

## Violence behind Closed Doors: Abusive Parenting and Problem Behaviors in Adolescents

Syeda Fariha Iram Rizvi\* & Najma Najam†

### Abstract

*Children and adolescents, remained victim of abuse, are at risk of problem behaviors. The objective of the study was to investigate adolescents' experiences of physically abusive parenting and associated emotional, behavioral problems. A sample of 300 adolescents from public and private schools of Lahore (Pakistan), participated in the study. Youth Self-Report (YSR) was used for screening of problem behaviors and to measure the experiences of physical abuse an indigenous self-report Physical Abuse Scale (PAS) was developed in Urdu with all protocols of development of a scale. Findings revealed that adolescents, experienced abusive parenting have greater risk of emotional, behavioral problems. Regression analysis also revealed that family size, family system and abusive parenting significantly contributed in the internalizing, externalizing and total problem behavior score. Findings of the research might contribute in growing literature of child abuse as well as can increase awareness of parents, teachers, mental health professional and society to identify that how physically abusive parenting can damage adolescents' emotions and behavior.*

**Keywords:** Adolescents, Physical Abuse, Internalizing Problems, Externalizing Problems

### Introduction

Adolescents and children have very significant role in any society due to rapid progress of technology, research, and increasing awareness (Wilmshurst, 2009). In this period of development a lot of problem behaviors rise (Lahey et al., 2000) just because of stress they face, due to changes from childhood to adolescence (Hankins & Abramson, 2001). Harsh and abusive parenting is linked with increased risk of many problem behaviors in children and adolescents. The impact, abuse may have on children, adolescents, and society as well has received substantial research attention, but this topic is as vast as there is still need to give much attention for better understanding (Hildyard & Wolf, 2002, Boxer & Terranova, 2008). Although instant and direct effects of abuse may range from small injuries to serious bruises can be noted easily but accrediting behavioral and emotional consequences is very perplexing (Gore-Felton et al., 2001). A lot of researches were conducted to recognize these behavioral problems (Abidi, 2010; Egger & Angold, 2006; Slemming et al., 2010), because if problem behaviors will not be identified, they will not affect only children, but family and society as well (Listug-Lunde, Zevenbergen, & Petros, 2008; Suveg, Zeman, Flannery-Schroeder, & Cassano, 2005). These problem

---

\* Department of Applied Psychology, University of the Punjab, Lahore

† Department of Applied Psychology, University of the Punjab, Lahore

behaviors, victim of abuse display, are mentioned as mal functioning, risky behaviors, such as crimes, running away, depressive symptoms and low self-image (Gore-Felton et. al., 2006; James, & Mennen, 2001). Generally used combinations of problem in research are internalizing problems; such as anxiety, withdrawal, depressed feelings which affect their internal psychological atmosphere and externalizing problems; in which child act damagingly and destructively toward outer world like disruptive, hyperactive, rule breaking, and aggressive behavior (Campbell, Shaw, & Gilliom, 2000; Eisenberg, Pidada & Liew, 2001). Research has clear evidence that expression of these problems may change extensively and noticeably as children grow (Burke, Pardini, & Loeber, 2008).

Parenting is perhaps the most extensively studied correlate of children emotional and behavioral problems from last few decades (Rothbaum & Weisz, 1994). Although according to ecological theory child is surrounded in multiple systems (Bronfenbrenner, 1986), which may affect child other than parenting but plethora of research evidenced that family relationships are very significant factors in emotional behavior of children and in the development of different problems (Fienberg, Neideriser, Simmens, Reiss, & Hetherington, 2000; Van Leeuwen, Mervielde, Braet, & Bosmans, 2004). Home and family of children are perceived as most harmless and protective place for them. Research indicated that perpetrators of most of abuse cases are those related to the victim (parent or relative). According to Convention of Rights for Children, family is best secure atmosphere for development of children and adolescents, but the safest place can be unsafe for children. It is not easy to identify and distinguish violence behind closed doors as parents, supposed to protect them, are involved in the violence. In spite of many efforts, developing countries like Pakistan have still not developed the appropriate techniques to report and control child abuse. Physical abuse with children is violation of their rights. International human right law has clearly explained that every child has legal right of protection from every type of physical abuse in all setting of their life (CRC, 2006).

