

PARENT ABUSE ON THE RISE: A HISTORICAL REVIEW

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In comparison to child and spouse abuse, the issue of parents being abused by their adolescent children has received very little attention by the mental health profession even though its prevalence is comparable. Parent abuse has been identified and addressed to some extent over the past twenty-five years: however, studies back in the 1950s were showing children's physical abuse of parents to be a concern. The most frequent form of parent abuse is physical at 57%, followed by verbal abuse at 22%, the use of a weapon, usually a knife or gun, at 17% and throwing items at 5%. Regardless of gender 11% of children under age ten physically abuse their parents. This percent stays steady for boys over age ten, but drops to 7% for girls. In pertaining to the victims, 82% percent of parent abuse is against mothers, while only 18% is against fathers. This is to say that Mothers are five times more likely than fathers to experience severe physical abuse, and that the highest rate of parent abuse occurs in families with a single mother. This paper will review a brief history of parent abuse starting with Casare Lombroso and ending with present day studies. Many of the more prevalent studies, from which much of the present knowledge of parent abuse stems, will be discussed in detail.

Introduction

Parent abuse as a societal problem has been in obscurity for years. Few people know about it and those that do are usually the victims of it. Parent abuse is defined as "any act of a child that is intended to cause physical, psychological or financial damage to gain power and control over a parent" (Cottrell, 2001, p.3). These acts include assault with or without a weapon, emotional manipulation, verbal abuse, and stealing. In an attempt to shed light on the causes and conditions of parent abuse this paper will discuss several descriptive and precipitating factors involved in parent abuse.

Nine to 33% of parents report being abused by their children ranging in age from 10 to 23 (Harbin & Madden, 1979; Cornell & Gelles, 1982; Agnew & Huguley, 1989; Paulson, Loombs, & Landsverk, 1990). This is unexpected considering the fact that child abuse, which has a much higher profile, only had a frequency percentage of 12.4 in 2001 (Child Abuse, p.3). Ninety-five percent of mothers report being hit by their children under age five (Sears, MacCoby, & Levin, 1957). Some studies report that whites are more likely to batter than blacks, (Charles, 1986; Agnew & Huguley, 1989) while refuting studies show that there are no significant differences in the race of affected families (Cornell & Gelles, 1982; Agnew, 1983; Paulson, Coombs, & Landsverk, 1990). Studies also disagree as to whether socioeconomic status plays a role. Studies arguing that there is no difference in socioeconomic status include Agnew (1983) and Agnew & Huguley (1989). Studies showing that middle and upper class families have higher rates include Charles (1986) and Paulson et al.

The most frequent forms of parent abuse, as reported in a study done by Evans and Warren-Sohlberg (1988) are physical at 57%; followed by verbal abuse at 22%, the use of a weapon, usually a knife or gun, at 17%; and throwing items at 5% (as cited in Robinson, 2002). Eleven percent of children under age ten, regardless of gender, physically abuse their parents. This percent stays steady for boys over age ten, but drops to 7% for girls (Cornell & Gelles, 1982). In pertaining to the victims, Evans and Warren-Sohlberg also reported that 82% percent of parent abuse is against mothers while only 18% is against fathers (as cited in Robinson, 2002). This is to say that mothers are five times more likely than fathers to experience severe physical abuse, and that the highest rate of parent abuse occurs in families with a single mother (Pagani, Larocque, Vitaro, & Tremblay, 2003). At least four factors are thought to influence parent abuse: attachment, abuse experience, parental permissiveness, and the use of punishment. This theory suggests that when youth have limited emotional attachment to their parents they are most likely to abuse. Also youth who have experienced abuse or witnessed spouse abuse are more likely to exhibit abusive behavior (Cornell & Gelles, 1982; Peek, Fisher, & Kidwell, 1985; Brezina,

1999). Parental permissiveness, which is strongly advocated in a number of parenting theories, is shown to be a significant factor in parent abuse, childhood aggression and delinquency (Glueck & Glueck, 1950; Sears et al., 1957; Nye, 1958; McCord & McCord, 1959; Yarrow, Campbell, & Burton, 1968; Patterson, 1980; Paulson et al., 1990). It should also be pointed out that it is the inconsistent use of punishment and not the use of punishment itself that contributes to parent abuse (Glueck & Glueck; Patterson, 1980). Parent abuse is a relatively new phenomenon. The issue of parent abuse was first addressed in a study by Harbin and Madden in 1979, who used the term "parent battering". However, juvenile delinquency, which plays a major role in the abuse has been studied and theorized since the late 1800's. The real beginning of parent abuse research started with Casare Lombroso.

