

**Child Protective Services as Political Socialization:  
Investigating the political consequences of an early life experience with government<sup>1</sup>**

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## Abstract

Intervention by social services should ideally be a positive moment in a child's life, improving the circumstances they grow up in. However, in practice, social services intervention has been used as a racist tool of control over poor families of color, targeting single Black women, in particular (Roberts, 2017). Despite the often well-meaning intentions of government actors and other concerned citizens who make reports of abuse and neglect (Fong, 2020), children who become surveilled and/or removed from the custody of a parent or caregiver have early life experience with the coercive face of the state. What lessons about government are learned from such experiences? We argue that for most of these children, contact with social services is a socializing experience that causes political distrust and alienation in young adulthood. We plan to use the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (Add Health) dataset to investigate this possibility, applying coarsened exact matching to estimate the effect of early life contact with social services.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately, we were not able to secure access to the data in time to write up our findings for this conference. However, we are eager to receive feedback on how to improve the argument in the paper, as well as our plans for the research design.

## Introduction

When citizens distrust the government, they limit the ability of politicians and bureaucrats to solve problems and impede the smooth functioning of systems that usually move, largely invisibly, in the background (Hetherington, 1998; Hetherington & Husser, 2012; van der Meer & Zmerli, 2017; Warren, 2018). Or at least, this is the conventional understanding of political trust. However, trust can be lost by a government's own actions: particularly negative, involuntary actions with its citizens which are carried out in a punitive, discriminatory, or hypocritical fashion (Grimes, 2017; Mayne & Hakhverdian, 2017). When governments behave in such a fashion, it is eminently reasonable for their citizens to conclude that government is a tool of power and control which can be wielded against them (V. Weaver, Prowse, et al., 2019; V. M. Weaver & Lerman, 2010).

One involuntary interaction between the government and its citizens is the Child Protective Services (CPS) system, which makes contact with approximately 4 million American children a year (Child Welfare Information Gateway, 2017). Although CPS is tasked with deciding whether children need to be removed from unsafe situations and placed outside of the home, in practice, the system has been used to remove poor Black children from the custody of their mothers (Roberts, 2017). Many of the children that CPS comes into contact with have experienced abuse or neglect. However, when CPS becomes involved in their lives, the circumstances causing their abuse or neglect are unlikely to materially change, and they instead face the additional burden of being surveilled by the state, the threat of being removed from their home, or the trauma of being separated from their family. We argue that this experience, under most circumstances, poisons the well, causing them to hold less political trust in adolescence and early adulthood.

Dorothy Roberts has established that the Child Protective Services system is one of the chief mechanisms of social control over Black women's reproductive activities (Roberts, 2017). Even a single incident of drug use during pregnancy can be enough for a newborn to be removed from their mother's custody, regardless of the overall parenting abilities that mother has, and regardless of the impact on the mother and child of being separated. Older children who are not directly affected by the drug use may also be removed from loving homes under this punitive system. We argue that, if not immediately, many children who have experiences with CPS will come to realize that the government is capable of acting in a way contrary to both their own interests and the government's own stated goals. Some of these children will realize the hypocrisy affecting them by witnessing what their parents are forced to go through to maintain custody, and/or hearing anti-social services messages from their parents or caregivers. Others may realize the betrayal much later in life, by comparing their experiences to their peers who were not so surveilled by the CPS system. This negative intervention can cause a form of trauma known as Institutional Betrayal Trauma, which has numerous negative long-term effects on people's lives (Freyd & Birrell, 2013). Thus, we predict that an awareness of the hypocritical damage done to people as children will decrease their trust in government (Grimes, 2017; Mayne & Hakhverdian, 2017).

To evaluate the claim that intervention by CPS in early life causes low political trust, we plan to use observational data from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health (Add Health). We will be using coarsened exact matching method to preprocess our data, which allows us to balance the differences between our treatment and control groups, those who had experience with CPS and those who did not, *ex ante* (Iacus et al., 2012). The hypocrisy of early life experiences with CPS is the greatest when families of color, particularly Black

families, are targeted by the state for behaviors and practices overlooked in white families (Roberts, 2017). However, we anticipate a floor effect with regards to the political trust held by Black adolescents and young adults, who may be predisposed to have low political trust based on their families' other adverse experiences with the state, overpolicing, for example, and thus the effects of CPS contact may be difficult to detect for this group. For white and relatively affluent families, we expect that CPS contact will have a more readily observable effect on political trust. Because of their relative privilege in American society, we argue this subgroup are otherwise unlikely to have direct experience with the coercive face of the state, and their relative levels of political trust will reflect this.