According to the World Health Organization (2006), Child physical abuse is deliberate and intended use of physical power against child that has great potential of damage for physical health, survival and development of self-respect. These acts comprised on hitting, beating, choking, scalding, burning, suffocating and murdering. According to theoretical rational, Harm/evidence model (Drake, 1996), it is proposed that physical abuse may be perceived as abusive when that particular behavior is damaging in the view of current laws, norms, and social and legal and legal concerns. Drake's viewpoint recommended that actual cases meaningfully related to damage/harm t or prospect of harm to be categorized as abusive.

Physical abuse is happening in the home in the name physical punishment as a discipline strategy. According to Durrant, (2008), every effort to create distinction between physical punishment and physical abuse is meaningless. No line can be or should be drawn between physical punishment and physical abuse to advocate violence against children. In Gershoff's meta-analysis all ten studies significantly associate punishment with physical abuse (2002). Although there is no need to confirm the negative outcomes of

physical abuse to forbid it in law as well as to eliminate it in practice of parents. However empirical researches on the issue can be very important for advocacy of this issue. The evidences from research are very clear and indicative that physical abusive acts with children and adolescents carry numerous risks of harm not only for his/her physical health but for emotional and behavioral outcomes. Research examines the physical harm and observable marks of trauma, like physical wounds and much consideration is not given to social and psychological outcomes of abuse (Gershoff, 2002). Development of behavioral problems is one of the most expensive costs paid by abused children. The penalties linked with child physical abuses are well known since Kemp and his coworkers were first to first clarify the battered child syndrome (Kemp, Silverman, Steele, Droe gemueller, & Silver, 1962). These negative consequences of abuse may continue and affect children well in adulthood (Gershoff, 2008). A meta -analysis of researches revealed the strong relation between physically abuse and a lot of negative consequences in childhood, adolescence and even in adulthood, such as mental health problems, aggression, antisocial behavior, and abusive toward others. Effects of abuse are very clear in adolescents. In the 12 of the 13 studies included in Gershoff's meta-analysis physical abuse was found significantly linked with increased delinquents and social problems (Gershoff, 2002). Grogan-Kaylor, (2005) also found in his longitudinal study of about 7,000 adolescents, that those who suffer physical abusive acts were more anti-social as compare to non- abused. Physical abuse mild or severe carries natural and integral risk for growth of children (Gershoff, 2002 & Strauss & Douglas, 2008).

Recent researches evidenced that abuse is thoroughly related to internalizing and externalizing problem behaviors (Lansford, et.al.2006; Mills, et.al. 2013), and physically abused adolescents exhibit more significant emotional problems like anger, disruptive disorder, panic disorder and anxiety (e.g., De Bellis 2001; Springer, et al., 2007). Most of the researches provide evidences that physically abused children and adolescents are more aggressive than non-abused even when many factors which accompany abuse, like poverty, and family discords are statistically controlled (e.g., Springer, Sheridan, Kuo & Carnes, 2007).

In other words, abuse appears to have negative impact on behavior, independent of prospective influence of all other contributors and these behavior problems have formed challenges for families (Viljoen, O'Neill & Sidhu, 2005). In addition, families of adolescents suffering from problem behaviors have to face many problems (Leckman, 1993). In the context of local culture of Pakistan, important efforts are needed to identify the outcomes of abuse. The study done so far was limited to the psychosocial and family factors of abuse (Malik, 2001), such as economic condition (Duncan, Brooks-Gunn, & Klebanov, 1994), education of parents (Chase-Landale, Gordon, Brooks-gunn, & Klebanov, 1997), large family size, (Dubow & Luster, 1990) and age of child (Maikovich-Fong & Jaffee,2010) are associated with youth problem behaviors.