Casare Lombroso, (Gould, 1981) an Italian university professor and criminologist, was one of the first to suggest the correlation between physical qualities, innate tendencies and criminal behavior. He theorized that many criminals were born as criminals and could be recognized by certain physical characteristics and that the criminals who were not predisposed to criminality were a result of other factors, such as poverty and mental illness. Lombroso's theory of heredity criminality was supported by a study conducted in 1877 by Richard Dugdale (Dugdale, 1877); in which he found that 58% of the male relatives in a certain family had been convicted of a crime, and that among the women of this same family harlotry was 29 times more frequent than in the general community. Lombroso's theory held until the early 1900's when Freud introduced his theory on childhood development and its influences on a child's development into adulthood. Freud proposed that parenting and heredity played the largest role in delinquency.

The basis of Freud's theory was anti-punishment. He believed that punishment disrupted natural development and that it caused internal conflicts which resulted in adults who could not properly deal with life stresses and anxiety. He also believed that delinquency and antisocial, aggressive behavior was a direct result of this inability to effectively cope with anxiety. In essence, Freud believed that punishment was an ineffective and unnecessary behavior change procedure and that punishment was a factor in childhood and adolescent delinquency and aggression. Carl Rogers and Alfred Adler supported Freud's theory; they believed the best strategy for behavior change was the "talk-it-out" approach, and is still one of the most popular parenting approaches today. This is widely due to the efforts of Benjamin Spock, and to a lesser degree William Healy.

William Healy was a psychiatrist who was greatly influenced by Freud's theory of psychoanalysis. He moved from Europe to Chicago around 1909, bringing Freud's ideas with him. He was the director of the first child guidance clinic in Chicago and is greatly responsible for the introduction of Freud's parenting theories in America. Because of Healy Benjamin Spock was able to make popular the "anti-punishment" theory. In 1946, Spock wrote a parenting book entitled *Baby and Child Care*. It is based solely on Freud's parenting principles and is one of the best selling parenting books of all time. Even though Freud's theory is still prevalent, it is based solely on speculation and lacks scientific support. However, many mental health professionals support Freud's theories by citing two important studies; first Glueck and Glueck (1950) and second Sears et al. (1957).

Glueck and Glueck's (1950) study involved 1000 boys, 500 of which were delinquents and 500 of which were non-delinquents. The study involved matching the boys in factors such as age, general intelligence, national origin, and socioeconomic dimensions. Data was analyzed on over 200 factors that may have contributed to juvenile delinquency and anti-social aggression. Six types of data were gathered: family characteristics (parental records, discipline, etc.), school and court records, interviews, medical testing, and psychological testing. Glueck and Glueck found five factors that they believed lead to juvenile delinquency: parental punishment, lax supervision, lack of parental attachment, lack of maternal attachment and lack of family cohesiveness. Their results found that 4.4% of the delinquent boys came from homes where there was overly strict parenting. Because of this finding Glueck and Glueck is frequently cited as evidence to support Freud's views. However, it seems it was the way Glueck and Glueck presented the data to appear that their results confirmed Freud's theory. Upon closer examination of the data, it can be found that 56.8% of the delinquent boys came from homes where there was lax punishment. This suggests that it is 13 times more likely for childhood delinquency to occur in homes that

lack punishment than one in which there is too much punishment. As a result of the discrepancy between the published results and the results found upon closer examination, it is theorized that these conclusions may be due to unintentional experimenter bias. The second study by Sears et al. (1957) followed a similar pattern of supporting Freud's theories.

Sears et al, (1957) interviewed the parents of 379 families who had a five year old child in the home. They reported a .16 correlation between parental use of punishment and aggression and a .23 correlation between parental permissiveness and aggression; both are statistically significant. However, Sears' major conclusion was that punishment was the cause of aggression, therefore advocating Freud's theory. It is interesting to note that a few years later Sears reevaluated the 5 year olds as twelve year olds and found a correlation between permissiveness and aggression and none between punishment and aggression. Even though these two studies refute themselves there are two additional studies that reanalyzed Sears et al. data and arrived at similar conclusions, disproving Freud's theories.