### **Foundations of Political Trust**

Political trust is well established as correlated with, if not essential for, a functioning democracy (Hetherington & Husser, 2012; van der Meer & Zmerli, 2017). Many scholars argue that a lack of political trust in a democracy causes a dissolution of democratic function and legitimacy. In turn, a lack of democratic function and legitimacy causes political trust to degrade, creating a negative feedback loop (van der Meer & Zmerli, 2017; Warren, 2018). An unstated assumption in much of this work is that the historically low levels of political trust currently observed in the American public belie an unfortunate ignorance about the true, trustworthy and responsive nature of government. However, low political trust is also a meaningful signal about the government's performance, as it is often a reflection of people's lived experiences with government actors, and/or their awareness of the ways in which government abuses its power or otherwise fails to be adequately responsive to the needs of the people. Thus, low political trust may actually be the result of civic competence, albeit a different conceptualization of civic

competence than has been typically used in mainstream political science research (e.g. V. Weaver, Prowse, et.al., 2019).

One well-established reason that American citizens distrust the government is because of their rising awareness of political corruption, especially since the events associated with Watergate in the 1970's. Corruption, which can include bribes, nepotism, and cronyism, leads to people reacting rationally, by distrusting the government (Chang & Chu, 2006; Hakhverdian & Mayne, 2012). Education and political knowledge are correlated with knowledge of corruption, and the relationship between this knowledge and low political trust is the highest among those with a Bachelor's degree or more (Hakhverdian & Mayne, 2012; Mayne & Hakhverdian, 2017). However, schools are not the only context in which a child will learn about the ability of the government to act against its citizens interests, nor is formal education always necessary in order to learn this particular lesson about government.

Thus, we must also consider the literature on another source of distrust: direct experiences with government. In particular, we draw inspiration from Vesla Weaver's scholarship, concerning the impact of interactions with police and the criminal justice system on political trust and political engagement. She finds that such involuntary, negative interactions cause distrust, as these citizens become aware of the ways in which the government claims to treat its citizens with dignity and respect, but consistently fails to (V. Weaver, Prowse, et al., 2019; V. M. Weaver & Lerman, 2010). This is amplified by the decoupling of criminal behavior and interactions with the criminal justice system experienced by Black people, who recognize that they are treated in a way that is not congruent with the ideals of our society (V. Weaver, Papachristos, et al., 2019; V. Weaver, Prowse, et al., 2019).

Notably, Weaver, Prowse & Piston (2019) find that those living in highly policed communities have dual knowledge – that is, knowledge of both the laws as written and the law as it is practiced. This knowledge is gained involuntarily, through interactions with the coercive face of the state: police and the criminal justice system, at large. Those living in highly policed communities use this knowledge to disengage from political life, in order to avoid the negative consequences of interacting with, in Weaver’s work, police and the criminal justice system. She and her colleagues describe this reaction as a natural consequence of having too much knowledge, and too little power. We argue the CPS system has a similar effect on the children who have had contact with it, as they develop and grow into adolescents and young adults. A child surveilled and/or removed from their home by social services has little to no power over their circumstances, and as a result, they rapidly gain new knowledge about the system they find themselves in. This is a formative life experience, likely to have lasting consequences for their trust in government.

### **Social Services as Social Control**

Dorothy Roberts’ book *Killing the Black Body* established a new view of social services and the welfare state, which she argues are a tool of social control the government uses to limit Black women’s reproduction. Black women’s reproduction has been a target of government policies for centuries, with such women being disproportionately targeted, explicitly or implicitly, by policies designed to punish them for reproducing, and prevent or limit future Black births (Roberts, 2017). CPS, in particular, claims that its goal is to protect children from abuse and neglect, but Roberts reveals the impact of the agency’s actions is to punish poor Black women for reproducing, resulting in discriminatory outcomes and increased surveillance, which

are the sorts of contradictions likely to give rise to dual knowledge amongst the people so affected (Roberts, 2017; V. Weaver, Prowse, et al., 2019).