Experts in education, medicine, and social sciences, law enforcement, government, and society on the whole are extremely concerned about the effects of child abuse. There is international concern about the destiny of abused children. It is quite challenging to

associate specific negative consequences to specific parental abusive behaviors. Child abuse is still a taboo issue to discuss and mostly cases happening at home are never reported. Keeping in mind all these aspects present research had focused these phenomena in Pakistan's population. Basic purpose of the research was to examine the outcomes of abusive parenting on youth and their associated behavioral and emotional problems. Current research will draw the attention of working clinical and school psychologists to recognize the family factors that are perceived as abusive by adolescents. Moreover present research will focus and consider on multiple problems simultaneously which are co-occurring.

In the light of existing researches mentioned above, following hypotheses were formulated.

### **Hypotheses**

1. A significant positive relationship is predicted between experiences of physical abuse by both mother and father and problem behaviors in adolescents.
2. There will be a significant difference on mean score of different problem behaviors across three types of abuse (mild, moderate, & severe).
3. Parental physical abuse will predict internalizing, externalizing problems and total behavioral functioning.

### **Methodology**

#### **Sampling**

Participants of research, (N=300), were recruited from school going adolescents from three towns of city Lahore (comprised on 9 towns). 12 high /secondary schools were selected from the list provided by education department. Data was taken from three towns of Lahore (comprised on N=9 towns). Selected high schools were divided into three categories, only boys' schools, only girls' schools, and co-educational schools. Selected adolescents belonged to intact families were in the age range of 13 to 17 years, (M= 14.8, 42% girls & 58% boys), from 7<sup>th</sup> to 10<sup>th</sup> grade. Class teachers of required age group were contacted after permission of principal. Teachers were informed about research purpose. With the help of teachers adolescents physically beaten by parents were selected. Total 360 adolescents were selected, but 35 were not allowed by parents to participate in research, 10 of them refused on the day of data collection and 15 forms were rejected due to incomplete information.

#### **Measuring Tools**

Following measures/questionnaires were used to collect data.

#### **Demographic Information Form**

Demographic information taken in the research was gender, age, family size, parent's education, profession, monthly income of parents and family system.

### **Child Physical Abuse Scale**

To measure the perception of adolescent's physical abuse by parents an indigenous questionnaire, Physical Abuse Scale (PAS, Rizvi & Najam, 2014) was developed in Urdu language. It was a likert type 15 item scale with four response options *1=never*, *2=sometimes*, *3= often*, *4=fairly often*. Scale was developed with all protocols of development of a scale. PAS score was determined as the sum of score on each item ranges from 15-60. The Cut-off score was determined on the basis of percentile analysis of PAS. Mild Physical Abuse was 1 SD below mean, 1 SD above mean was taken as moderate and 2SD above mean was severe abuse. PAS has highly significant reliability coefficient ( $\alpha=.93$ ). Scale has good discriminant validity as there was significant negative relation between physical abuse and self-esteem.

### **Youth Self Report Form**

Youth Self Report Form (YSR, Achenbach & Rescorla, 2001) was used to screen out the emotional and behavioral problems in adolescents. It consisted on 112 items, on a 3-point likert scale (*very true or true often=2 to not true=0*), with two broadband scales, externalizing problems (aggressive behavior, and rule breaking behavior), and internalizing problems (somatic complaints, anxious depressed, & withdrawn depressed). Total behavioral and emotional functioning was assessed through total problem scores.

### **Procedure**

All ethical concerns were addressed in the present research including permission from the author of YSR, education department, school authorities and informed consent from parents and adolescents to collect the data. Only those adolescents were included whom parents allowed to participate. Data was taken from school going adolescents of both public and private high schools. Class teachers of required age group adolescents were briefed about purpose of research, prior to data collection. Class teacher communicate with students first about the research purpose and then researcher selected the sample with the help of teacher. Teachers as well as students were highly cooperated. Before data collection researcher arranged many meetings with selected adolescents in a separate room provided by schools. Researcher discussed the issue of physically abusive parenting with selected sample in group as well as separately with each boy and girl to select them in final data collection. They were given enough time to decide to be part of research. They were assured regarding their privacy as well as confidentiality of information. Consent forms were given to only those adolescents who were completely willing to participate after long discussions with researches. Only those adolescents participated whose parents allow them. Verbal instructions were given to participants. Researcher was available during data collection to answer any query adolescents might had about research as well as questionnaire. Questionnaires were self-report and self-administered. Almost 15 minutes were taken to answer the questionnaires.

