates of sexual abuse range from 17 to 53 percent, and physical abuse range from 40 to 60 percent."⁴⁰ To help more of these youths, Iowa will need more safe foster homes in place of the unsafe homes from which many of the children fled.

Capping foster care could increase the number of youths on the streets

Instead of promoting better care for homeless youth, a capped foster care payment could lead to more children running away from

Iowa's Child Abuse or Neglect Victims Suffer Re-abuse or Neglect More Often Than the Victims in Most Other States

Reoccurrence of maltreatment within six months among all victims of abuse or neglect in 2002



States not reporting this data: Alabama, Alaska, Georgia, Nevada, North Dakota, Oregon, South Dakota, Tennessee and Wisconsin

U.S. Department of Health and Human Services

home. Older children will respond to being sent back to abusive or neglectful homes by simply running away. More children escaping harm on their own will further strain the overburdened services for runaway youth, as these abused or neglected children find their way to Iowa's streets. The National Coalition for the Homeless reports that, "Because of their age, homeless youth have few legal means by which they can earn enough money to meet basic needs. Many homeless adolescents find that exchanging sex for food, clothing, and shelter is their only chance of survival on the streets. ... It has been reported that the HIV prevalence for homeless youth may be as much as 2 to 10 times higher than the rates reported for other samples of adolescents in the United States."⁴¹

III. Prevention does work, but capping foster care in exchange for more state flexibility would not deliver results

Evidence shows that the intense need to meet the emergencies of abused and neglected children swamps prevention efforts. There are prevention programs that work to reduce child abuse and neglect, but their success can only be assured with separate, dedicated funding. Without dedicated funding both efforts are undermined: abandoning the commitment to children would leave states with dangerously inadequate foster homes, thus leading to higher rates of re-abuse and neglect, while not ensuring the prevention funding needed to stem the flow of new children into the system.

Prevention could work

Research has shown that in-home parent coaching for at-risk parents before and after the birth of their first child can significantly reduce abuse and neglect. The Nurse Family Partnership program in Elmira, NY randomly assigned at-risk pregnant women to receive in-home visits by nurses or to be in a control group. The nurses coach the expectant mothers in parenting and other skills, continuing until their child is age 2. Children whose mothers

were left out of the program were five times more likely to be abused or neglected than children whose mothers received parent coaching. Children of mothers left out had twice as many arrests by age 15 as the children of mothers who received home visits.⁴² When this program was later replicated in Memphis, eight of the 465 children in the study whose parents did not receive in-home parent coaching had fractures and/or head trauma requiring hospitalizations, while none of the 206 children whose parents received the program were hospitalized for such injuries.⁴³ An additional replication underway in Denver has also produced strong results.⁴⁴

There is no question that it is possible to reduce abuse and neglect. Iowa has set up parent coaching programs using either the Parents as Teachers or the Healthy Families model in every county in the state.⁴⁵ To fully realize the potential of the parent coaching approach, the available research shows that much more would have to be done in Iowa to ensure that all those who need the services are receiving them and that the quality of the programs is further improved. For example, it is important to begin all these programs prenatally, and to ensure that all the parent coaches are highly trained at identifying and helping parents with the problems that are most likely to lead to the abuse or neglect of their children.⁴⁶

Flexibility would not lead to real prevention funding

Unfortunately, large increases in funding for primary prevention of abuse or neglect are unlikely under the proposed changes to the child protection system, because the responsibilities of child protection agencies would not change. Child welfare agencies in Iowa and across the United States must provide services, monitoring, and care to the children who are already harmed. However, allowing states to cut funding currently helping abused children and instead spend it on prevention is not a solution. States need additional money for prevention because they

will not be able to cut funding for children already abused or neglected. A study by the U.S. Government Accountability Office (GAO) confirmed that unless federal funding was specifically directed at primary prevention efforts, it went overwhelmingly for those who were already victims of abuse and neglect.⁴⁷ Without a more concerted effort to directly fund prevention efforts, the goal of reducing abuse and neglect is unlikely to be realized under the current proposals. Providing flexibility alone would not lead to significant increases in funding for effective primary prevention efforts and thus would not lead to real and meaningful declines in the need for foster homes. While doing little if anything to prevent abuse or neglect in the first place, these proposals increase the risks that those already abused or neglected will again be placed in harm's way.