Child Protective Services is typically called by well-meaning actors, concerned for the well-being of a child they know. Even though such concerns are, at the surface level, race and class-blind, those making the call to CPS are often facilitating a government service offered to more disadvantaged members of society: public school teachers who work in poorly resourced districts, therapists and counselors who work in public mental health, and social workers involved in the provision of welfare assistance. As a result, CPS is more likely to be called on families who do not have access to the resources that may be needed to prevent the abuse or neglect from occurring, because those making the report believe CPS has more positive resources to improve a child's circumstances than they actually do (Fong, 2020). Thus, perversely, the most marginalized members of society are the most likely to come into contact with this system of government surveillance and to face repeated invasions of their privacy and personal liberties. Government social services agencies keep extensive records on the people they are in contact with, and often require regular phone conversations and in-person visits, in which the circumstances a child is living in are under close scrutiny. This surveillance mirrors the carceral system, in the ways it infringes on personal liberty and sets women trapped in the system up for failure (Roberts, 2017).

Black women are significantly more likely to have contact with the CPS system and are more likely to lose their children – experiences that we know leave the women with negative feelings towards that institution (Fong, 2020; Roberts, 2017). However, to our knowledge, there is scant existing research on the impact of these disruptions on the political attitudes and behaviors of the children forced to grow up under such circumstances. As we discuss further in



the following section, there is good reason to believe that such experiences are formative, and that they likely have lasting consequences for one's disposition towards government.

### **Child Protective Services as Political Socialization**

In the United States, adolescents and young adults are socialized to trust government to look out for the needs of the people and to exercise their right to vote, because through voting, they have a voice in the U.S. system of government. Children receive this socialization through public schooling, mass media, and in some family settings (Langton & Jennings, 1968; Pasek et al., 2008; Andolina, Jenkins, Zukin & Keeter, 2003; Jennings, Stoker & Bowers, 2009).

However, we argue that children who have early life experience with Child Protective Services have experienced, firsthand, the government's ability to use their power to cause harm: through pervasive surveillance of their caregivers and/or through removal from their family home. As these children develop into adolescents and young adults, they may be inherently less receptive to the dominant cultural conditioning in the United States, which is to trust the government and vote.

Children's experiences are not wholly independent of their parents. If a child sees that their parents/guardians are treated unfairly by the state, or if their parents/guardians perceive unfair treatment at the hands of the state, they will likely adopt similarly negative views of the state and its trustworthiness. Even those children who do not immediately recognize the situation as unjust, or who may feel grateful for CPS intervention in their lives, may realize later in life that what they experienced was wrong, whether due to their own increasing wisdom or due to the opinions of their family members involved in the situation.

[We're aware this section of the paper is \*very\* important and needs much more development. Other threads we plan to develop here:

- The significance of other early life experiences for political socialization (e.g. Politics of the Mundane, Latino children taking on household responsibilities vote more as young adults)
- The likelihood that poor and/or Black children are likely to have other direct, involuntary experiences with government, where as white and relatively affluent children are socialized under a a different set of circumstances (e.g. the police are there to help, voting is the appropriate way to seek change, etc.)
- Implications for our argument: the effects of CPS contact may be more pronounced for affluent and/or White children
- Existing evidence in psychology/public health that CPS contact is not typically welcomed or understood as a needed intervention by the children who experience it, even when they are being severely abused
- Parents with contact with CPS frequently disparage this arm of the state as overreaching in its power, which likely shapes their children's views of government]

### **Confounding Influence of Trauma**

In this paper, we do not dispute the scope or scale of the problem of child abuse and neglect, nor do we make any claims that there is no role for government intervention on behalf of the children who are being abused or neglected. Instead, we are critical of the ways in which these systems are implemented: in a manner that disproportionately impacts children coming from disadvantaged backgrounds, and that places an undue burden and stress on their parents or caregivers, without providing them with needed resources and support. In the preceding sections, we make the argument that such experiences likely reduce the political trust of children so affected. However, it is possible that there is another mechanism through which CPS contact reduces political trust: the trauma these children have experienced at the hands of their parents or caregivers.

In 2020, the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services' Children's Bureau received 3.9 million reports of child abuse, affecting approximately 7.1 million children (2021, xvii)<sup>3</sup>. Most of these victims are white (43.1%), Hispanic (23.6%), or African-American (21.1%). 76.1% of these victims are neglected, emotionally or physically, 16.5% are physically abused, and 9.4% are sexually abused. Although these figures are alarming, only a small fraction of potential child abuse cases are reported to authorities, let alone investigated by Child Protective Services, the state and local agencies who receive these reports. Corporal punishment is widely practiced and accepted as ordinary in many households (Straus & Donnelly, 2017), and sexual abuse, a highly stigmatized experience, is thought to be especially underreported (Kennedy & Prock, 2018). It's estimated that 1 in 8 American children experience abuse from a parent or caregiver before their 18<sup>th</sup> birthday, and researchers describe even this number as severe underestimate of the true rate of occurrence (Wildeman, 2014).