### **Results**

Present research was conducted to find the relation between physically abusive parenting and emotional behavioral problems in adolescents. To achieve the objectives of research data was screened out before analysis. In the preliminary step, descriptive analysis (mean,

& standard deviation) were computed. Internal consistency of scales was estimated through reliability analysis. To test the research hypothesis data were screened to fulfill all assumptions for required statistical analysis (sample adequacy, normality, normality, homoscedasticity). Correlation analysis was carried out to see the relationship among variables and regression analysis was run to analyze the prediction value of factors.

variables		F	%
Age	13-17 years M(14.8years)		
Class/grade	7 <sup>th</sup> -10 <sup>th</sup>		
Gender	Boys	170	57
	Girls	130	43
Family size	4 or less	163	54
	5 or more	137	46
Family system	Joint family	174	58
	Nuclear family	126	42
Father education	Matric/under matric	148	49
	College/Graduation	102	34
	Masters or above	50	17
Mother education	Matric/under matric	178	59
	College/Graduation	100	33
	Masters or above	22	8

	MPHA	FPHA	M	SD	$\alpha$
Anxious Depressed	.53**	.55**	9.58	5.83	.85
Withdrawn Depressed	.54**	.53**	6.40	3.77	.77
Somatic Complaints	.44**	.47**	6.51	4.14	.81
Social Problems	.61**	.61**	7.22	4.59	.79
Attention Problem	.62**	.63**	7.32	4.48	.82
Rule Breaking Behavior	.52**	.58**	6.32	5.39	.83
Aggressive Behavior	.62**	.64**	12.14	8.05	.91
Internalizing Problems	.57**	.59**	22.49	12.18	.84
Externalizing Problems	.62**	.65**	18.45	12.69	.84
Total Problem Score	.63**	.65**	67.55	36.66	.93

Note: \*\*= p<.01. \*p<.05, PHAM= Physical abuse by Mother, PHAF= Father physical abuse.

<b>Table 3</b> No and Percentage of Abused Adolescents Falling In the Three Categories, Mild, Moderate, Severe Physical Abuse by Mother and Father (N=300)			
	Mild abuse N (%)	Moderate abuse N (%)	Severe abuse N (%)
Physical Abuse by Mother	204(68)	50(17)	46(15)
Physical Abuse by Father	203(68)	46(15)	51(17)

<b>Table 4</b> One Way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) for Emotional and Behavioral Problems across Three Levels of Maternal Physical Abuse (N=300)				
	Levels of Physical Abuse			F
	Mild 204	Moderate 50	Severe 46	
Problem behaviors	M(SD)	M(SD)	M(SD)	
Anxious depressed	7.50(5.17)	12.48(4.50)	15.65(4.03)	62.26**
Withdrawn depressed	5.12(3.35)	8.10(3.36)	10.19(2.49)	54.31**
Somatic complaints	5.28(3.85)	8.38(3.66)	9.91(3.16)	36.56**
Social problems	5.47(3.78)	9.40(3.95)	12.59(3.14)	78.75**
Thought problems	5.73(4.03)	7.88(4.12)	5.59(3.19)	6.40**
Attention problems	5.58(3.55)	9.38(4.16)	12.78(2.94)	85.91**
Rule-breaking behavior	4.58(4.48)	8.98(5.42)	11.13(5.01)	45.49**
Aggressive behaviour	9.06(6.25)	15.40(7.56)	22.22(5.54)	86.50**
Internalizing problems	17.90(10.58)	28.96(9.33)	35.76(8.01)	71.94**
Externalizing problems	13.65(10.01)	24.38(12.03)	33.35(9.52)	78.56**
Total problem score	52.96(30.09)	87.48(30.32)	108.31(23.35)	86.99**
**=p<.001				