The first of these two studies by Yarrow et al. (1968) reviewed Sears et al. (1957) original data and five other similar studies that found a correlation between punishment and aggression. They concluded that all six studies used a "contaminated design," which involved measuring the aggression in the presence of punishment. Yarrow (1968, p.11) also found little to support the correlation between punishment and aggression, concluding that "theoretical persuasiveness has lead to a kind of selectivity of evidence."

A second study, done by Schuck in 1974 (as cited in Robinson, 2002), reanalyzed both Sears et al (1957) and Yarrow et al (1968) using more sophisticated statistical analysis approach called path analysis. Schuck reported that there was no significant relationship between parental use of punishment and child aggression and that both studies displayed a significant relationship between parental permissiveness and child aggression. The Cambridge-Somerville Delinquency Prevention Project in 1937 (McCord & McCord, 1957) was originally designed to lend support to Freud's theories; however, the results were contrary to what was expected.

The Cambridge-Somerville Delinquency Prevention Project involved 650 boys. Half of these boys were chosen by teachers or case workers who believed the boys were at a high risk of becoming delinquent. The other half were chosen, by the same adults, because they were perceived as "normal" and not prone to develop delinquency. The treatment group, consisting of both delinquent and non-delinquent prone young men received counseling twice a month for five and a half years. The counseling was given by social workers who had been trained in the traditional psychoanalytic and non-directive techniques based on the teachings of Carl Rogers; who was an advocate of Freudian theory. In addition the parents, of the boys in the treatment group were instructed and encouraged by the social workers to use a more permissive, non-punitive approach with their children. In 1959, the initial results were published by McCord and McCord. They reported that the boys from the treatment group were not any less likely to have been brought to court, nor had they committed fewer crimes than the control group who had received no support from social workers. The results of the study were unexpected. In 1975, Joan McCord (as cited in Robinson, 2002) published a thirty year follow-up study after locating 95% of the boys, who participated in the study. This follow-up study failed to support Freud's theory of using the "talk-it-out" approach, it directly contradicted it. McCord found that equal numbers of adults from both the treatment group and the control group had been convicted of committing crimes. Further results showed a statistically significant difference between the number of criminals in the treatment group and the number of criminals in the control group who had been convicted of a crime more than once. The treatment group showed a higher number of convictions. This suggests that the psychoanalytic approach was ineffective in decreasing delinquency and that it resulted in an increase in criminal behavior. Torrey (1992) reviewed the Cambridge-Somerville Delinquency Prevention Project and found further evidence to support the ineffectiveness of Freud's permissive parenting approach.

Further analysis of the study revealed that longer treatment increased the chances of later criminal behavior and more intensive treatment, in which counselors had focused on personal or family problems, increased the

changes of later criminal behavior. A Dr. Joan McCord, professor of criminal just at Temple University summarized the results: 'More was Worse'. (Torrey, 1992, p.168-169)

These results were unexpected. Those who had been strongly advocating Freud's parenting theories for years were forced to admit that the Cambridge project had failed to accomplish its goals and that the results did not support Freud as the study was original designed to do. Benjamin Spock, (Torrey, 1992) who was primarily responsible for popularizing Freud's theories initiated a 13 year study in 1959, which was designed to demonstrate the effectiveness of Freud's parenting theories. Instead the results indicated that Freud's theories were ineffective, and the results were never published.

We can see from previous studies that parental permissiveness is a significant factor in childhood and adolescent aggression, which may play a role in parent abuse cases. After 1979, when parent abuse received greater recognition as a societal problem it warranted further attention. Many popular studies emerged which focused more on the characteristics of those more likely to abuse and the causational factors involved in parent abuse. These studies include Patterson (1980), Cornell and Gelles (1982, 1985), DiLalla, Mitchell, Arthur, and Pagliocca (1988); Charles (1986); Agnew (1983); Agnew & Huguley (1989); Paulson et al. (1990); Torrey (1992); and Brezina (1999).

In a 1982 study Cornell and Gelles interviewed 608 families with at least one child 10-17 years of age living at the home. The purpose of their study was to test the following five hypotheses.