The staggering frequency of child abuse and neglect is a compelling reason for government interventions designed to prevent it, like the Child Protective Services system. Abuse from a parent or caregiver is one of several kinds of adverse childhood experiences (ACEs) known to be the cause of significant psychological and physical health problems. ACEs include abuse (physical, sexual, or emotional), neglect (physical or emotional), and other household challenges, such as growing up around substance abuse, mental illness, and/or domestic violence. In the landmark Kaiser and Centers for Disease Control ACE study (Felitti et al., 1998), almost two-thirds of U.S. adults reported having at least one of these experiences. And ACEs have been linked to substance abuse, depression, attempted suicide, and severe physical

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<sup>3</sup> In 2020, reports were lower than past years, despite what one might expect with the onset of the coronavirus pandemic and people being locked down at home. In 2019, DHHS received 4.4 million reports, affecting approximately 7.9 million children (2020, x).

health problems such as heart disease and cancer. Without adequate support or intervention, the distress that comes from living through one or more ACE can chronically and pervasively alter an individual's social, psychological, biological, and cognitive development, and increase the likelihood of engaging in risky health behaviors (e.g. Shonkoff et al., 2012).

Advocates and researchers who study ACEs have singled out child abuse as an especially significant public health crisis, due to the prevalence of this experience across different types of households, and the lack of awareness about the long-term consequences of abuse for a child's development (Kaffman, 2009; Gershoff, 2013). Children who experience maltreatment from a parent or caregiver commonly exhibit symptoms consistent with depression, posttraumatic stress, and anxiety disorders, such as difficulty sleeping, recurring, confusing, and unwelcome memories of their experiences, and/or trouble focusing in school (Brown & Finkelhor, 1986; Cook et al. 2005; Schilling, Aseltine & Gore, 2007; Norman et al., 2012). For many survivors of child abuse, the distress associated with their maltreatment persists into adulthood, as they struggle to interpret and integrate their experiences of abuse into their sense of self (e.g. Spinazzola et al. 2021; Cloitre et al. 2009; van der Kolk, 2009). Collectively, this evidence suggests the significance of this life event for how a person moves through the world.

The linkages between having such traumatic life experiences and one's political attitudes and behaviors is severely understudied in the discipline of political science. There is evidence that posttraumatic stress severity is associated with reduced political efficacy and trust among Vietnam veterans (Usry, 2019). And, there is evidence that depression is associated with reduced political engagement (Ojeda, 2015; Landwehr & Ojeda, 2021). However, further research is needed to establish how, why, and under what circumstances a traumatic life event may cause someone to become alienated from politics and withdraw from civic life. For the purposes of this

study, we include a measure of the number of adverse childhood experiences as a covariate, as a proxy for posttraumatic stress and its likely negative consequences for a child's emotional well-being and development. Many children facing abuse and neglect have no contact with CPS, and we are interested in disentangling whether it is the trauma itself that reduces political trust, or if contact with government services, too, is politically consequential.

### **Data and Methods**

To explore the consequences of contact with Child Protective Services on political trust, we will be using the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health (Add Health). This unique panel study includes detailed measures of childhood maltreatment, and several items assessing trust in government and political participation habits, making it useful for exploring the political consequences of contact with CPS and controlling for the effects of traumatic stress. Add Health is an ongoing research study, following a cohort of American children over the course of their lives. Beginning in 1994 with a representative sample of children in grades 7-12, there have been five completed waves of interviews. We plan to use data collected in the third and fourth waves.

In Wave III, a sample of 15,197 of the cohort were interviewed from August 2001 to April 2002, when participants were between 18 and 26 years old. In Wave IV, a sample of 15,701 of the original Wave I respondents were re-interviewed from April 2007 to February 2009, when participants were between 25 and 34 years old. We use this data to test the longevity of any effects of abuse. Table 1 provides an overview of the sample characteristics in each wave.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> These numbers come from Usry (2018)'s dissertation on the political consequences of trauma, and they are thus preliminary until we are able to reanalyze the data.