**Table 5** One Way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) for Emotional and Behavioral Problems across Three Levels of Father Physical Abuse (N=300)

	Levels of Physical Abuse			F
	Mild n=203	Moderate n=46	Severe N=51	
Problem behaviors	M(SD)	M(SD)	M(SD)	
Anxious depressed	7.38(5.05)	13.50(5.06)	14.80(3.91)	64.72**
Withdrawn depressed	5.02(3.25)	8.67(3.37)	9.82(2.80)	59.80**
Somatic complaints	5.18(3.76)	8.83(3.76)	9.73(3.20)	42.14**
Social problems	5.41(3.58)	9.50(4.42)	12.35(3.44)	82.21**
Thought problems	5.67(3.99)	7.83(4.02)	6.08(3.63)	5.63**
Attention problems	5.46(3.54)	9.91(3.95)	12.37(3.04)	92.96**
Rule-breaking Behaviour	4.29(4.19)	9.91(5.30)	11.14(4.98)	63.92**
Aggressive behaviour	8.94(6.39)	15.23(6.60)	22.09(8.05)	95.33**
Internalizing problems	13.23(25.13)	31.00(9.68)	34.35(8.03)	79.03**
Externalizing problems	13.23(9.93)	25.13(10.44)	33.24(9.64)	94.41**
Total problem score	51.89(29.39)	91.00(27.69)	106.43(24.93)	100.02**

<b>Table 6</b> Hierarchical regression predicting internalizing, externalizing and total behavioral functioning from both mother and father physical abuse (N=300)					
Outcome variable	Significant predictors	B	R	R <sup>2</sup>	F
Internalizing problems	Step 1 Nuclear family system	-.13*	.30	.09	3.98*
	Step 2 Mother physical abuse Father physical abuse	.24* .35**	.61	.38	19.41*
Externalizing Problems	Step 1 Large Family Nuclear family system	.12* -.15*	.25	.06	2.81*
	Step 2 Mother physical abuse Father physical abuse	.19* .49**	.66	.44	25.72*
Total Problem Scores	Step 1 Nuclear family system	-.14*	.27	.08	3.36*
	Step 2 Mother physical abuse Father physical abuse	.26* .42**	.67	.45	27.66*
Note: **p<0.01, *p<0.05, B= Unstandardized Coefficient, SE= Std Error, β= Standardized regression Coefficients. R <sup>2</sup> = adjusted R <sup>2</sup>					

Findings of the study supported the hypothesis (table 2) that adolescents' experiences of physical abuse by both mother and father are significantly associated with emotional and behavioral problems. All problem behaviors individually as well as broad scales, internalizing, externalizing and total behavioral emotional functioning have significant positive relationship with physical abuse by both mother and father. Findings of study also revealed (Table 3) that 15% adolescents have experienced severe abuse by mother while 17% severely abused by father. Findings of ANOVA revealed that there is significant difference across three groups of adolescents on the basis of experience of severity of physical abuse. Adolescents falling in three categories (Mild, Moderate, Severe) of physical abuse by both mother and father are significantly different in all problem behaviors. Post Hoc LSD analysis revealed that all three groups were significantly different on their mean scores on all problem behaviors. Adolescents experiencing severe physical abuse have significantly higher mean score than adolescents

experiencing Mild and Moderate physical abuse and adolescents experiencing moderate physical abuse have significantly higher mean score than adolescents experiencing mild physical abuse.

Hierarchical regression analysis in present study was carried out in two steps. In first step demographic variables (such as age, parents' education level, family system, and family size) were entered while physical abuse by mother and father were put in the second step. Findings of regression analysis indicated that only one demographic factor, large family system for externalizing problems and nuclear family system for internalizing and total behavioral functioning appeared as significant predictor of problem behaviors. Findings also revealed that experiences of physical abuse by mother and father are strong predictor of internalizing, externalizing and total problem score in adolescents and significantly contributed in the above discussed problem behaviors.