1. Sons will be reported to have been abusive towards their parents more than daughters.
2. There will be a direct relationship between the age of the adolescent and the rate of adolescent to parent violence.
3. Mothers will be physically abused more often than fathers.
 - a. Sons will physically abuse their mothers more frequently than their fathers.
 - b. Sons from homes where wife abuse occurs, will be more likely to be violent and abusive towards their mothers than sons from homes where wife abuse has not occurred.
4. There will be a direct positive relationship between the rate of violence towards parents and other forms of family violence.
5. Family stress is directly related to adolescent violence towards parents.

The results of Cornell and Gelles's study indicated that sons were more likely to abuse their parents than daughters (11% versus 7%), respectively, and sons were more likely to use severe aggression (3.4% versus 2.8%). However, these results were not statistically significant. There was no relationship found between age and aggression, but when both age and sex were examined together for all types of violence, children under the age of 10 showed no difference in rates of violence, but after age 11 there was a discrepancy between the two, with the males having high rates of aggression.

The data from Cornell and Gelles (1982) also showed that mothers were more likely to be struck by their children as well as suffer from more severe forms of violence. It was also found that sons were more likely to abuse their mothers than daughters were, and that sons were the only ones to engage in violence towards their fathers. A correlation was also found between the rate of severe adolescent to parent violence and the severity of violence the child has experienced at the hand of his or her parent as well as the rate of violence between spouses. The data supported four of the five hypotheses; however no correlation was found between levels of stress and rates of abuse.

In 1988 DiLalla et al. focused on the family and environmental factors involved in parent abuse cases. This study took 18 juvenile subjects from a semi-rural university community in the southwest. They were chosen because of their involvement in an ongoing intervention project for juveniles who were recommended by either a counselor or judge. Their ages ranged from 12-17 and they had been referred to the program for various offenses.

es including: trespassing, assault, probation violation, and petty larceny. The study involved interviewing both the youth and their parents. The interviews were conducted by trained undergraduate students and were semi-structured in nature. The participants were given checklists relating to family and environmental factors. The results were interpreted in light of two hypotheses.

The first hypothesis was that the level of positive or negative impressions youths had of their deviant peers, and the severity of parental use of punishment was correlated with social aggression. The data supported the first part of the hypothesis, stating that the higher the youth's opinion of deviant peers the higher the level of social aggression. However, the amount of parental punishment was not correlated with social aggression. The second hypothesis suggested that high environmental stress and severe punishment were related to higher scores on the Revised Behavior Problem Checklist (RBPC), which was used to measure parent's perceptions of aggressive behavior exhibited by their children. The results showed that high environmental stress was predictive of higher scores of overall aggressiveness on the RBPC scale. However, it was found that youth who received severe punishment were more likely to have been referred for the milder offenses than youth who were punished little or none at all; who were more likely to be charged with greater violent offenses. Results, such as these, which refute Freud's theories, also support the idea it is permissiveness and not punishment that lead to an increase in aggression and delinquency.

In an attempt to firmly establish punishment's role in delinquency, Agnew conducted a survey in 1983 of 2213 10th grade boys, and asked them the following three questions.

1. How frequently had they experienced physical punishment.
2. How inconsistently where they punished.
3. How delinquent each boy was.

His purpose was to see if inconsistency in punishment was the reason why some studies had found a correlation between punishment and delinquency. His had three hypotheses.

1. Inconsistent punishment was highly correlated with delinquency.
2. Intermittent punishment will not correlate as much with delinquency.
3. Consistent punishment will not increase delinquency.

Agnew's (1983) results supported all three hypotheses in that inconsistent punishment is correlated with higher levels of delinquency, consistent punishment is not a factor in increased levels of delinquency, and that the type of inconsistent punishment makes a difference. Namely, intermittent punishment is not a huge influence on delinquency, while inconsistent punishment is. Agnew's results also showed that socioeconomic status and race were not significantly related to the rate of delinquency. Also, both delinquency and physical punishments had slight to moderate negative correlations with fairness.

In 1989, Agnew and Huguley interviewed 1395 adolescents ages 11-18 in order to determine how 26 variables correlated with three parent abuse theories: Social Control theory, Differential Association theory, and Strain theory. The surveys were analyzed with regression analysis to help shed light on who was being abused and who was doing the abusing.