### *Independent Variables*

#### H3MA6

“How often had Social Services investigated how you were taken care of or tried to take you out of your living situation?”

- 88.5% never
- 6.44% at least once (n=978)

#### H3MA6

“How often had you actually been taken out of your living situation by Social Services?”

- 1.8% at least once (n=273)

### *Dependent Variable*

Participants in Wave III were asked about their trust in the federal, state, and local levels of U.S. government. Responses to these three questions were highly correlated with one another, and combined into an additive index, ranging from 0 to 12 (Cronbach’s alpha = 0.93).

Respondents scoring low on this measure expressed distrust in all three levels of government.

The other available political dependent variable from Wave III was self-reported turnout in the 2000 presidential election. About half of respondents (44.0%) reported voting in this election. Participants in Wave IV were asked one question about how frequently they vote in state and local elections. On this four-point scale, 32.5% of participants reported that they never vote in local or statewide elections, 25.7% reported that they sometimes participate, 17.1% said they often do, and 24.7% reported always voting in these kinds of elections.

We plan to make use of both of these variables as imperfect proxies for levels of political trust. We assume that even if they hold equally low levels of political trust, someone one who persists in voting in U.S. elections has more faith in the government than someone who does not.

### *Controlling for Traumatic Stress*

In order to control for the effects of traumatic stress, we make use of items from both the Wave III and IV interviews that measure adverse childhood experiences (Felitti et al, 1998). These are early life experiences known to be disruptive to a child's development and to have severe consequences for their psychological and physical health as adolescents and young adults. In the Add Health study, these sensitive questions about childhood maltreatment were offered to participants using computer assisted self- interview (CASI) technology, so that they did not have to disclose these experiences directly or in-person to the researchers. Additionally, access to this sensitive information is available to researchers on a highly restricted, conditional basis, to ensure their confidentiality.

In Wave III, to assess physical abuse, participants were asked how often they were slapped, hit, or kicked by a parent or adult caregiver before 6<sup>th</sup> grade. Nearly a third of the sample indicated this had happened to them at least once (28.0%). Wave IV used a slightly different operationalization of physical abuse, which singles out especially violent acts— being hit with a fist, kicked, or thrown onto the floor, into a wall, or down stairs. Almost twenty percent (18.6%) said this happened to them at least once before their 18<sup>th</sup> birthday. In total, 36.1% of the sample disclosed physical abuse from a parent or caregiver in either or both Wave III and IV.

To assess sexual abuse, in Wave III participants were asked “by the time you started 6<sup>th</sup> grade, how often had one of your parents or other adult caregivers touched you in a sexual way, forced you to touch him or her in a sexual way, or forced you to have sexual relations?” In total, 4.8% of the sample disclosed that they had been sexually abused at least once. Wave IV included a comparable measure of sexual abuse to Wave III, and just over five percent (5.3%) of those

sampled disclosed having this experience prior to their 18<sup>th</sup> birthday. In total, 8.1% of the sample disclosed sexual abuse from a parent or caregiver in either or both Wave III and IV.

Lastly, to assess neglect, in Wave III, participants were asked how often their basic needs, such as keeping clean, having clothing, and having meals were not taken care of by their parents or primary caregivers. Over ten percent (11.7%) of participants answered that this happened to them at least once before their 6<sup>th</sup> birthday.

Across both waves, 42.6% of Add Health respondents reported experiencing any of the above forms of abuse.

### *Methodological Concerns*

Although the Add Health study is designed to gather sensitive information on adolescent and young adult's life experiences, it is likely that some of the children and adolescents who had contact with CPS did not realize that they did, or they did not disclose this experience to the researchers. Additionally, some respondents interviewed in Wave III were not reached for Wave IV, and some Wave I respondents were reached in Wave IV, but did not complete a Wave III interview. This is a potential threat to the validity of the study: selection bias due to nonrandom attrition across the waves of each study. Add Health made substantial efforts to locate and re-interview respondents, however, there are inevitably some respondents who drop in and out of the panel. We proceed with these analyses under the assumption that these measurement problems should make it more difficult to detect the political consequences of contact with Child Protective Services.

Another methodological concern relates to the inherent difficulties in making causal inferences from observational data. In Table 2, we will compare the frequency of contact with



CPS according to disclosures of abuse to Add Health, as well as the sex, race, ethnicity, parental household income, and educational attainment of the respondents. [Note: we expect to find that males, Hispanic children, Black children, and those coming from low-income households were more likely to have contact with CPS. And, we expect to find that CPS contact is correlated with reduced educational attainment. Race and socioeconomic status are both important predictors of political attitudes and behaviors, which makes isolating the effects of CPS contact more difficult.]