### **Discussion**

Present research was conducted to investigate the relation between experiences of physically abusive parenting and problem behaviors in adolescents. Outcomes of this study are consistent with existing researches which documented significant relationship between physical abuse and problem behaviors. Findings are certainly not surprising but the important thing in the present research is that the problem behaviors were detected in the adolescents living with intact family and had never experienced life threatening abuse. This suggested that such parental behaviors and practices which had never been considered abusive in a culture or society like Pakistan are closely and significantly linked with internalizing and externalizing problem behaviors. Findings are important to consider as abused adolescents reported their own problem behaviors and these problems have never been reported. It may be that adolescents of 13-17 years participated in the study and they are less likely than the children to conceal their problems.

Findings of this research clearly indicated that all problem behaviors, internalizing and externalizing problems have significant relation with abusive parenting. Findings support the existing literature that abused children are at greater risk to develop many emotional and behavioral problems. Results of the study also revealed that more severely abused adolescents exhibit severe problem behaviors as ANOVA show that severely abused children are significantly different from the children who experienced mild and moderate physical abuse. Regression analysis also supported the hypothesis that abusive parenting significantly predicted problem behaviors in adolescents.

Many researchers reported that physically abused children and youths (6 to 16 years old) from the abusive family, exhibit more emotional problems including anxiety and depression (Hjorth, & Ostrov, 1982), as well as externalizing problem behaviors like conduct problems (Hansen, & Warner, 1994), as compare to non-abused children and adolescents. Findings of present study can also take support from Gershoff, (2002) who reported a meta-analysis and found that abused children exhibit antisocial behavior, aggression and externalizing problems. Findings of present also correlate with Fergusson and colleagues who found that child physical abuse was significantly associated with

increasing rates of major depression, anxiety disorder, conduct problems and higher level of aggression (Fergusson, Boden, & Horwood, 2008). Antisocial and aggression are very common associated problems of physical abuse. In many studies, even after controlling most common associates of abuse like poverty, family uncertainty and wife battering, abused children show more aggression than non-abused adolescents (Springer, Sheridan, Kuo, & Carnes, 2007).

Cognitive-affective aspect of attachment theory also denoted that fundamental quality of feeling toward attachment figures is very important and critical to psychological and emotional adjustment of any individual (Bretherton, 1985). Moreover, adolescents can perceive themselves unworthy and others as emotionally unavailable if they experience abuse from their caretaker (Kenny & Rice, 1995). This negative development of self-other relationship may have strong susceptibility in development of internal and external problem behaviors (Dozier, Stovall, & Albus, 1999). All the analysis done in the study demonstrated that abusive parenting is very important factor in the growth of emotional and behavioral problems.

### **Conclusion**

Overall findings of the present study support to draw a conclusion that parents' physical abuse is associated with many emotional and behavioral problems in both boys and girls. It is true that no research can ever categorically evidence a fundamental and causal link for child abuse like many other issues. Child development is dependent with many interlinked factors and children can never be endangered to blind-control judgments. However researches have engaged from many years in sophisticated research designs and statistical procedures to investigate the link between physical abuse and variety of negative outcomes. As briefed in this paper, results have reliably evidenced that physical abuse increases the risks of variety of negative consequences

### **Limitations, Suggestions, and Implications**

While interpreting the findings of this study, limitations of study should be considered. Reliance on self-report responses was a limitation. Cross informants can give more valid information. One limitation of study was small data collected only from urban area of Lahore that may not be true representative of whole population of adolescents. Larger sample including rural population would be more useful to generalize the findings. Privacy of respondents was a serious issue as child abuse by parents is very private and personal issue. Participating students might try to remain silent on their parents' harsh behaviors and were unwilling to disclose the true situation. Moreover this study has been conducted on only school going adolescents from public and private schools. Adolescents from Madrassa School and who were not going to any type of school were not included in the sample. For a more representative sample adolescents from whole population should be drawn.