Agnew and Huguley's (1989) results revealed that the size of the adolescent was related to assault, though not significantly, that mothers are most often the object of physical assault, that girls hit mothers more than fathers, that boys hit fathers more as they get older, girls are less likely to hit both mothers and fathers as they get older, whites are more likely to abuse parents than blacks, and that parental assault is not influenced or determined by the same factors as child and spouse abuse. This study also found that parent abuse was negatively correlated with three factors and positively correlated with two. These factors were:

Negative Correlation

- Parental Attachment
- Probability of being caught
- Parental Strictness (not significant)

Positive Correlation

- Deviant beliefs
- Extent friends assault their parents

Agnew and Huguley (1989) also noted that severe parent assault happened with 5%-9% of the youth. Agnew and Huguley concluded the following:

1. Family violence (physical punishment) does not influence parent assault.
2. Trivial parent assault is distinguished from non-trivial parent assault.
3. All factors suggest that parent assault is "functional" and influenced by stimulus control/consequence factors.

Future parent abuse studies will continue to shed greater light on the causes and etiology of abusers and the abused. Three recent studies by Brezina (1999); McCloskey and Lichter (2003); and Pagani et al. (2003) examine these issues. They address the correlation between child abuse and child aggression, contribution of marital violence, and the roles that the family, environment, and coping strategies have in parent abuse cases. Brezina's study, conducted in 1999, was designed to test whether parental aggression directed at the child increases aggression. Brezina also hypothesized that "to the extent that child-to-parent aggression (or retaliation) serves the function of minimizing or reducing subsequent aggression by parents, then the child's aggression should have a negative or deterrent effect on parental aggression" (p. 422). In other words, Brezina wanted to study whether aggression is a coercive power when a child uses it against their parents.

Brezina (1999) collected data in two parts. The first consisted of a personal interview and questionnaire of 2213 male youths in the tenth grade. The boys were pulled from 87 different schools and were chosen by using a multistage probability sample. The second set of data included 1886 boys, about 86% of the original boys. The interviews and questionnaires were given one and half years later when the boys were just completing eleventh grade. The survey measured several factors including parental aggression directed at the adolescent, and the adolescent's own aggressive behavior against his parents.

Brezina's (1999) results showed that although there is a significant positive correlation between parental aggression towards the child and childhood aggression towards the parent, there is also a significant, but negative correlation between childhood aggression towards the parent and parental aggression towards the child. Brezina states that even though both are significant relationships it is more likely that parent to child aggression will lead to aggression in the child than child to parent aggression will decrease parental aggression. Even though child to parent aggression is not very effective when it is used to reduce or eliminate parental aggression, Brezina suggests that such behavior may be the result of negative reinforcement. Brezina's conclusion that parent aggression fosters child aggression contradicts an extensive study done by Kadushin and Martin in 1981 which found that only 20% of child abusers had been abused.

Pagani et al. in 2003 conducted a large study that examined the factors that influenced abusive behavior towards mothers. To obtain the sample, Pagani et al. took 6397 kindergarten children from public elementary schools in the French speaking regions of Canada. These children were chosen by their teachers who had been instructed to select 1-8 children from each class during the spring of 1986 and 1987. From the pool of over six thousand, 2524 were randomly selected for the study. These children were followed till age 15. During this time self reporting information from both the participants and their mothers were taken covering subjects ranging from changes in family configuration and environment, to rates of aggressions and violence against mothers. At age 15, the participants were again sorted into those that would be used in the study and those that would not. Five criteria were used to identify who would be in the study from those that would not.

1. Annual Data on family configuration.

2. All children were living in intact families at kindergarten.
3. Children experienced no more than two marital transitions (i.e., no divorce after remarriage).
4. Complete data on the aggression-toward-mothers variable.
5. Complete data on the covariates and possible mediators (i.e. age, sex, age of mother at birth of child).

Of the 2524 that had made it thus far, 778 adolescents met all the criteria and were retained for the study. Upon compilation and analysis of the data several conclusions were made.