IV. Conclusion: Abandoning the national commitment to provide abused or neglected children with safe foster homes would increase violent crime

Abandoning the national foster care commitment to Iowa's abused and neglected children threatens that there will not be enough safe homes when these children need them. If the support for children needing foster care is capped, either the quality and safety of foster homes will be jeopardized, or more children will be returned to dangerous homes. The research shows that returning severely abused or neglected children to unsafe homes can lead to 27 percent more of the children becoming violent criminals if they later have to be placed in foster care. This is not just a tragedy for the abused and neglected children: it places our communities at increased risk from violent crime. The law enforcement leaders and crime victims who make up FIGHT CRIME: INVEST IN KIDS in Iowa cannot support such a risky abandonment of our long-standing national commitment to abused and neglected children.

Endnotes

- 1 Prevent Child Abuse Iowa. (2004, June 21). *Iowa child abuse cases soar in 2003, led by increases in neglect and drug-related abuse*. Retrieved from <http://www.pcaiowa.org>
- 2 U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. Administration on Children, Youth, and Families. Children's Bureau. (2004). *Child maltreatment 2002*. Retrieved from <http://www.acf.hhs.gov/programs/cb/publications/cmreports.htm>
- 3 Widom, C. S. (2000). *Childhood victimization: Early adversity, later psychopathology*. Retrieved from the National Criminal Justice Reference Service Web site: www.ncjrs.org/pdffiles1/jr000242b.pdf. Individuals not abused or neglected as children were 40 percent more likely to be employed, and 50 percent more likely to have stable marriages.
- 4 Perry, B. D. (2002). Childhood experience and the expression of genetic potential: What childhood neglect tells us about nature and nurture. *Brain and Mind*, 3, 79-100.
- 5 Perry, B. D. (2002). *Bonding and attachment in maltreated children: Consequences of emotional neglect in childhood*. ChildTrauma Academy Press, 3, 1-30.
- 6 Widom, C. S. (1991). Avoidance of criminality in abused and neglected children. *Psychiatry*, 54, 162-174.
- 7 Perry, B. D., Pollard, R., Blakely, T., Baker, W., & Vigilante, D. (1995). Childhood trauma, the neurobiology of adaptation and "use-dependent" development of the brain: How "states" become "traits." *Infant Mental Health Journal*, 16(4), 271-291.
- 8 Perry, B. D. (1997). Incubated in terror: Neurodevelopmental factors in the 'cycle of violence.' In J. Osofsky (Ed.), *Children in a Violent Society* (pp. 124-148). New York: Guilford Press.
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- 11 English, D.J., Widom, C.S., & Brandford, C. (2003, February 1). *Childhood victimization and delinquency, adult criminality, and violent criminal behavior: A replication and extension, final report*. (NCJRS document number 192291). Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice.
- 12 The current increase in funding for the Herger bill barely meets the inflation rate in the first year and in subsequent years the increases in funding will be smaller every year while the inflation rate is likely to stay the same or increase. Therefore, the shortfall in funding in real dollars is anticipated to grow each year.
- 13 Finegold, K., Wherry, L., Shardin, S., (2004, April). *Block grants: Historical overview and lessons learned*, Urban Institute, Washington, D.C.; with references to two studies:
Peterson, G. E., & Smith Nightingale, D. (1995). *What do we know about block grants?* Washington, DC: The Urban Institute; and, Sard, B., & Fischer, W. (2003). *Housing voucher block grant bills would jeopardize an effective program and likely lead to cuts in assistance for low-income families*. Washington, DC: Center on Budget and Policy Priorities.
- 14 This figure is for states that had at least a 1% increase in a given year. If the figure was calculated for states having any increase at all, 41 of 52 states would have qualified.
- 15 This figure did not include states with over 20% increases in caseloads for any year because the Herger bill is expected to allow states to be reimbursed if their caseloads grow above 20% in one year.
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