Parents, Teachers as well as social and medical professionals in Pakistan need to consider child abuse as a potential factor in children with problem behaviors. Present research

might increase awareness regarding parental physical ill treatment with their children that is risky for adolescents' well-being and mental health.

## References

- Abdi, B. (2010). Gender differences in social skills, problem behaviors and academic competence of Iranian kindergarten children based on their parent and teacher ratings. *Procedia Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 5, 1175-1179.
- Achenbach, T.M. & Rescorla, L.A. (2001). *Manual for the ASEBA School-Age form & profile*. Burlington: University of Vermont Department of Psychiatry.
- Boxer, P.& Terranova, A.M. (2008). Effects of multiple maltreatment experiences among psychiatrically hospitalized youth. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 32; 637-647.
- Bretherton, I. (1985). Attachment theory: Retrospect and prospect. In I. Bretherton & F. Waters (Eds.), *Growing points of attachment theory and research: Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development*, 50(1-2, Serial No. 209), 3-35.
- Campbell, S. B., Shaw, D.S., & Gilliom, M. (2000). Early externalizing behavior problems: Toddlers and preschoolers at risk for later maladjustment. *Development and Psychopathology*, 12, 467-488.
- Chase-Lansdale, P.L. (1999). Effects of poverty on children and families. In L. B. Joseph (Eds.), *Families, poverty, and welfare reform: Confronting a new policy era*, 245-281. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Committee on the Rights of the Child (2006), General Comment No. 8: The right of the child to protection from corporal punishment and other cruel or degrading forms of punishment (arts. 19; 28, para. 2; and 37, inter alia) (CRC/C/GC/8).
- Dozier, M., Stovall, K. C., & Albus, K. E. (1999). Attachment and psychopathology in adulthood. In J. Cassidy & P. R. Shaver (Eds.), *Handbook of attachment: Theory, research and clinical applications* (pp. 497-519). New York: Guilford.
- Drake, B. (1996). Unraveling unsubstantiated. *Child Maltreatment*, 1, 261-271.
- Dubow, E.F., and Luster, T. (1990). Adjustment of children born to teenage mothers: The contribution of risk and protective factors. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 52, 393-404.
- Duncan, G. J., Brooks-Gunn, J., & Klebanov, P. K. (1994). Economic deprivation and early childhood development. *Child Development*, 65, 296-318.
- Durrant, J. E. (2008). Physical Punishment, Culture and Rights: Current Issues for Professionals, *Journal of Developmental and Behavioral Pediatrics* 29: 55-66.
- Egger, H.L., & Angold, A. (2006). Common emotional and behavioral disorders in preschool children: Presentation, nosology, and epidemiology. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry, and Allied Disciplines*, 47(3-4), 313-337.
- Eisenberg, N., Pidada, S., & Liew, J. (2001). The relations of regulation and negative emotionality to Indonesian children's social functioning. *Child Development*, 72, 1747-1763.