- There was a significant correlation between marital status and aggression towards mothers.
- Aggression towards mothers and the sex of the adolescent were independent of each other.
- Families that were divorced were at greater risk for physical aggression.
- Families that were divorced and remarried were at greater risk for verbal aggression.
- Better family functioning encouraged better parent-child relations and was associated with decreased risk of both verbal or physical abuse from adolescent to mother.
- Mothers who sought support through their social network were at increased risk for verbal and physical abuse. Two explanations are:
 - a. Threat to their reign: Children felt that the mother was airing the family's dirt laundry, and as a result the adolescent felt exposed, and humiliated.
 - b. Feeling neglected: Children felt more alone when their single mother attempted find social support outside of the family.
- Kindergarten disruptiveness was an important predictor of violence against parents in the adolescent years.

Pagani et al. (2003) suggested that it was not divorce or single parenting alone that led to an increase in adolescent aggression, but other factors that coincide with divorce. These factors include the mother's adjustment to single status, adolescent's adjustment to greater responsibility, alienation of the custodial parent, financial hardship, and less social support from the immediate family environment.

McClosky and Lichter carried out a study in 2003 where they studied the link between marital violence and adolescent aggression in relation to various relationships such as, peers, dating, and family. Participants were obtained by soliciting their mothers through posters, public announcements and referral agencies. To qualify for the study the mothers had to have at least one school aged child, and to have been a victim of abuse from a partner with in the last year. Three steps were taken to guarantee that the sample represented a wide range of mothers.

1. Canvassing wide areas and different venues throughout the city.
2. Rescheduling no-show appointments up to five times.
3. Collecting basic information about demographics and violence on the phone so the families who came to the interview and those who did not could be compared.

The youth and mothers that fit the search criteria were interviewed three times. Once in 1990, once between 1996-1997, and a final time between 1998-1999. Only those who were interviewed all three times were included in the study analysis. During the first interview children ranged in age from 6-12, with a mean age of 9.2. The mean age at the second interview was 14 and the mean age during the third was 16.

All the interviews were conducted at an off-campus location. The mother and child were interviewed separately. For the first two interviews females that matched the participant's ethnicity as much as possible conducted the interview. The first interview questions covered topics of family violence and parental and child psychological health. The second interview dealt with the children's capacity for empathy. During the second interview the youth were also given a depression symptom inventory. During the third interview the interviewer and interviewee

wee were matched by sex. The third interview addressed the youths own physical aggression among peers, dating partners, and parents. After compiling and analyzing the data McClosky and Lichter (2003) were able to present the following statistics, presented in the tables below.

	Boys	Girls
Reported physical aggression against same-sex peer	77.40%	58%
Reported perpetrating dating aggression/use of physical tact	11.10%	20.30%

	Teens in Martially Violent Homes	Teens in Non-Martially violent homes
Aggressed against a peer	73.60%	62%
Aggressed against dating partner	17.70%	13.80%
Attacked Parent	12.60%	13.60%

McClosky and Lichter (2003) were able to show that childhood exposure to marital violence predicted aggression towards peers; they also found that marital violence is related to child-parent aggression, but only for youth under 18. It was also found that marital violence is related to youth depression and that youth depression is associated with dating aggression, particularly among girls.

This is a rather short discussion of a small number of studies. The history of parent abuse is far more extensive. However, these studies are some of the more prominent adolescent delinquency and parent abuse studies. From these studies we have been able to get a general overview of who does the abusing, who is the abused and the factors that contribute to parent abuse. To summarize these studies we see that youth who have little emotional attachment to their parents, experienced or witness child and/or spouse abuse are more likely to abuse their parents. There were also a few studies that suggested that whites, especially males older then 10 were more abusive then other children. Also, we see that divorced mothers, who have remained divorced and exhibit support seeking behaviors, are at greater risk of abuse. Other causes of parent abuse includes: high environmental turmoil, parental aggression, marital violence, inconsistent punishment, little emotional attachment, and severity of violence that the child received.

However, perhaps the most important factor, is that these studies have shown parental permissiveness to play a major role in parent abuse. Many parents are still encouraged to take a lax, permissive approach to their parenting, which puts them at a higher risk for parent abuse, and their children at higher risk for delinquency. Parents have the right and responsibility to use appropriate forms of punishment, in a consistent manner, to help their children learn and grow from life experiences. If parents use more consistent punishment and have less of a lax attitude towards parenting this will not only help their children develop, but it will decrease the parents' chances of being abused by their adolescent children. Perhaps someday the trend of parenting theories will turn towards the consistent and productive use of punishment. Then maybe this paper could be titled "Parent abuse, a fading phenomenon", instead of "Parent abuse on the rise".

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