We account for the confounding effects of experiencing abuse, sex, race, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status by using coarsened exact matching (Iacus, King & Porro, 2012). Under this procedure, the effect of CPS contact is detected by comparing the attitudes and behaviors of Add Health respondents who are similar to one another in terms of their propensity to have CPS contact. This procedure requires both reduced imbalance between the treated and control groups, and a sufficiently large sample. The Add Health data is fortunately an excellent candidate for this technique.

## Results

See Tables 3-5 for templates of our planned analyses:

- Table 3: Bivariate t-tests, comparing levels of trust between those with no CPS contact to those with any CPS contact, and to those who were removed from the home
- Table 4: Effects of CPS contact after matching on the covariates listed in Table 2, on trust and on other available political dependent variables in the data set (i.e. voting)
- Table 5: To the extent that we have enough N, subgroup analyses, investigating whether the effects of CPS contact are more pronounced for white and/or affluent families

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Table 1  
*Univariate descriptions of the sample*

	%	Min	Max	<i>M</i>	Mdn	SD
<b>Demographics</b>						
Birth Year		1975	1983		1979	
Female	50.5					
Hispanic	17.0					
White	62.2					
Black	23.0					
Parents' income (Wave I)		0	999k	45k	38k	52k
1+ parent with BA's	36.0					
<b>Independent Variable (Wave III)</b>						
Contact with CPS	6.4					
Removed by CPS	1.8					
<b>Abuse before 6<sup>th</sup> grade (Wave III)</b>						
Slapped, hit, or kicked	28.0					
Sexually abused	4.6					
Neglected	11.7					
<b>Abuse before 18<sup>th</sup> birthday (Wave IV)</b>						
Hit, kicked, or thrown	18.6					
Sexually abused	5.2					
<b>Any report of abuse (Wave III and/or IV)</b>						
Any physical	36.1					
Any sexual abuse	8.2					
Any abuse	42.5					
<b>Dependent Variables (Wave III)</b>						
Trust in government		0	12	6.9	7	2.7
Voted in 2000	44.0					
<b>Dependent Variables (Wave IV)</b>						
Vote frequency		1	4	2.3	2	1.17

*Notes.* Wave III (N=15,197), Wave IV (N=15,701), Wave III & Wave IV (N=13,008).

Table 2  
*Sample Characteristics and CPS Contact*

	% who had contact with CPS	$\chi^2$	<i>p</i>
Any disclosure of abuse			
None			
Any physical			
Any sexual			
Sex			
Male			
Female			
Race and Ethnicity			
Hispanic			
Black			
White			
Parents' Income (Wave I)			
<20k			
20-37k			
38k-59k			
>60k			
Educational Attainment (Wave IV)			
No HS degree			
HS graduate			
BA degree			
Overall	6.4		

*Notes.*

Table 3  
*Bivariate Results*

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	<i>M1</i>	<i>M2</i>	<i>M1-M2</i>	<i>p</i>
	No contact	CPS contact	Difference	
Trust in Government (III)				
Voted in 2000 (III)				
Vote Frequency (IV)				

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*Notes.*



Table 4  
*Average Treatment Effects of Abuse After Matching*

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	ATE	<i>p</i>
Trust in Government (III)		
Voted in 2000 (III)		
Vote Frequency (IV)		

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*Note.* Respondents will be matched on abuse disclosure, sex, race, ethnicity, and parent's socioeconomic status in Wave I.

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

Table 5  
*Subgroup Analysis*

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White households	ATE	<i>p</i>
Trust in Government (III)		
Voted in 2000 (III)		
Vote Frequency (IV)		
Black households	ATE	<i>p</i>
Trust in Government (III)		
Voted in 2000 (III)		
Vote Frequency (IV)		
High SES households	ATE	<i>p</i>
Trust in Government (III)		
Voted in 2000 (III)		
Vote Frequency (IV)		
Low SES households	ATE	<i>p</i>
Trust in Government (III)		
Voted in 2000 (III)		
Vote Frequency (IV)		

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*Note.* Respondents will be matched on sex and on abuse disclosures.

\**p* < .05. \*\**p* < .01. \*\*\**p* < .001.