- Fergusson, D. M., Boden, J. M., & Horwood, L. J. (2008). Exposure to childhood sexual and physical abuse and adjustment in early adulthood. *Child Abuse & Neglect, 32*, 607–619.
- Gershoff, E. T. (2002). Corporal Punishment by Parents and Associated Child Behavior and Experiences: A meta-analytic and theoretical review. *Psychological Bulletin, 128*, 539–579.
- Gershoff, E. T. (2008). Report on Physical Punishment in the United States: What research tells us about its effect on children. Columbus, OH: Center for Effective Discipline.
- Gore-Felton, C., Koopman, C., McGarvey, E., Hernandez, N. & Canterbury, R.J. (2001). Relationships of sexual, physical, and emotional abuse to emotional and behavioural problems among incarcerated adolescents. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse, 1*(10); 73-88.
- Gore-Felton, C., Koopman, C., Spiegel, D., Vosvick, M., Brondino, M., & Winningham, A. (2006). Effects of quality of life and coping on depression among adults living with HIV/AIDS. *Journal of Health Psychology, 11*, 711–729.
- Hankin, B. L. & Abramson, L.Y. (2001). Development of gender differences in depression: An elaborated cognitive vulnerability-transactional stress theory. *Psychological Bulletin, 127*, 773-796.
- Hjorth, C. W., & Ostrov, E. (1982). The self-image of physically-abused adolescents. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 11*, 71–76.
- Hildyard, K.L. & Wolfe, D.A. (2002). Child Neglect: Developmental Issues and Outcomes. *Child Abuse and Neglect, 26*; 679-695.
- James, S., Mennen, F. (2001) Treatment Outcome Research: How effective are treatments for abused children? *Child and Adolescents Social Work Journal, 18* (2). 73-95.
- Kempe, C. H., Silverman, F. N., Steele, B. F., Droegemuller, W., & Silver, H. K. (1962). The battered child syndrome. *Journal of the American Medical Association, 191*, 17–24.
- Kenny, M. E., & Rice, K. G. (1995). Attachment to parents and adjustment in late adolescent college students: Current status, applications, and future considerations. *The Counseling Psychologist, 23*, 433-455.
- Lahey, B. B., Schwab-Stone, M., Goodman, S. H., Waldman, I. D., Canino, G., Rathouz, P. J. & Jensen, P. S. (2000). Age and gender differences in oppositional behavior and conduct problems: A cross-sectional household study of middle childhood and adolescence. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology, 109*(3), 488-503.
- Lansford, J. E., Dodge, K. A., Pettit, G. S., Bates, J. E., Crozier, J., & Kaplow, J. (2002). A 12-year prospective study of the long-term effects of early child physical maltreatment on psychological, behavioral, and academic problems in adolescence. *Archives of Pediatric and Adolescent Medicine, 156*(8), 824-830.
- Listug-Lunde, L., Zevenbergen, A. A., & Petros, T. V. (2008). Psychological symptomatology in siblings of children with ADHD. *Journal of Attention Disorders, 12*(3), 239-247.
- Maikovitch-Fong, A. K., & Jaffee, S. R. (2010). Sex differences in childhood sexual abuse characteristics and victims' emotional and behavioral problems: Findings from a national sample of youth. *Child Abuse and Neglect, 34*, 429-437.

- Mills, R., Scott, J., Alati, R., O'Callaghan, M., Najman, J. M., & Strathearn, L. (2013). Child maltreatment and adolescent mental health problems in a large birth cohort. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 37(5), 292-302.
- Pinheiro, P. S., (2006). World Report on Violence against Children, United Nations Secretary-General's Report on Violence against Children, New York. A United Nations publication.
- Sawyer, G. S., Baghurst, P., Mathias, J. (1992). Differences between informants reports describing emotional and behavioral problems in community and clinic-referred children: a research note. *Journal of Child Psychology & Psychiatry*, 33:441-449.
- Slemming, K., Sørensen, M. J., Thomsen, P.H., Obel, C., Henriksen, T. B., & Linnet, K. M. (2010). The association between preschool behavioural problems and internalizing difficulties at age 10-12 years. *European Child and Adolescents Psychiatry*, 19, 787-795.
- Springer, K., Sheridan, J., Kuo, D., & Carnes, M. (2007). Long-term physical and mental health consequences of childhood physical abuse: Results from a large population-based sample of men and women. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 31, 517-530.
- Strauss M. & Douglas E (2008). Research on spanking by parents: Implications for public policy, *The Family Psychologist: Bulletin of the Division of Family Psychology* (43) 24: 18-20.
- Suveg, C., Zeman, J., Flannery-Schroeder, E., & Cassano, M. (2005). Emotion socialization in families of children with an anxiety disorder. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology*, 33(2), 145-155.
- Viljoen, J. L., O'Neill, M. L., & Sidhu, A. (2005). Bullying behaviors in female and male adolescent offenders: Prevalence, types, and association with psychosocial adjustment. *Aggressive Behavior*, 31(6), 521-536.
- Wilmshurst, L. (2009). *Abnormal child psychology: A developmental perspective*. New York: Taylor & Francis.
- World Health Organization and International Society for Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect. (2006). Preventing child maltreatment; A guide to taking action and generating Evidence.